
THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Account of TIME.

VOL. XXXI.

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
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By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XXXI.



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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

History of the UNITED PROVINCES, or
Republic of HOLLAND.

S E C T. I.

Containing a short description of Holland; a character of the people; a view of the different departments of the republican government; of the commerce of the provinces; religion, &c. &c.

A Variety of circumstances conspire in rendering the history of the *United Provinces* entertaining and instructive. The inhabitants of this country have ever been celebrated for their valour, their perseverance, and love of liberty, which remain unaltered amidst the vicissitudes of time, and the most singular reverses of fortune. The extraordinary revolutions, the complex form of the established government, the opulence, commerce, artificial beauty, and other peculiarities of this country, as well as the industry, frugality, temperance, simplicity, and natural disposition of the people, merit the utmost attention of the politician and philosopher. It is not the

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province of the historian to enter deeply upon such researches; but our plan requires that we should sketch the outlines of the situation, constitution, and whatever regards the present state of the country, previous to an historical detail.

Geography, situation, climate, &c. of the United Provinces.

The *United Provinces*, or *Republic of Holland*, consists of the northern part of the *Netherlands*, bordered to the south by *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Flemish Guelderland*, and the duchy of *Cleves*; on the east, the frontiers extend to the territory of *Embsen*, and the bishopric of *Munster*, while some portion of the northern skirts, and the whole western coast, are washed by the *German* ocean; we include not the conquests of the *Republic*, which are precarious and eventual. The whole country is delightfully watered, and divided by large rivers, fine canals, and extensive lakes, that present a scene exquisitely beautiful and astonishing to the eye of a stranger. From this happy disposition of land and water, *Holland* derives the utmost commercial advantages: domestic industry is promoted by the facility of carriage, and foreign trade absolutely required from the small proportion of fertile soil, to the number of inhabitants. No part of *Europe*, of the same extent, contains half the number of beautiful cities, towns, and villages, all distinguished by an air of neatness peculiar to *Holland*. Every street, we may say every farm, is bordered by a canal; ships and houses are almost every where blended together, and half the people seem to live upon the waters. Some inconveniencies however attend the natural situation of the provinces. To render the soil fertile, it is usual at certain seasons to open the sluices, and overflow great part of the country; when the waters are drawn off, heaps of mud and slime remain, which impregnate the air with noxious exhalations, productive of various diseases. This defect in the atmosphere is however considerably corrected by frequent sharp and keen easterly winds, that purify the air, but on account of their suddenness and severity prove dangerous to the human constitution. Sir William Temple, an accurate observer, relates, that he has seen a moist hot southern wind instantly yield to chilling eastern blasts, without any intermediate temperature: in his own words, they succeed like the cold and hot fits of an ague. We may likewise reckon among the inconveniencies of *Holland*, the great obstruction to commerce, from the long and rigorous frosts which entirely shut up the canals; and the extreme flatness of the lands, sunk below the level of the

waters, and secured from inundations by vast dykes, kept in repair at a prodigious expence.^a

As to the manners of the people, like those of every other nation, they are influenced by the climate and the nature of the government. Cold, phlegmatic, uninventive, and brutal, they prosecute every measure with indefatigable perseverance, and accomplish the most arduous attempts, without a spark of genius, of liberality, or the true spirit of enterprise; by the single virtue of patience they have become proficient in science and the arts. *Holland* has produced poets, painters, and sculptors; wits of the first class have started up, like grapes in *Siberia*, contrary to the usual course of nature; but these are phenomena which appear with comets, only once in a century, to excite the astonishment of mankind. In general, every passion, every appetite, except that of gain, seems extinguished; quarrels are seldom seen, unless occasioned by drunkenness; jealousy is never felt, and love unknown among *Dutchmen*. The dulness and insensibility of the *Batavians* became proverbial among the ancients; their descendants are no less distinguished by the moderns for their want of feeling, of refinement, and of passion. The reader will form a sufficient idea of the national character from a single observation of Sir *William Temple*. "I have known, says that ingenious writer, a man employed four and twenty years about the making and perfecting a globe, and another thirty in the inlaying of a table."^b In a word, invincible patience, and an invariable attachment to self-interest, are the lineaments that distinguish and mark the character of a *Hollander*. *Spain* has had proofs of their courage, *France* has experienced their arrogance, and *Great Britain* still bears shameful and unrevenged marks of their avarice and cruelty.

The government of the republic has in it something no less peculiar than the temper of the inhabitants; we can indeed easily trace the latter in the former. Caution and phlegmatic prudence appear in their tedious deliberations, a solicitous regard to freedom in every part of the constitution; composed of seven sovereign provinces, each enjoying its own independent privileges, the state may be termed a confederacy, united by one common

Character
of the People.

Govern-
ment of the
cities.

^a LE CLERC, Hist. Pref. 2. TEMPLE on the Netherlands, chap. iii.

^b Id. ibid. BASNAGE, Hist. passim. VOLT. Siècle, tom. i.

interest, and founded upon the league formed at *Utrecht*, to oppose the tyranny and oppression of *Philip II.* *Guelderland*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Overyffel*, *Groningen*, and *Friesland*, are all separate republics, acknowledging no authority, subordinate to no other power than that vested in their particular states; even the provinces are divided into smaller republics. Every city possesses certain sovereign privileges; and in the provincial states resolutions are formed, not by a majority, but concurrence of voices. The provincial states cannot seize an offender, pardon a crime, or frame laws, within the jurisdiction of a city. Every thing relative to itself, and unconnected with the rest of the provinces, is transacted by its own magistrates: for instance, the sovereign authority resides in the senate of each city; the office of senator continues for life, and formerly the members of this supreme court were elected by the freemen and burghers: now the power of filling vacant places is in the standing senate; whence the government of each city is aristocratical. From this it may be supposed, that the people have absolutely surrendered their privileges; but when we consider the check given to this oligarchy by the annual burgomasters, the small emolument of office, the simplicity required in magistrates, their numerous connections with the body of the people, we shall find that liberty is strictly guarded, while the inconveniencies of tumultuous assemblies are avoided. It would be descending to a tedious minuteness to enter upon a description of each particular city-office; sufficient it is, that burgomasters are elected by a majority of voices in the senate; that they preside by turns, that they represent the dignity of the government, and support the honour of the city upon all occasions; that they dispose of all inferior offices, issue out money from the common treasury, for the safety, convenience, and all the expences of the city. Great trust, dignity, and authority, are annexed to this office; yet the salary scarce amounts to 60*l.* *per annum*; nor do the burgomasters assume more state than ordinary citizens in their habits, their attendance, their tables, or any part of their domestic conduct.^c

Provincial states.

The provincial states are composed of deputies chosen by the senate. Here is lodged the sovereign power, and in certain cases an appeal from the city-judicatures. The reader will entertain a clearer idea of the whole, by tra-

^c *Ubi supra.*

cing

cing the regulations of a particular province. In *Holland* the sovereignty of the province is represented by nineteen deputies, chosen out of the nobility, the senators, and magistrates; the nobles have only one voice, the cities eighteen, according to the number called *Stemms*. *Amsterdam* has but a single voice in the states, and the smallest city in the province enjoys the same prerogative. Though the nobility possess but one vote in the states, yet is their influence very considerable, having in their hands the vast employments civil and military, the direction of the ecclesiastical revenue, the right of sending deputies to the states general, and the nomination of a counsellor in the two supreme courts of judicature. The votes and sentiments of the nobility are delivered by the pensioner of *Holland*, who assists at all the previous deliberations. Notwithstanding the vast credit of the pensioner's office, he is but the servant of the province, and takes place behind all the deputies; yet from the perpetual duration of his employment, the seat he holds in the several provincial assemblies, his collecting opinions, digesting resolutions, proposing all subjects of deliberation, and, above all, assuming a power to determine whether any important affair, on which the benefit or prejudice of the state highly depends, shall be concluded by a majority of voices, give the pensioner the utmost consequence in the republic. This is the general scheme of government in all the provinces; but with certain peculiarities in each, for which the reader must consult political writers. There is no certain rule for the sitting of the states in all the provinces; in *Holland* they assemble at the *Hague* in the months of *February*, *June*, *September*, and *November*: in the three first sessions all vacancies are filled up, forms renewed, and taxes adjusted; in a word, the general good and regulation of the province is debated: the last sitting is expressly set aside for determining the proportion of charges, to be supported by the province, with respect to the whole republic. On extraordinary occasions, the provincial states are convoked by the commissioned counsellors, or *Gecommitteerde Raaden*, properly a provincial council of state, composed of a deputy from the nobles, one from each of the chief cities, and one from every three of the lesser towns. This council sits constantly at the *Hague*, prepares business for the provincial states, and executes their resolutions. The general revenues of the provinces are managed by a chamber of accounts, who, besides this trust, have the absolute direc-

tion of the ancient demesnes, without being questioned by the states. A number of inferior regulations and circumstances peculiar to each province take place ; but it is our design to exhibit only the general plan of the several departments that compose the republic.^d

States General.

We come now to the union of the seven sovereign provinces, which may aptly be compared to the league of several princes, formed for their mutual security, repose, and defence : each preserves his own sovereignty, while he enters upon certain engagements peculiar to the confederacy ; they are united into one body by treaty, but they are separated by their particular privileges : no one has the right of imposing laws, or interfering in the government of another ; but he is absolute in what does not respect the league, and within his own jurisdiction. Some politicians have supposed the states general possessed of sovereign authority, because they are composed of deputies from the provinces that form the republic, and receive foreign ambassadors ; but it must be considered, that the office of deputy continues but for a limited time, that the periods of their deputation are fixed by the provinces, and that they are incapable of coming to any resolution without consulting their constituents, and receiving their authority : out of the deputies are formed three several colleges, the states general, the council of state, and the chamber of accounts, which are to the republic in general, or the union of the seven provinces, what the departments of the same names are to each province. To the states general, the provinces send two or more members at pleasure ; by this no variation is made in the determinations of the states, as resolutions are formed upon the votes of the provinces, and not the voices of the deputies. Should a province send twenty deputies, still it possesses but one voice. Almost all the provinces differ in the time limited to their deputies ; one sends for a year, another for more, and some for life. *Holland* sends to the states general one of her nobles, who is perpetual, two deputies from the eight principal towns of the province, one from *North Holland*, two from the provincial council of state, and the pensioner. Every province presides in turn for a week, and is represented by the person best qualified among her deputies. This president is seated at the middle of a long table, the *greffier*

^dBASNAGE, cap. iv. Introduction. TEMPLE, cap. ii. LE CLERC, p. 3. Pref.

or secretary at the bottom ; and a foreign ambassador admitted to an audience, takes his place opposite to the president. The greffier, by order of the president, reads all papers, proposes the question, calls the votes ; then the president concludes ; or should he refuse determining by a plurality, his place is filled up by the president of the ensuing week. In this channel do all common affairs flow ; but in cases of peace and war, of foreign alliances, of raising or coining money, or where the privileges of the provinces are concerned, then each distinct province or member of the union must be consulted, his assent procured, and nothing determined by majority. Never but in one instance has this constitution been infringed. In the year 1668, Sir *William Temple* was dispatched by *Charles II.* to form the triple alliance ; in executing this commission, the utmost secrecy and dispatch were necessary : had the business passed through the usual forms, the scheme of the alliance would have been frustrated by foreign ministers, whose duty and interest it was to oppose it. Engaging the voice of one city would have effectually baffled all the schemes of the *British* minister ; but he had the ability and address so powerfully to enforce the necessity of expedition, that the states general concluded three treaties, formed and signed instruments in the space of five days, without consulting the provinces, agreeable to the essential laws of their constitution. In this, however, the deputies hazarded their lives ; for had the provinces disapproved their proceedings, their heads would have been the forfeit.*

Another department relative to the general union of the provinces, is the council of state, composed of deputies from each province ; here the number deputed is fixed and invariable. *Holland* sends three ; *Guelderland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, two each ; *Friesland*, *Overijssel*, and *Groningen*, a deputy for each province ; the whole council amounting to twelve members. Matters are concluded by the personal, not the provincial voices ; and every deputy has his turn in presiding. Formerly the power of assembling the states general resided in this council ; it also represented the states general during their recess, executed their resolutions, and judged of the necessity of their meeting. At the earl of *Leicester's* resignation, the provincial states obtained a power of continuing the states general by their constant respective deputies, under pretence of the too

Council of State.

* Auct. citat ibid.

great authority residing in the council of state, who to prolong and augment their own power seldom convoked the states general. At present the business of the council of state may be reduced to five classes: their deliberations regarding the security, defence, and protection of the state; and the operations of the war: the orders for marching the troops, the regulation of military discipline, the superintendence of the fortifications, magazines, &c. and the administration of the finances, and proportions of the several provinces to support the general expence of government. With respect to the operations of war, the council always consults with the states general, except when profound secrecy and dispatch are required. The power of the council over the fortifications extends only to those places conquered since the union of *Utrecht*, and the provinces of *Overijssel* and *Guelderland*, which are deemed the frontiers. In a word, this council superintends the army, the garrisons, the public revenues, and the contributions raised in the enemy's country. At the close of the year it forms a sketch of the supplies for the current year, which it presents by way of petition to the states general; implying by the name, a request rather than a demand upon the provinces, with which they may either comply or not, as they see reasonable. Besides the deputies, the stadtholder has a seat and vote in this council; but he is excluded the presidency: at present the treasurer-general has a seat, but only a deliberative voice. We need not enter into particulars; enough has been said to point out the nature of this department.^f

Chamber of accounts. To ease the council of state, and support a part of the load of public business, the chamber of accounts was erected by consent of the seven united provinces: its first institution was in the year 1607, it was confirmed in 1622, and considerably extended in 1651. It is composed of two deputies from each province, making in all fourteen. It states and examines the accounts of all the receivers, passes the accounts of the admiralty, and registers the orders of the council of state, with respect to the finances.^g

Council of admiralty. We shall conclude our description of the government of the *United Provinces*, with mentioning one more department of considerable importance; we mean the council of admiralty, in which the absolute direction of naval affairs

^f Id. *ibid.*

^g BASNAGE, cap. xiii.

resides.

resides. When the states general, by advice of the council of state, has destined a fleet upon any enterprise, and determined its force and number, all the rest devolves upon the admiralty, which is divided into five departments, or different councils, cemented however by certain bonds of union. The province of *Holland* enjoys the benefit of three of these courts, *Zealand* has one, and *Friesland* another: each is composed of seven deputies, four chosen out of the province where the council resides, and three nominated by the other provinces. Here the admiral, or, in his absence, the vice-admiral presides. Besides the care of equipping fleets, and issuing out money for naval services, the admiralty has a judicative power, taking cognizance of all crimes, frauds, and piracies committed on the high seas; or in the payment or collection of the duties upon merchandise. The revenue arising from commerce is wholly appropriated to the purposes of the navy. One circumstance of a very extraordinary nature, that fully displays the precaution of the government against corruption, or bias from consanguinity, or other attachments, is, that no person related in the third degree, influenced by dependence or obligation, can ever be deputed members of the admiralty. This is an indispensable law, and deemed so essential, that all petitions for its abolition have been constantly rejected. When a deputy is appointed, he must swear before the states general, that he was elected by fair suffrage, without the least exertion of undue influence or corruption, bribes or promises; that he will religiously obey the orders issued out by the states general, in concurrence with the provincial states; in a word, that he will promote, with all his ability, the general good of his country, without favour or attachment to any particular province.^a

THE dignity of stadtholder, though not essential to the government of the republic, is however so important to its security, upon certain occasions, that it ought not to be omitted in a description of the political machine. This sovereign office would seem to owe its birth to the nature of the government, in which all deliberations are so tedious, as frequently to endanger the state. To remedy this defect, a stadtholder was created in *Holland*, as formerly a dictator at *Rome*, to answer present exigencies, and expedite measures. In the long war with *Philip II.* the infant republic

Of the dignity of stadtholder.

^a BASNAGE, cap. xxxv.

stood

stood in want of a head to support tottering liberty, and oppose the powerful efforts of the house of *Austria*. *William I.* prince of *Orange*, appeared of all men the best calculated to answer the purposes of the republic. He was then governor of three provinces, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, his ability confessed; his detestation of tyranny, and ardent love of freedom, had rendered him the darling of the people. He had exposed himself to the greatest dangers in the public service; he had formed the noblest designs, and executed them with a vigour and intrepidity, that justly entitled him to the character of a patriot, hero, and statesman. These qualities, and the necessities of the state, raised *William* to the dignity of stadtholder, with the following rights and privileges annexed. He was captain-general of the forces of the republic, by sea and land; he disposed of all commissions in the army and navy; he directed the operations of war, and led the troops in battle; he had a seat, but not a voice, in the states-general; he was president of the council of state; but to retrench his authority, and set bounds to the extension of the stadtholder's power, a council was given him, composed of deputies, from the states-general, and the council of state, who attended him into the field, and concerted with him all the operations of the campaign. Such was the origin, and such the authority vested in the stadtholder. We shall have occasion to mention further particulars in the course of our narrative; what strange revolutions, tumults, and dissensions this dignity produced; how it was abolished by a perpetual edict, and afterwards made hereditary in the illustrious house of *Orange*¹.

*Of the
commerce
of the U-
nited Pro-
vinces.*

WHATEVER surprize the texture of this constitution, the nature of the country, and the disposition of the people, may excite, we shall find still greater cause of astonishment in the prodigious commercial power and wealth of the *United Provinces*. Politicians remark, that the most fruitful countries are seldom the richest. The necessities of life shooting up almost spontaneously, render the toil and labour of the inhabitants unnecessary. This damps the spirit of enterprise, checks that ardour excited by necessity, and renders mankind indolent, because they can live without industry or danger. In the poverty of the *United Provinces* we shall find the causes of the vast strides they made to opulence and grandeur. The country, in a manner, pro-

¹ BASNAGE, cap. xiv. de Chron. introd. p. 8.

duces

duces nothing but pasture ; at least the produce is very inadequate to the number of inhabitants, and the immense concourse of cities, towns, and villages. Of the seven, only three are maritime provinces, and fit for the purposes of commerce. Not a single material for ship-building is the growth of the *Netherlands* ; the *Dutch* are forced to penetrate almost to the frigid zone for the fundamental requisites of navigation. Even the harbours of the *United Provinces* are incommodious. The disadvantages of the *Texel* are well known. At *Helvoetsluys* nature has formed a large bason of water, defended from storms by a variety of little encircling islands ; but access is rendered difficult and dangerous by large sand-banks and ridges, that cannot be passed without pilots. The harbour of *Flushing*, though it has some advantages, is greatly exposed to storms and tempests. From *Poland*, and other northern countries, the *Dutch*, for a long time, drew the necessaries of life. Still they are supported in these by dint of traffic. No country in *Europe* is so loaded with taxes. Every commodity, every necessary, pays a duty, to support the unavoidable expences of the government. War, the cruellest enemy to industry, has proved friendly to *Holland*. During a bloody contest, that continued forty years, the republic attained to the highest pitch of grandeur. Under such inauspicious circumstances did this common-wealth launch out in the pursuit of commerce and navigation. The civil wars in *France*, the troubles in *Germany*, and the religious persecutions in every part, crowded the *Provinces* with ingenious mechanics and artists ; because here they might practise the dictates of conscience, and enjoy the fruits of industry, in security and repose. New manufactures were every day erected ; and trades, too big for the wealth of individuals, conducted to advantage by joint stocks. The destruction of *Antwerp* was the greatest advantage to *Holland* ; it opened markets, before wholly engrossed by that opulent city. When *Philip II.* came into possession of *Portugal*, he prohibited the inhabitants from trading with his rebellious subjects of the *United Provinces*. This, instead of answering the king's design, proved highly beneficial to the republic. It gave spur to her industry, and forced her to attempt a trade directly with the *East-Indies*. The *India* commerce was put into the hands of a company, and managed with so much prudence, industry, and œconomy, that, in the space of six years, a capital of six hundred thousand pounds was increased to six millions sterling, after clearing all charges

charges and expences. After this, the company rose with inconceivable rapidity for a number of years ; and though the profits have been long diminished, yet, in point of wealth, dominion, and real power, the *Dutch East-India* company is now infinitely beyond any other commercial establishment, and a potent state of itself, taken independant of the republic of the *United Provinces*. The governor-general of *Batavia* has the court, the state, splendor, and appointments of a sovereign prince. He makes war and peace at pleasure ; can assemble an army, upon the shortest notice, of thirty thousand men ; and equip a fleet of fifty sail of the line, without building a single vessel^k. The success of the fisheries, of the *Levant* trade, begun under the auspices of *Henry IV.* of *France*, and of the *East-India* company, gave birth to a company for conducting the trade to the *West-Indies* ; which set out with an unexpected tide of fortune, and would have ascended by continued progression, had not the large dividends made, the eager pursuit of conquest, and the neglect of the regular course of traffic, ruined that commerce. The *Dutch* were driven out of the *Brasils*, whence the *Portuguese* drew such immense treasures. Still, however, the *West-India* company is possessed of several important settlements in *Africa*, of some valuable islands in the *West-Indies*, of the profitable establishment at *Surinam*, and of several late-established factories on the continent of *South America*. We have elsewhere treated so largely of the *Dutch East-India* commerce, that to add would be to render it prolix. Upon the whole, next to that of *Great-Britain*, the trade of the *United Provinces* is certainly the greatest ; and that of the *India* company alone equal in value to half the commerce of *Europe*. As to the present low condition of *Holland*, as a maritime power, her temporizing, shuffling, and supine indolence, we shall advance no conjectures. We take up the pen as historians, not as professed political writers.

Of the religion of the United Provinces.

To conclude this sketch of the present state of the *United Provinces*, we shall subjoin a few remarks on religion, the remote cause of the grandeur of the republic. The restraint on conscience, the establishment of the inquisition, and the bloody persecution of heretics, excited the revolt of the *Provinces*, in the reign of *Philip II.* The reformists were unanimous only in denying the papal supremacy, and reducing belief from the authority of tradition

^k BASNAGE, cap. xxxvi. Univ. Hist. vol. x. book xiv.

to that of scripture. In a variety of other circumstances they differed, particularly with respect to discipline. Every leading doctor formed a sect; and religious sectaries became as numerous in *Germany*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*, as scholars of rival schools had ever been in *Greece*. All were equally obnoxious to the apostolic see, and the professors of the popish doctrines. They were stigmatized with the name of heretics, persecuted by the sword in this world, and damned to eternal perdition in the next. This indiscriminate persecution of the schismatics and reformists seems to have first suggested the idea of a toleration of conscience in the *Seven Provinces*. The multitudes of sectaries from *Germany* and *France*, that had taken refuge in the *Netherlands*, before the persecution commenced in this quarter, and the necessity of exerting every means to oppose the tyranny of *Philip*, after the arrival of the duke of *Alva*, in quality of governor, rendered an union of all the different sects, for their mutual defence, almost unavoidable. Accordingly, at the union of the *Seven Provinces*, by the treaty signed at *Utrecht*, every province was left at liberty to regulate the affairs of religion in the manner most conducive to her interest; but with this express proviso, that no man should be oppressed on account of his particular tenets, and that all should remain free and unrestrained in points of conscience. It is true, the superiority in point of numbers, of the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*, procured an act, in the year 1583, declaring the evangelical religion the public belief, and enjoining that this only should be professed in the *Seven Provinces*; but policy has induced the government to wink at infractions of this ordinance; to favour no curious inquiries into the faith of any man; to offer no violence to conscience; and to afford the protection of the laws to every industrious subject, whose opinions break not out into expressions and actions prejudicial to society. The Roman catholic religion alone is excepted from this common protection; while *Jews*, *Anabaptists*, *Arminians*, *Brownists*, and *Familists*, are allowed the exercise of their several doctrines. At *Amsterdam* every sect known in *Europe*, almost in the whole world, hath its public meetings. The *Calvinists* however compose the body of the people. They are possessed of all the authorised churches in the dominions of the republic, and their clergy alone are maintained by the public, by certain salaries paid them by the state, without tythes, lands, or contributions on the people. Thus, freedom of
sentiment

sentiment has rendered the country populous, and softened all that theological acrimony and rancour that disturbs the tranquility of other nations, poisons society, and produces effects the most opposite to the dictates of true religion. Ambition and faction are here disabled from concealing their seditious designs and selfish views under the cloak of religion. In *Holland*, the difference of religion makes none in affection; *Jews* and *Christians* live in the strictest ties of amity; they argue without resentment, they dissent without enmity, and they agree without confederacy; all from the freedom of the constitution, and the coldness of the passions. All are citizens associated by the bands of society and government, under the impartial protection of indifferent laws, with equal encouragement of arts, industry, and genius; and equal freedom of sentiment, speculation, and inquiry. Whoever requires more, may be justly suspected of secret designs, arising from other motives than religion; or, at the best, he must be deemed unreasonable and narrow-minded¹.

S E C T. II.

Containing the ancient state of the Seven United Provinces. The revolutions which first reduced them under the dominion of the house of Burgundy, and afterwards of the house of Austria, &c. &c.

*Ancient
History of
Batavia.*

FOR many ages the *Low Countries* have been the theatre of war, and scene of bloody battles. No soil in *Europe* has been so drenched with human gore, owing partly to the obstinate valour of the inhabitants, but chiefly to the ambition of the neighbouring princes. The natives of the country now composing the republic, ever aspired at liberty and military glory; the one they regarded as essential to the security of the other. *Julius Cæsar*, having experienced the valour of the *Batavians*, employed them successfully against the *Gauls*; they every where routed and dispersed that ferocious and warlike people^a. The *Batavian* cavalry bore the highest reputation, and the infantry fought with the same order, discipline, and intrepidity in the marshes and waters, as upon firm land: even the *Romans* dreaded their resentment^b. They became the body-

¹ BASNAGE, cap. xxxix. TEMPLE, chap. v.
CÆS. Comment. lib. vii.

^b TACIT. Hist. lib. v.

^a JUL.

guard;

guards of the emperors, who reposed equal confidence in their fidelity and courage; *Galba* dismissed them from this trust, but with marks of favour and esteem. In all important expeditions, in every dangerous enterprize, where obstinate boldness was required, the *Batavians* were selected, as troops already sufficiently approved. They generally composed the forlorn hope of the *Roman* army, sustained the first shock of the enemy, and made the first attack with an impetuosity peculiar to themselves. *Vitellius* was so sensible that the fate of the empire depended on the *Batavian* cohorts, that, apprehensive of irritating them, he released their general, who had been confined for high crimes and misdemeanors^c. They were exempt from tributes and imposts, in consequence of bearing the honourable title of allies to the empire. Afterwards they obtained the appellation of the friends and brethren of the *Romans*; but this was particularly applicable to the inhabitants of *Betaw*, an island formed by the *Rhine* and *Vahal*, or *Wahaal*. The government of this people seems to have been monarchical; and it is conjectured, that *Clodius Civilis* is descended from their kings; *Civilis*, that hero whose patriot eloquence roused the *Batavians* to throw off the *Roman* subjection; whose courage obtained many victories over the *Roman* general *Cerialis*; and whose valour shone more conspicuous and bright in adversity, after he had been defeated by the *German* legions. We know little more of the ancient history of the *Batavians*, than that the fierce and warlike spirit of the people obliged the *Romans* to maintain strong garrisons on the banks of the *Rhine*; that they revolted against *Constantine*; that they performed signal services to *Theodosius* in *Britain*; and that, with the rest of the empire, they fell under the power of the *Franks*; were governed by *Charlemagne*, and his descendants, until, upon the decline of that house, the great lords and officers of the crown, taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning princes, rendered their governments hereditary in their families (A).

AFTER the fall of *Charlemagne's* empire, the provinces of the *Netherlands* experienced frequent revolutions. Some-

^c SUTTON. in *Galb.* TACIT. lib. vii.

(A) For the ancient history of the *Batavians*, and other inhabitants of the *Netherlands*, the reader may consult the 14th, 15th, and 19th volumes of our

Ancient History. We have pretended to exhibit no more than a few striking features, to render the Modern History more complete and uniform.

times

times they were distinct and independent on each other ; at other times they were united in one monarchy under the same prince. Some provinces had their kings, some were under the government of dukes, and others of counts. *Friseland* might be termed a kingdom ; *Brabant*, and *Guelderland*, dukedoms ; and *Holland*, and *Flanders*, counties, or earldoms. *Utrecht* was a bishopric, the prelates of which became generals and sovereigns, wielding the sword and scepter oftener than the crozier. We shall exhibit such an imperfect sketch of the government of the *Provinces* under the period we are mentioning, as history authorises^d.

History of
the Counts
of Hol-
land.

FORMERLY the frontiers of the province of *Holland* were more confined than at present. The *Frisons* encroached upon one quarter, and the bishop of *Utrecht* on the other. Possibly indeed the provinces of *Holland* and *Groningen* were not at that time separated by that immense bay called the *Zuyder-Zee*^e. All that tract of land, now overflowed by the sea, might formerly have consisted of low, swampy marshes. This is the conjecture of Sir *William Temple*; and it seems corroborated by observation, and the great number of islands and sand-banks that block up the passage into the bay. However this may be, we have the testimony of *John of Leyden*, that *Holland* contained only four cities, *Dordrecht*, *Haarlem*, *Leyden*, and *Delft*, at the close of the 11th century. Historians are unanimous, that *Thieri*, general to *Charles the Bald*, was the first count of *Holland*. He was invested in that dignity by the sovereign, against the inclinations of the people, who hazarded a battle, and were defeated in the field, in defence of their liberties. Afterwards they revolted, forced *Thieri* to take refuge with his king, and were a second time conquered, and forced to submit. To confirm the count in his new dignity, and secure him against future rebellions, *Charles* put to death every man who possessed any authority in the country^f. It is farther asserted, that *Lewis*, brother to *Charles*, invested the same *Thieri* in the province of *Zealand*; yet it is more consistent with the known policy of *Charles* and *Lewis*, to suppose that *Thieri* only acted as his governor, or lieutenant. Of the immediate successors of this count we know nothing. Some historians speak of a *Thieri*, marquis of *Vluering*, supposed to be the descendant of the first count of *Holland*. His ambition drew him into a war

A. D.
868.

^d JOH. LEYDEN. l. v. c. 4.
1047.

^e HERMAN. ad ann.

^f JOH. LEYDEN. l. vi. c. 2, 3, 4.

with

with the emperor *Henry*, out of which his spirited conduct extricated him with honour and advantage. He afterwards, by accident, killed in a tournament the brother of the bishops of *Liege* and *Cologne*, which again involved him in a war. The enraged prelates entered *Holland*, laying waste all before them, and reduced *Dordrecht*. *Thieri* met them, gave battle, and defeated them; but died of a wound received from a poisoned arrow^z. His brother *Florence* succeeded to his territories, and with them inherited the war against the bishops, who had levied fresh forces, and again invaded *Holland*. They were defeated by the new count, who did not long survive his victory. In the pursuit he was wounded, and expired a few days after. It is not improbable, that the *Thieri* we have been last mentioning was the first count of *Holland*, notwithstanding the express assertions of some writers to the contrary; and that the dominion of that province was obtained, not by gift, but by conquest. Both *Thieri* and his brother *Florence* were ambitious, warlike princes: it is allowed, they greatly extended their territories, and it is not improbable, they incurred the resentment of the emperor, by denying his sovereignty over the province of *Holland*. *Florence* dying, during the minority of his children, *Gertrude*, his widow, took the government into her hands, and conducted the reins with so much address, that she obtained a peace equally advantageous and honourable. Young *Thieri*, son of *Florence*, was frequently molested during his tutelage by *William* bishop of *Utrecht*. As soon as he came of age, he fully avenged the insults committed by this ambitious and perfidious prelate. We know nothing further of his government, nor indeed of the counts of *Holland*, until the province came under the dominion of the house of *Burgundy*. We are only told, that they were engaged in constant wars with their neighbours and powerful vassals, who were eternally stirring up factions, and exciting revolts, in hopes of recovering their liberty. In a civil war *Florence IV.* lost his life, being besieged, and taken in his own castle, by the lords of *Egmond*, *Brederode*, *Amstel*, and *Waerden*. His son *John* fell a victim to the turbulent and seditious humour of his subjects, notwithstanding he had sacrificed his prime minister *Boerselen*, to appease their resentment^h.

A. D.

1047.

1062.

THOUGH the dignity of count was hereditary, yet before they entered upon the government, the approbation of the barons, the chief lords, and the people, was required, to whom they swore religiously to observe all their rights and

^z HERMAN. Chron. 141.

^h Chron. Belgic. p. 120.

privileges. On their accession, the counts made a circuit to all the towns and cities, promising each, in particular, the security of its liberties and peculiar privileges. After they had taken the oaths, the people immediately paid the tax imposed for the support of their authority, which, in general, was very moderate and easy. According to the laws of succession, the female succeeded, in default of the male line; hence it was, that the province of *Holland* frequently passed into foreign families, by marriages. At the death of *William IV. Margaret*, his sister, succeeded, married the prince of *Bavaria*, and annexed *Holland* to the dominions of her husband. As we cannot enlarge upon this subject, we shall only remark, that when the dukes of *Burgundy* became sovereigns of this province, and indeed of the *Netherlands*, they altered the ancient form of government, appointing a count for the government of each city, and a stadtholder in every province, to administer justice in their name. It was not before the 14th century, that the provincial states were established, or rather renewed. The stadtholder assembled the nobles and deputies from the chief cities, and, in conjunction with them, regulated the affairs of the provinces. Soon the states assumed a power of convoking themselves. This produced numberless disputes between them and the stadtholders. *William I. of Orange*, that great assertor of the freedom of his country, was engaged in constant contentions upon this subject, with the provincial states. The debate was referred to the duchess of *Parma*, who decided, that the states had an undoubted right to assemble themselves, but with the knowledge and approbation of the stadtholder. Afterwards the prince obtained a contrary judgmentⁱ.

*Ancient
history of
Guelder-
land.*

A. D.
878.

It is mentioned, in honour of *Guelderland*, that it was the last province to receive the *Roman* yoke, and the first that asserted liberty, upon the decline of the empire. *Charlemagne* bestowed extraordinary privileges on *Nimeguen*, the capital of the province. In the reign of *Charles the Bald*, the people elected *Otho du Pont* their chief, and the government continued many years in his family. It passed from father to son, and would seem hereditary; but, in fact, it was elective. The people called the governors tutors, implying, that they elected them for their defence and security. By marriage, the government of *Guelderland* devolved on *Otho*, count *Nassau*, who was approved and confirmed by the people. In his administration, *Guelderland* was erected into an earldom, by the emperor *Henry III.* By his son *Gerhard*, the county of

A. D.
1079.

ⁱ LE CLERC, Hist. lib. i.

Zutphen was annexed to *Guelderland*; but whether by marriage, purchase, or conquest, is not precisely determined. *Henry Nassau*, earl of *Guelderland* and *Zutphen*, extended his dominions, and performed signal services in *Italy* to the emperor *Frederic*. This prince died in 1162, and was so well esteemed, that the people immediately elected his son *Gerhard II*. The whole of *Gerhard's* life was employed in waging war with the bishop of *Utrecht*. He entailed the county on his brother *Otho*, who succeeded him; but the crusade, at that time preached up in the *Low Countries*, healed up the breach, and reconciled the count and bishop. *Gerhard III*, who succeeded his father *Otho*, is distinguished only for encouraging monks, and building monasteries. His son *Otho the Crooked*, after sustaining the strangest reverses of fortune, and living for some time in captivity, raised *Guelderland* to a powerful, opulent, and respectable province. *Arnhem*, *Gosch*, *Bemmel*, *Herderwyk*, and other towns that lay open and exposed, he surrounded with walls, and strengthened by fortifications, conferring upon them a variety of privileges. After mortgaging the city of *Nimeguen* for twenty thousand marks of silver to *William* king of the *Romans*, he attacked and reduced it, annexing this capital of the ancient *Batavians* to *Guelderland*. Towards the close of his life, he was chosen guardian to *Florence V*, earl of *Holland*. The guardianship was disputed with him, but he defeated his enemies in a bloody sea-fight, before *Dyveland*, carried his point, and soon after expired^k.

His son *Renaud* was in hopes of enlarging his dominions, by the addition of *Limburg*. With this view he married a daughter of the duke of *Limburg*; but the duchy was not annexed to *Guelderland* till the death of her brother *Henry*.

A. D.
1272.

It was disputed with the duke of *Brabant*, a bloody battle ensued, *Renaud* gained his ends, but he was soon after imprisoned by his ambitious son, and detained a captive for the last six years of his life. While his father lived, *Renaud*, surnamed *the Red*, assumed no other title than that of son to the earl of *Guelderland*. His marriage into the house of *Mechlin* produced a war with the duke of *Brabant*, who claimed some part of what *Renaud* deemed his wife's fortune. The duke was defeated, and to the glory of a victory, *Renaud* had the additional honour of erecting *Guelderland* into a duchy, by an edict of the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. This mark of the emperor's esteem had almost proved fatal to *Renaud*. During his attendance at *Francfort*, his dominions were invaded by

A. D.
1320.

A. D.
1339.

^k Chron. Geld. p. 19.

the combined forces of *Liege* and *Brabant*. He flew to the relief of his subjects, met, defeated, and dispersed the enemy. In a word, this prince, so highly celebrated for his valour, clemency, and justice, raised *Guelderland* to the utmost power the province ever attained, only to be sunk the lower by contentions among his children.

THE younger aspired at succeeding his father, the elder maintained his birthright, and both made preparations for deciding the dispute by the sword. *Renaud the Gross*, the eldest, fortified himself in *Thiel*, while *Edward*, the younger, assembled an army at *Nimeguen*. The nobility and people took different sides; *Edward* was victorious; he took his brother prisoner, kept him two years confined, defeated the duke of *Brabant*, and was afterwards slain in a mutiny of his own officers¹. His death set *Renaud* at liberty, and restored him to his right, which he lived but few months to enjoy.

BOTH the brothers dying without issue, the confusion of the province was augmented. Their two sisters disputed the succession; the people were divided. The lords of *Eickeren* supported the pretensions of *Margaret*, the elder sister; and the *Bronchorst* faction, always zealous for the younger branch, espoused *William*, duke of *Juliers*, and son of *Mary*, the younger sister. This civil war was brought to an issue only by the death of *Margaret*, by which the claim of the young duke remained undisputed. *William* distinguished his valour in several wars with the duke of *Brabant*, in all of which he proved victorious. His dominions fell to his brother *Renaud*, who made war on the earl of *Holland*, fought the bloody battle of *Gorcum*, and died without issue^m.

By *Renaud's* death, the duchy of *Guelderland* passed out of the house of *Juliers* into that of *Egmond*. A daughter of *William*, duke of *Juliers*, and grand-daughter of *Mary*, his mother, was married to the lord of *Egmond*. Her portion consisted of the duchy of *Guelderland* and county of *Zutphen*; but her husband lived but a few days to enjoy this vast accession to his honour and dominions. It was his son *Arnaud* who first took possession of his mother's inheritance. *Arnaud* claimed the duchy of *Juliers* by the same right he held *Guelderland*. He maintained a war to gain possession; but the inhabitants would never be brought to acknowledge his sovereignty: at last, after having governed forty-eight years, he was confined by his own son, tired out with the expectation of succeeding at the decease of a superannuated father.

¹ Belg. Chron. p. 86.

^m Id. ibid. Egmond. Chron. p. 52.

The unnatural *Adolphus* entered upon a dangerous alliance, marrying *Catherine* of *Bourbon*, whence he became brother-in-law to *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, who punished him for the want of filial duty, by depriving him of his dominions. The duke inviting *Adolphus* to his court, endeavoured to reconcile him to his father; but finding him inexorable, he had him arrested, and then released old *Arnaud*, after first obliging him to sell the duchy of *Guelderland*, the county of *Zutphen*, and to disinherit his son. By the death of his father, and the duke of *Burgundy*, slain at the battle of *Nanci*, *Adolphus* recovered his dominions, uniting the dominions of *Burgundy*, *Guelderland*, and *Zutphen*, in his own person. His first wife being dead, he married *Mary*, only child and heiress of *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, who had been forced into the match by the citizens of *Ghent*. They chose him general of their forces against the *French* king, and *Adolphus* was slain bravely defending *Tournay*. His son *Charles*, born of the last marriage, succeeded, and was taken prisoner and detained fourteen years by the enemy, during which time his aunt was acknowledged sovereign by the people. He no sooner procured his release, than his subjects received him with open arms; and indeed his conduct merited their utmost attachment and fidelity. Nothing could be more spirited and vigorous than the whole series of his administration; but he was at length obliged to yield to the irresistible power of the emperor *Charles V.* by which means *Guelderland* passed from the house of *Bourbon* into the *Austrian* family.^a

WITH respect to the ancient history of *Zealand*, writers *Ancient* differ widely; some asserting that *Lewis le Debonaire* present- *history of* ed the islands that compose this province to the earl of *Hol-* *Zealand.* *land*, provided he would protect them against the *Germans*; others, on the contrary, affirming, that the Emperor *Henry* invested *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, in the isle of *Wakberen*, and all its dependences. One writer in particular agrees to both assertions, and alledges, that the earls of *Holland* and *Flanders* were long engaged in war for the property of *Zealand*. Certain it is, that the earls of *Holland* had the sovereignty of this province at a very early period; that the two provinces were always united under the same governors, and that they had the same stadtholder, when the desertion of the *Netherlands* produced the union of *Utrecht*. As we have already exhibited a sketch of the ancient history of *Holland*, it would be unnecessary to dwell upon that of a province

^a Chron. Egmond, p. 59. Chron. Geld. p. 26.

connected with it in interest, laws, government, and sovereignty.⁹

*Ancient
history of
the pro-
vince of
Utrecht.*

A. D.
692.

A. D.
696.

THE province of *Utrecht* has experienced four different forms of government: first it was dependant on the kings and dukes of *Friseland*; next the government became ecclesiastical; or, in other words, the sovereigns were bishops, who extended their dominion over several of the adjacent countries. Charles V. effected the third revolution, by divesting the bishops of their temporal sovereignty, and rendering himself absolute master of the liberties and privileges of the province. The last change of government happened at the general union of the seven provinces, to oppose *Philip II.* While *Utrecht* was dependent on *Friseland*, it necessarily felt the revolutions which were ever changing the situation of that warlike province. *Pepin Heristal* first asserted the liberty of *Utrecht*, and recovered its independency; as he proposed fixing the sovereignty in his family, he omitted nothing that could engage the clergy in his interest. With this view, he not only assembled a kind of ecclesiastical council, but determined to restore the old custom of governing the province by states, in which the bishops and clergy should have voices: the happy influence of this institution shewed how wisely it had been projected; it continued under *Charlemagne* and his successors; and to the provincial state of *Utrecht* is the world obliged for that excellent collection of the ancient laws of the *Franks*. *Pepin Heristal* was not satisfied with diffusing happiness through every part of his own dominions; his soul aspired after a more universal benevolence: he dispatched missionaries to convert the idolatrous inhabitants of *Friseland* to Christianity. *Willidibrod* was sent to preach the gospel among those barbarians; *Utrecht* was erected into an episcopal see by pope *Sergius*, in favour of *Willidibrod*, and he became the first bishop. *Charles Martel* conferred many additional privileges on the infant bishopric; he endowed it with lands, and freely gave away what cost him little more than the trouble of framing the necessary charter. These were indeed happy times for the church; when the whole of piety consisted in liberality to the clergy, and the most profligate could purchase future felicity by founding a convent, or adding a few acres to the ecclesiastical domain^p.

The first bishops of *Utrecht* laboured assiduously in the vineyard of salvation; their industry and zeal were whetted by the ambition of extending their jurisdiction. As Chris-

⁹ Hist. Hedæ, p. 186

^p BONIF. epist. ad Steph.

tianity spread itself over the neighbouring country, so did the authority of the bishops, who made subjection the test of the sincerity of their converts: in a word, the superstitious generosity of the people, so increased the power of the bishop of *Utrecht*, that in a short time he became a powerful temporal prince, able to make head against the earls of *Holland*, the most formidable of the surrounding states, and even the emperor himself. About the close of the tenth century, a descent of the *Normans*, the pests of *Europe*, almost wholly destroyed the city and province of *Utrecht*; nothing sacred or prophane escaped their fury; churches, houses, and corn-fields were set on fire; the city was burnt to ashes, and the cathedral reduced to a heap of ruins; but *Baldric*, who had great interest with the emperor *Otho*, soon rebuilt the episcopal city, and procured such immunities as rendered it the capital of *Holland*, if we may credit some old verses inscribed on the wall of the church of *St. Martin* at *Utrecht*. *Baldric* was the first bishop who coined money by authority.^a

A. D.
995.

Adelbold, counsellor of state to the emperor *Henry II.* being elected bishop of *Utrecht*, carried his pretensions farther than any of his predecessors. Some historians alledge, that he was the first bishop who made use of the sword to extend his power; but this is certainly a mistake, as we find the bishops engaged in bloody wars at a much earlier period. He maintained a long dispute with the earl of *Holland*, which they decided by the sword; and was afterwards engaged in a war with the earl of *Guelderland*. *Adelbold's* example was copied by his successors, who made equal use of spiritual and temporal weapons to extend their authority. Jealous of their ecclesiastical rights, they became warriors, and compelled wherethey could not inspire respect: sometimes they were supported by the emperor, but often opposed, their pride giving offence to the imperial authority: it frequently happened that the rigid exertion of their spiritual power, excited revolts among their own subjects; and the election of bishops was seldom unattended with bloodshed. The neighbouring states interposed; the competitors were supported by the earls of *Holland* and dukes of *Guelderland*; so that the sword rather than the votes of the canons generally confirmed the bishops.

A. D.
1017.

As it is not our intention to give a regular succession of the bishops of *Utrecht*, we shall think it sufficient to mention the peculiarities that distinguished this dignity. What

^a Apud GUICCIARDINI, p. 199.

right those prelates had to temporal authority, will appear from the following observations. *Utrecht* was originally detached from *Friseland*, to be erected into an episcopal see: the bishops, by extending their authority over the surrounding towns and cities, came to be obeyed as sovereigns; they were elected by the city and chapter, and, after taking possession of the episcopal throne, acknowledged and obeyed as temporal sovereigns. All seditions, tumults, and revolts among the people, were punished as rebellions against the lawful sovereigns. The bishop's jurisdiction extended beyond his own province. *Woerden*, a city properly belonging to *Holland*, had long been the subject of contention between the bishops and earls. *Bodegrave* had likewise occasioned wars between the bishops of *Utrecht* and earls of *Holland*; and although the latter possessed certain castles at *Dordrecht*, where they often resided; yet the bishops claimed a temporal authority over half the island. To the time of *Henry of Bavaria*, the episcopal jurisdiction extended over *Overyssel*, and the greater part of *Friseland*. *Henry* sold the sovereignty to *Charles V.* and in the instrument of sale are reckoned the towns of *Zell*, *Dipenheim*, *Coeverde*, *Oldenzael*, and the territory of *Drenth*.

A. D.
1288.

SEVERAL changes in the magistracy of *Utrecht* happened under *William de Nassau*: that prelate became the most illustrious of his age, though his parentage was unknown, and his ignorance so extraordinary, that the pope refused him a bull, at a period when no great portion of learning was required to qualify for a bishopric. *William* was engaged in constant disputes with his neighbours, and with his own subjects; at last, their rebellion became so general, that they banished the nobility, who had sided with the bishop; changed the form of government, and lodged the legislative power in the people; artisans and mechanics were divided into companies, each of which had a vote in the election of magistrates. The new magistrates regulated the affairs of the city, changed the seal and the arms in despite of the bishop, who was at last compelled to renounce his dignity.

William of Meehlin was the first of the succeeding prelates who attempted to restore the episcopal authority; his efforts were bold, but unsuccessful: the magistrates of *Utrecht*, seconded by the *Hollanders*, made him prisoner. He broke out of confinement, fled to *Rome*, levied an army, and waged war against his subjects: often victorious, sometimes vanquished, he fell at last in battle; leaving the magistrates and people in the full possession of their liberties, and

and the supreme authority. His successor, less enterprising and ambitious, prudently confirmed the privileges of the magistrates, granting them charters to that effect; which he had scarce signed, when he suddenly expired. The succeeding bishops made a handle of this extraordinary event, as if it had been a judgment from heaven to avenge the impiety of surrendering the rights of the church. They endeavoured to recover the authority of which they were unjustly divested; long struggles ensued, and the people, whenever they found themselves unable to resist, called in the assistance of some neighbouring power. *David*, the natural son of *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, was so violently opposed by the magistrates, that he abdicated the episcopal throne. *Frederic* prince of *Baden* being elected bishop, he retired to *Mentz*, unable to support the seditious humour of his subjects; *Maximilian*, to whom he was allied, opposed his dismissal, and prevailed on him to return to *Utrecht*: he might have lived in peace, had not his ambition and avarice again obliged the people to revolt. *Philip*, the bastard son of *Philip* of *Burgundy*, was next elected: as this prince had always been bred at court, where he had learned only the art of war and politics, he found himself greatly embarrassed with the ecclesiastical dignity. In his spiritual capacity *Philip* acquired no great reputation; he therefore pursued the maxims of a temporal prince, rendered himself respectable by his prudence, and formidable by his valour: the troops of *France* and *Guelderland* experienced his ability in the field. *Erasmus* highly extols this prelate; but his amours drew upon him the censures of the church.

A. D.
1300.

A. D.
1480.

HITHERTO the bishops of *Utrecht* were the friends and allies of the imperial crown; *Charles V.* wanted an opportunity of appropriating the sovereignty to himself; and he succeeded in the following manner. *Henry*, son of the count palatine of *Bavaria*, was preferred to a great number of other competitors, and elected bishop of *Utrecht* by a great majority; he was hardly established in his new dignity, when he cited the senate and magistrates of *Amsterdam* before his tribunal, for permitting clandestine marriages. Instead of obeying the prelate's summons, the *Hollanders* preferred their complaints to *Charles V.* as earl of *Holland*. That prince annulled the bishop's sentence, and removed the excommunication denounced against the senate; declaring both unjust, arbitrary, and contrary to the privileges of the city. His ambition did not stop here; he encroached on

A. D.
1524.

* *GUYOT*, *ibid*, p. 104. *Batavia Sacra*, l. i, ii.

the

- the liberties of *Utrecht*, and so excited the resentment of the people, that one day they shut the gates and denied him entrance. The prelate raised an army, the magistrates called in the forces of *Guelderland*, a bloody war commenced, and the country was desolated by the episcopal forces, who destroyed all before them with fire and sword: he soon, however, was unable to support his army; the troops mutined for want of pay, and the bishop applied to the emperor for money. *Charles*, like a true politician, seized this opportunity of accomplishing his design; he furnished the sum required, on condition that the bishop ceded to him the sovereignty of *Utrecht* and its dependencies. The first treaty was signed at *Schoonhoven*; but the magistrates and people, incensed at the bishop's dishonourable proceedings, so contrary to their liberties, deposed him, elected another, and resolved to defend their privileges against all the power of the empire. In the short war that ensued, the province was cruelly harassed, but the spirit of the people was invincible: at length, some persons attached to the emperor and the deposed prelate, privately introduced a body of imperial forces into the city, the bishop returned, and made his public entrance, and three days after proposed to the clergy and council the necessity of yielding to the emperor, and making entire cession of the sovereignty to a prince able to protect them, and who would undoubtedly obtain by force what they now had an opportunity of granting as a favour. Warm debates arose in the assembly, but to little purpose, as the town was already in the possession of the *Imperialists*. At length, all agreed in signing an instrument, whereby the sovereignty was perpetually vested in the house of *Austria*.¹
- A. D. 1534. SOME years after *Charles V.* united the province to *Holland* and *Zealand*. An instrument was drawn up, whereby the provinces were to be governed by the stadtholder, cemented so strictly as never to be separated by marriage, sale, bargain, or engagement, and united so intricately, that the same laws should take place in all; criminals banished from one province could not be screened in another; in a word, it was proposed, that the government, money, customs, and laws, should be the same in *Holland*, *Utrecht*, and *Zealand*; each however reserving its own peculiar rights, exclusive of the general union. This plan of union could not, however, a long time be rendered complete, or fully executed; it was nevertheless renewed in 1584. The other provinces were alarmed at the confederacy; but such arguments were urged

¹ GUICCIARD. Descrit. p. 199.

as quieted their apprehensions; and the union at last became general among the seven provinces.^t

No people on earth were more passionately enamoured of *Ancient* liberty, or more obstinate in the defence of freedom, than *history of* the inhabitants of *Friseland*. The fortune, the military skill, *Friseland*, and the power of the *Romans* however prevailed. *Drusus* attacked them in every quarter with such irresistible impetuosity, that they were forced to submit to the *Roman* empire. At the death of this general they revolted, massacred all the *Romans* in the province, defeated the army sent against them under *Apronius*, and again gloriously recovered their liberty, after having lived forty years in subjection.^u Complaints were carried to the emperor *Nero*, that the *Frisons* had not only abjured his sovereignty, but seized upon certain land belonging to the empire, and allotted for the maintenance of the *Roman* troops. The ambassadors of the province boldly appeared at court, asserted to the emperor's face, that no nation exceeded the *Frisons* in equity and valour; protested their desire of living in amity with the *Romans*, but not in subjection; and concluded with demanding a place in *Pompey's* theatre, to which they understood they had a right as ambassadors.^w

FOR a long series of years the *Friselanders* enjoyed their liberty; but most historians relate, that on the decline of the *Roman* empire, they fell under the dominion of the *Franks*. *Adalgise*, who is considered as the first *Christian* king of *Friseland*, refused to pay the *Franks* homage; a war ensued, and *Pepin* was forced to give battle to *Radbode*, the succeeding monarch, who pursued the independent system of his father. *Radbode* was defeated, but his valour procured him *Pepin's* esteem, whose daughter he married. This harmony was of short duration; *Charles Martel* returned with a numerous army, gave battle to *Radbode*, and was compleatly overthrown, with prodigious slaughter: *Charles* left the *Friselanders* unmolested, while he had other business in hand: as soon as he was at liberty, he determined to wipe off the late dishonour. He invaded the province with a formidable squadron and numerous army, fought divers bloody battles, and at last so far subdued the spirit of the inhabitants, that they consented to acknowledge his superiority, but not his sovereignty: the former expression was equivocal; the latter would be a plain confession that they

A. D.
715.

^t Id. *ibid*.

^u *DIO*, Hist. lib. xli. v. cxxvi. cxxvii.

^w *TACIT*. lib. xiii. cap. 54.

were

were subdued.* Under *Charlemagne* the province was absolutely conquered, the *Friselanders* agreeing to pay a tribute of thirty pounds of silver annually. It was the policy of *Charlemagne* to govern the province by counts or lieutenants: *Friseland* was assigned to the direction of a governor, with the title of *Potestas* or *Podestad*. *Forteman the Great* was the first person invested with this title and employment; he presided at courts of justice, representing the emperor's person, and executed all the orders of the imperial court. The great services performed by *Forteman* and the *Friselanders*, against the *Saxons*, so won upon *Charlemagne* that he exempted the province from every mark of servitude, declared it free, and left the inhabitants to fix upon what plan of government they thought proper. They made no alteration, but continued *Forteman* for his life in the government.

A. D.
838.

THE administration of *Ludigman*, the second *podestad*, was less fortunate. In his time the province was invaded by the *Normans*, and after the defeat of the *Friselanders* wholly destroyed; those barbarians sparing no sex, age, or condition. *Haarman*, the fourth *podestad*, was in the same manner infested by the *Danes*, enemies no less cruel than the *Normans*. *Sigefrid*, their king, exerted the most despotic tyranny, but the valour of *Haarman* rescued the *Friselanders*, expelled the *Danes*, and slew their king. *Galem*, the next *podestad*, took every precaution to secure his coasts against those swarms of barbarians issuing annually out of the northern kingdoms. All his endeavours could not, however, prevent great numbers from settling in the country, where their descendants continued for a term of years^y.

A. D.
935.

William, earl of *Holland*, and king of the *Romans*, bestowed many valuable privileges on the *Friselanders*. He hoped, by gaining their affections, he should obtain the sovereignty of the province; but the *podestad Sierdama*, supported by a numerous body of the people, declared, they would never betray their country to oblige an emperor; and to convince *William* of their resolution, they struck a medal, on the reverse of which was this motto in *Latin*, "*Liberty prevails over gold!*" This was construed as an affront by *William*. He led his army twice into the province, and was slain in the second expedition^z.

MARTENA was one of the most warlike of the *podestads*. He drove away the foreigners, who came in shoals to invade the province, defeated the *Hollanders*, burned the town of

* Chron. Frieggi, Continuat. part ii. p. 676.
Rec. Batav. lib. ix.

^z Id. ibid.

^y FRIUS

Enckhuse, the inhabitants of which made a descent on *Friseland*, and laid all the surrounding territory desolate. Many of the noble families, now flourishing in the provinces, are lineally descended from this hero. After his death, the election of a successor produced two violent factions, called *Skirranghers* and *Wathopers*, which for a number of years filled the country with confusion and discord. *Irvingen*, his successor, maintained his post with the utmost difficulty. Besides the domestic troubles, he had to sustain a foreign war against *Albert* of *Bavaria*, who entered the province at the head of a numerous army, upon some provocation. *Irvingen* endeavoured, on account of the superiority of the enemy, to keep the *Friselanders* within their camp; but their impetuosity would submit to no restraint. They marched into the open field, fought with the utmost obstinacy, nor yielded victory, before almost their whole army was cut in pieces. *Albert*, leaving garrisons in the other towns, retired; and so low were the *Friselanders* reduced, that several persons refused to accept the dignity of podestad. It is probable, that the violence of the two factions rendered the office equally fatiguing, unprofitable, and dangerous. To please both parties, and in some measure close those wounds that brought the state to the last gasp, two podestads were elected, one out of each faction. This expedient did not answer expectation; the people ranged themselves under the banners of the different podestads, and fought with all the acrimony of inveterate enemies. Ambition had begun the quarrel, and now habitual animosity continued it; for all real cause of dissension was removed by the division and partition of the supreme power. The parties were gratified with all they could require; but they could not be satiated with blood until they had extirpated each other, and ruined their country. In what manner this province became subject to the empire we know not; but a declaration of *Sigismund's*, declaring it unalienable, and imposing a tribute, renders the fact undoubted. Probable it is, that the weaker faction besought the emperor's protection, and, as an equivalent, surrendered their privileges^a.

A. D.
1417.

A LONG war between *Joan* of *Bavaria*, and *Philip* the Good, of *Burgundy*, ended in the reduction of *Friseland*, which passed into the house of *Bourbon*. Afterwards the province became subject to the house of *Austria*, but never recovered its liberty until the revolt in the *Netherlands* gave birth to the republic of the *United Provinces*.

^a WEINPIN. p. 319. SNOC. Rer. Bat. lib. ix.

*Ancient
history of
Overysfel.*

WITH respect to the ancient inhabitants of *Overysfel*, there are various opinions among the learned. To avoid critical disquisitions, we shall exhibit that which to us seems founded upon the best authority. All agree that the province was first peopled by a nation called *Salians*; but as several different nations bore this name, the difficulty is, to ascertain which of them first migrated into *Overysfel*. Writers distinguish the river *Iffel* into *old* and *new*; the former was called *Sala*, and the latter was the *Fossa Drusiana*, or communication opened by *Drusus*, between the *Rhine* and the *Iffel*, lower down than their first confluence. On the banks of the *Old Iffel*, or *Sala*, lived a people called, from the name of the river, *Salians*. In their neighbourhood were the *Sicambri*, and both were separated from the *Romans* by the river. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions their frequent irruptions, their warlike humour, the battles they fought with *Julian*, the services they afterwards afforded him, and the regard he expressed for this nation^b. *Tacitus* describes their situation and manners so justly and expressively, that we can entertain no doubt of their having been the inhabitants of that country we now call *Overysfel*, which extends along the banks of the *Iffel*. To strengthen our conjecture, that part of the province bordering upon the river is still called *Salandt*, or the land of the *Salians* (B). And the river itself, which waters the province, was for many ages called the *Sala*^c.

THE manners and government of the ancient inhabitants of *Overysfel* are admirably painted by *Tacitus*. They had a general, to whom they committed the conduct of the army. He held the title of king, but he was chosen by the people, and his authority circumscribed to narrow limits. The whole legislative power was in the people, and a part of the

^b SNOC. lib. xiii. cap. ix.
TACIT. de Mor. Germ. cap. xii.
p. 206.

^c JUN. Batav. cap. ix.
Anc. Univer. Hist. tom. xvi.

(B) Writers mention a people called *Salians*, towards *Lorrain*, between the *Rhine*, the *Meuse*, and *Moselle*. *Livy* speaks of a nation of this name in *Provence*. Modern authors alledge, that some officers of the imperial court had the name of *Salians*, "*Majores domus aut Salæ*." From one or other of these, they

pretend to deduce the origin of the *Salique* law, or that regulation by which the female line is excluded from succeeding to the crown in *France*. It would be entering upon dry and tedious criticism, to follow authors thro' this subject; what we have said is all that can be asserted with probability.

executive,

executive, particularly what regarded punishments. All public affairs were canvassed in general assemblies of the cities, or rather of the clans. Here a priest assisted, whose province it was to preserve solemn order and decorum. Each of the chiefs delivered his sentiments, and was favourably heard, in proportion to his reputation for eloquence, military valour, or patriot virtue. Shouts, cries, and the rattling of arms, notified the approbation of the assembly. Among the *Salians* were three kinds of punishments. Petty criminals were mulcted a horse, cow, or some other animal, which makes their code widely different from the *Salique* law, where fines were always paid in specie. Traitors were hanged on the nearest tree, and infamous persons thrown into the sea, or stifled in mud; and as to quarrels and differences, they were usually decided by single combat. It is absurd to derive the *Salique* law, so celebrated in *Europe*, from the customs of the inhabitants of *Overyssel*. Probability is strongly against this etymon, which cannot indeed be supported by a single argument besides the affinity of names. Several excellent writers have made it appear, that the *Salique* law is nothing more than an abridgment of the code of law in use among the *Franks*^d.

CHARLE MAGNE introduced great changes into the government of *Overyssel*, which he conquered, while the king and army were engaged in *France*. Counts were created governors, to administer justice in the king's name. They were to be assisted by an officer, termed *Scullet*, without whom no act of the governor's was valid or legal. In the division of the empire, between *Charles the Bald*, and *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, *Overyssel* and the other provinces were adjudged to *Lewis*; but he was forced to support his right by continual wars with the emperor *Lotharius*, which desolated the country. Next *Overyssel* became subject to the bishops of *Utrecht*, more oppressive and arbitrary sovereigns than either the emperor, or house of *Bavaria*. This indeed was a power they assumed, but what the people never acknowledged, and which they only exercised when their fortune in war happened to prevail. *Barnulph* was the first bishop who rendered his dominion universal over that province; and he indeed governed it with all the rigour of an ecclesiastic, ambitious of power, and insolent in the possession. He, however, admitted the imperial sovereignty, as appears by his making application to *Henry III.* to confirm him in his jurisdiction. In a word, the intrigue, the capacity, and policy of this prelate, raised him to the sovereignty of *Overyssel*; for as to the

A. D.
997.

A. D.
1028.

^d DANIEL, Dissert. iii. sur l'Hist. de France.

emperor's confirmation, it was a mere empty compliment, made with intention to quiet alarms, and lull the jealousy *Henry* might entertain of the growing power of the see of *Utrecht*. At length, however, the inhabitants perceiving the aspiring views of the bishops, determined to set bounds to their authority. The most natural barrier of liberty that occurred, was, restoring the power of the states, an ancient form of government in all the provinces, and long neglected in *Overijssel*, under the kings, counts, and bishops. Whether this resolution met with opposition we know not. Probably the bishops dreaded discovering their real designs, by obstructing a measure so wholesome, so equitable and constitutional. The executive power still remained with them, but the legislative was lodged in the states, and the sovereigns, united in council. The bishops abused even this remnant of their authority. By the permission given them of wielding the sword, they engaged the province in perpetual wars; and though they were generally victorious, yet their conquests served only to depopulate and impoverish the country. *Holland*, *Guelderland*, and *Friseland*, experienced the weight of their arms, but the province almost sunk under the burthen of taxes, and the ravages consequent on a perpetual course of war. Frequently the people, who deduced no benefit from the most brilliant victories, opposed the march of the army, and when they found the bishops engaged in bloody wars, stood spectators of the event, and regulated their conduct accordingly. This cautious conduct of the states proves their inclination to throw off their subjection to the bishops, and likewise their inability, until those prelates were weakened by the violence of their conflicts, the number of their battles, and the extent of their conquests, which it required a constant standing force to maintain^e.

BUT, besides the states, there was another check on the ambition of those warlike ecclesiastics. The lords or barons of the province, many of whom were powerful, and all absolute within their own jurisdictions, frequently armed their vassals, entered into a confederacy, and violently opposed the bishops. Bloody battles were fought, but the fortune of the barons prevailing, animosity and the desire of revenge stimulated them to solicit the protection of the empire, to admit the imperial troops into their strong towns, and to reduce the power of the bishops, by acknowledging a sovereignty more absolute and despotic, because it was more potent and able to enforce subjection. Even the first effects of this reso-

^e GUICC. Descrit, p. 185. REVIS. Hist. lib. v.

lution proved fatal. The imperial troops, at first introduced, not being sufficient wholly to expel the ecclesiastical army, plundered and destroyed the country, under pretence of defending the privileges of the people. The neighbouring states took advantage of the ruinous condition of *Overysfel*. They made terrible irruptions, and fully revenged the defeats and disgraces sustained from the spirited conduct of the bishops. At last the province experienced a sudden and extraordinary revolution, owing to the prodigality of *John III.* bishop of *Utrecht*, raised to the episcopal throne by one of those bold strokes which the popes sometimes hazarded, to display their power, and procure a confession of their sovereignty. The situation of the empire had obliged the emperor to neglect the affairs of *Overysfel*, the episcopal see was vacant, and the chapter, in which always resided the right of election, raised the lord of *Brankhorst* to this dignity. However the pope thought proper to declare this election void, appointing a creature of his own, the secretary of the *French* king, afterwards known by the name of *John III.* The profusion and dissipation of the new prelate soon encumbered him with such an enormous load of debt, as rendered it necessary to mortgage a great part of his territories. He found means to involve the province in his distress; and, to extricate themselves, the states were forced to dispose of several fiefs, which greatly retrenched their extent of dominion^f. *Zealand*, *Twenthe*, and *Vollenhove*, were sold to the duke of *Guelderland*, and earl of *Holland*. *John*, however, paying the last tribute to nature, *Frederic Blankenheyman* was elevated to the episcopal throne, and soon redeemed by his penury and avarice what *John* had sold to answer the purposes of profligacy. In particular, he recovered the castle and appennage of *Vollenhove*, in which he spent the last days of his life. The parsimony of *Blankenheyman* would seem to have restored in some measure the power of the bishops. The wealth of the episcopal see gave it influence, enabled the prelates to extend their views, and to build and garrison forts and castles, to restrain the insults of neighbouring states, and over-awe the attempts of the people to recover their liberty. In this manner *Florence* fortified *Hardenberg*, which he made the place of his residence in *Overysfel*. But all these precautions could not hinder the people from revolting against *David* of *Burgundy*, natural son of *Philip the Good*, who was elected bishop of *Utrecht*. The inhabitants of *Overysfel* threw off the

A. D.
1412.

A. D.
1457.

^f REVII Hist. lib. v. SYLVAN. p. 28. GUICCIARD. descript. p. 191.

yoke, refused to acknowledge him, disregarded all his spiritual denunciations, and prepared to resist his temporal power. They even had the boldness to accuse the pope of corruption, and affirm that he had been influenced by the duke of *Burgundy's* money to confirm the election. *Philip*, incensed at the affront offered to his son, poured his troops into *Overyssel*, over-run the country with three great armies, and laid siege to *Deventer*. After a siege of nine weeks, the duke of *Cleves* offered his mediation, obliged *Philip* to relinquish the siege, and the province to acknowledge the bishop. *David* held the dignity for forty years, and died in the year 1497*. Nothing extraordinary happened from this time until the province passed into the house of *Austria*, *Charles V.* taking possession, in consequence of the cession made to him of the diocese of *Utrecht*. His son *Philip II.* was acknowledged in 1584; the inhabitants swore fidelity to him, but he did not long keep possession. The rebellion broke out in the *Netherlands*, the tide of faction became strong, and *Overyssel* followed the current of popular humour, entered into the designs of *Utrecht*, and formed a part of the republic of the *United Provinces*.

Ancient history of Groningen, and the Ommelands, or surrounding territory.

SOME writers ascribe great antiquity to the province of *Groningen*, deducing the name from some of the most renowned *Trojan* warriors. Such assertions are founded in imagination, and merit no consideration. But a learned antiquarian of that country proves irrefragably, that *Groningen* is the citadel built by the *Roman* general *Corbulo*, to secure the obedience of the *Friselanders*, or at least restrain their irruptions into the *Roman* territories^b. This allegation is confirmed by a great number of ingenious remarks on the route of *Germanicus*, when he marched against the *Cherusci*, and particularly by the conformity between the governments of *Groningen* and of ancient *Rome*. In the former we find a senate, invested with sovereign authority, consuls, prætors, censors, and ædiles, and, occasionally, a dictator. Several of the laws appear to be founded directly on the *Twelve Tables*; and yet, after all, there are scarce any monuments of the *Roman* power remaining. From these circumstances we must infer, that *Groningen* was originally a *Roman* colony, which, towards the decline of the empire, raised itself to independency. It became afterwards subject to the bishops of *Utrecht*, though we are not particularly informed of the steps by which those prelates acquired the sovereignty. In the

* Vid. sup. Hist. Utrecht.
agr. Batav. Frisii, p. 54.

^b MENSIO. ALTING. descrip.

eleventh century, *Groningen* was a flourishing city, had a very extensive territory, but was nevertheless dependent on the see of *Utrecht*. The inhabitants revolted against *Godfrey* the bishop; he laid siege to the city; it was valiantly defended against *Godfrey* and the earl of *Holland*, and at length relieved by the emperor's interposition, who reconciled the bishop and the citizens. In this war *Groningen* lost a great part of its territory. The city afterwards became the subject of contention between the see of *Utrecht* and the earls of *Holland*. Each pretended a right, and the emperor claimed to himself the power of acting in quality of umpire, as feudal lord. Sometime after *Groningen* flourished exceedingly, grew so wealthy and powerful, that, like *Rome*, the city aspired at the conquest of the neighbouring provinces, especially of *Friseland*. *Albert* of *Saxony* was sent by the emperor *Maximilian* to check the designs formed by the *Grunns*, for so the inhabitants of *Groningen* were called. The emperor proposed reducing *Friseland* under his own obedience, and thought it could not be more commodiously effected than by protecting the province against the ambitious views of the *Grunns*. A war ensued; *Albert* laid siege to *Groningen*, and the citizens repelled all his attacks with the utmost valour and magnanimity. After suffering extreme hardships, they entered into a treaty with the bishop of *Utrecht*, whereby they consented that a judge should be nominated by the prelate, to preside in the city, but under the direction of the magistrates, and with this proviso, that the city should be left in the full possession of liberty. Under the protection of the bishop they hoped to escape the imperial yoke; however, when it was proposed that they should restore to the emperor their conquests in *Friseland*, the *Grunns* boldly declared, they would rather hazard all than evacuate what had been purchased with their blood. The congress broke up, and the war was renewed with *Albert* of *Saxony*, whom they defeated. *Albert* died of chagrin, and left his disgrace to be revenged by his sons, *Henry* and *George*, who attacked the *Grunns* with great violence and impetuosity. *Groningen* applied for aid to the duke of *Guelderland*¹; but the consequence was, that, after a tedious and ruinous war, the city was surrendered to the emperor *Charles V*.

A. D.
1490.

A. D.
1536.

As to the *Ommelands*, or country surrounding *Groningen*, it formerly composed a sovereignty independent on the city. That quarter called the *Fivelingo* was governed by consuls, generally chosen out of the principal inhabitants. On the decline of the state, the consular dignity dwindled into the

¹ HEDÆ, p. 341.

office of *Eschevin*, or magistrate of justice. Several civil wars were lighted up by the ambition of certain families to obtain the consulship; and this might possibly be the reason why the dignity declined. The people found it necessary to retrench the authority of that supreme magistrate, in order to restrain the ambition of competitors, induced by the elevation in which it placed them, to aspire at the office. In the year 1280 a war broke out among the candidates for the consulship, that almost terminated in the destruction of the country. Houses were burned, fields destroyed, old men, women, and children massacred with the most savage barbarity, and unrelenting animosity.

ONE circumstance shews, that part of the *Ommelands* was subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of *Munster*. *Ludolphus*, one of the bishops, laid the whole territory of *Fivelingo* under a severe interdiction, for having espoused certain persons prosecuted for the violent death of a clergyman. But the *Ommelanders* long refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the bishops of *Utrecht*, after they were possessed of the supreme authority of *Groningen*^k. Nothing shews more clearly that they were an independent, free people at a late period. This farther appears from the frequent wars carried on between them and the city. In the year 1232, the cantons, if we may so express it, of *Fivelingo* and *Drenth*, united against the city of *Groningen*, and formed an alliance offensive and defensive. They were indeed defeated in every engagement, owing to a new kind of arms used by the *Gruns*, but still they maintained the war with great obstinacy. It ended however greatly to the disadvantage of the *Ommelanders*, most of their chiefs being carried prisoners to *Groningen*, or slain in the field of battle. Another war broke out in 1252, in which they fully revenged the disgraces of the succeeding rupture. A mortality appeared among the cattle of *Friseland*, which made the *Gruns* raise the duties upon all merchandize, and particularly cattle, sent to their markets by the *Ommelanders*^l. The inhabitants of *Fivelingo*, shocked at their oppression, and the barbarous disposition of profiting by the misfortunes of their neighbours, formed an alliance with the other cantons, raised an army, and laid siege to *Groningen*. So spirited were the endeavours of the allies, that *Groningen* was forced to capitulate, consent to have her walls demolished, and all the forts and outworks raised. We shall close this account with observing, that the cantons were independent on each other, and only united by

^k BUCCHEL. Not. ad Hedam. p. 255. ^l ANONIMI CONTINUATIS Meneonis, tom. iii. p. 288.

interest. Each had its own army, laws, and political maxims. They made war upon each other, and shewed every other prerogative of sovereignty. The differences of individuals became frequently the occasion of a war between the cantons, and nothing was more common than to see the whole country laid desolate for the most trifling circumstance. It was this want of union that at last brought the *Ommelands* under the dominion of *Groningen*, a more firm and compact body. This much, we apprehend, will be sufficient to convey an idea of the ancient history of the *United Provinces*. The detail was too minute for an ancient history; yet is it a necessary introduction to the account we propose giving of the origin, rise, and progress of the republic of *Holland*.

S E C T. III.

Of the origin of the discontents in the Netherlands, and the first seeds of the rebellion that began to appear in the years 1566 and 1567.

THE *Netherlands* came into the possession of the house of *Austria*, by the marriage of *Mary of Burgundy* to *Maximilian*. Upon the emperor's resignation, with the whimsical design of filling the papal throne, the *Seventeen Provinces* devolved, by right, on don *John*, prince of *Spain*. This prince died young, and left a son who did not long survive his father. *Philip le Beau* was the next heir by the death of these two princes, the one the brother, and the other the nephew of *Joan of Arragon*, his spouse. He mounted the *Castilian* throne in the year 1505, and died the year following, leaving his son *Charles V.* a minor, under the tutelage of *Lewis XII.* of *France*. *Charles* ascended the imperial throne by election; he succeeded to the kingdoms of *Spain* and *Naples* by inheritance in right of his mother, and to the *Netherlands*, as nearest heir to his grandfather. At his accession several of the provinces, now composing the republic of *Holland*, claimed a kind of independency; but the policy, power, and warlike disposition of *Charles* soon reduced them under his obedience. When he resigned the imperial diadem into the hands of his son, the *Low Countries* were in a most flourishing condition; at least that part now termed the *Spanish Netherlands*. *Philip* could reckon in this small portion of his vast dominions above three-hundred-and-fifty cities,

cities enclosed by walls, and six-thousand-three-hundred towns, all considerable, wealthy, and commercial. The number of the inhabitants was prodigious for the extent of the country. The *Flemings* were remarkable for their skill in navigation, their assiduity in commerce, and valour in war. Under the mild government of the house of *Burgundy* they became excellent artizans and rich merchants; during the warlike reign of *Charles* they were made soldiers, or rather they improved those military talents already arrived at considerable perfection by the perpetual ruptures among themselves, and disputes with their neighbours. This was the situation of the *Netherlands* when *Philip* came into possession. That prince was supposed perfectly to understand the art of reigning. He was master of vast talents, and could give peace or war to *Europe* without stirring from his cabinet. The *Flemings* had approved their loyalty to his predecessors; and yet by a strange fatality, by the influence of superstition, and from a certain haughtiness of conduct, and arbitrary maxims which he adopted, *Philip* lost the affections of the *Flemings*, and a great part of his dominions. No period of history is more striking than this, and no war more important than the revolution which placed seven small provinces in a state of independency, in despite of the utmost efforts of the most powerful monarch in *Europe*. It is remarkable, that only the poorer and less populous provinces recovered their freedom; and that, in consequence of their liberty, they rose to an unparalleled height of grandeur and affluence, amidst all the horrors of a war, the most tedious, ruinous and oppressive that can be imagined. Roused more by despair, than well-grounded hopes, and feebly assisted by the neighbouring powers, they encountered the most celebrated generals of *Christendom*, backed by the veterans of the *Spanish* monarchy, supplied with the money, and directed by the counsels of the richest, the most politic, and ambitious monarch of the age. The princes of the house of *Nassau*, who were the soul of the provinces, and the genuine assertors of liberty, were too inconsiderable to maintain armies above a single campaign; yet did their detestation of the *Spanish* nation, their love of liberty, their perseverance and courage, enable them to surmount every difficulty, excite a spirit of freedom throughout all the *Netherlands*, and form leagues, which, though of short duration, contributed however to the great design of effecting a revolution, and throwing off the galling yoke of servitude and subjection. In a word, the great grandson of *William I.* prince of *Orange*, became, in little more than a century, the arbitrator

arbitrator of *Europe*, and the chief bulwark against the aspiring views of the house of *Bourbon*, of that very monarchy by which his predecessor was proscribed.¹

THE different characters of *Charles V.* and *Philip* were soon perceived by the nobility of the *Netherlands*, and this circumstance offered the first cause of chagrin. *Charles* was a warrior, he always appeared at the head of his own armies; whereas *Philip* embroiled *Europe*, governed states, and commanded armies by orders issued from his cabinet. The father was courteous, affable, and free of access; the son, grave, austere, and harsh in his manners. The one accommodated himself to the disposition and humours of the different nations under his government; the other was altogether a *Spaniard*, and discovered a partiality for that nation, which could not but prove disgusting to his other subjects. *Spaniards* engrossed the royal favour, they alone enjoyed *Philip's* confidence; to them all places of trust and profit were given; and the nobility of the *Netherlands* were excluded from a share in the government of their own country; at least, the places they enjoyed were of an inferior nature, and themselves subjected to the contempt and caprice of foreigners.

To these causes of discontent were superadded others on the score of religion; than which nothing more universally influences the human mind. The doctrines of *Luther* were already established in *Germany*; those of *Calvin* had taken deep root in *France*. The persecutions carried on against the reformists of both were of the utmost benefit to *England* and the *Netherlands*. The vast commerce of the latter required an accession of inhabitants, and the fugitives were joyfully received, without inquiry made into their religious opinions. The natural inconstancy of the human mind renders it fond of novelty; new doctrines, the most absurd, spread sometimes with inconceivable rapidity; but those of *Luther* and *Calvin* were adopted in the provinces with unusual credit, because they were congenial to liberty. *Charles V.* had published rigorous edicts against the *Lutherans*; and it is confidently reported, that in the *Austrian* dominions no less than a hundred thousand persons perished under the rod of persecution; but instead of diminishing the reformists, their number was every day encreased. *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, sister to the emperor, and governante of the *Low Countries*, observed the progress of the contagion; she endeavoured to soften the emperor, and invited him

¹ Mod. Univ. Hist. tom. xxi. b. xix.

into the *Low Countries*, to behold with his own eyes how persecution begat heresy.^m *Charles* prudently dropt his severity ; but *Philip* proved inflexible. The more narrowly to watch over the reformists, an inquisition, simular to those of *Spain* and *Italy*, was established : nothing could be more odious to the *Flemings* than this detestable tribunal, which they loaded with just execrations, not doubting but their lives and liberties would soon become the victims of its tyranny and cruelty. The people in general were not more incensed at the establishment of the inquisition, than the clergy were at his erecting a number of new bishoprics, under pretence that the present dioceses were too large for the bishops to have an eye over their whole flocks. To maintain these new dignities, it was necessary to suppress several abbeys, and assign their revenues to the bishops. Thus the abbots, instead of possessing the first place in the assembly of the states, were forced to yield the precedency to the bishops, and content themselves with an inferior station. Instead of three dioceses, the provinces now saw themselves encumbered with no less than seventeen ; of which three were archbishoprics, that of *Mechlin* being given to cardinal *Granvele* with the dignity and authority of primate. The inferior clergy exclaimed against this proceeding, as an usurpation of the rights of the church ; the nobility called it an innovation dangerous to their liberty, by introducing so many new members into the great council ; and the people murmured at this additional restraint on liberty and conscience, by making such a number of spiritual tribunals dependent on the king and the apostolic see. In short, persons of all ranks and degrees cried out against the inquisition and the new bishoprics, as a direct breach of the king's oath. But of all the discontented party, only two particularly distinguished themselves by their birth, their capacity, their alliances, services, friends, and employments :ⁿ these were *William* of *Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, governor of *Utrecht*, *Holland*, and *Zealand* ; and count of *Egmond*, governor of *Flanders* and *Artois*, who drew upon them the eyes of all *Europe*. The former was born in *Germany*, of protestant parents ; but having entered young into the service of *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, and afterwards into that of *Charles V.* he conformed to the religion of the court, became a great favourite of the emperor's, and received the most substantial marks of his confidence and friendship. Count *Egmond* was

^m GROT. Annal. l. i. p. 12. LE CLERC, l. i. p. 2.

ⁿ TEMPLE'S Mem. c. i. p. 23. BENTIVOG. p. i. l. i. p. 25.

a native of the *Netherlands*, and enjoyed the most considerable posts, honours, and distinctions civil and military. He gained great reputation at the famous battle of *St. Quintin*, and commanded in chief when the victory at *Gravelin* was obtained. Those two persons, very opposite in their characters, were equally esteemed and beloved. *William* of *Nassau*'s genius was better adapted to the cabinet than the field; he was prudent, penetrating, popular, and plausible; his eloquence was specious, and his discernment happy in unravelling the most mysterious intrigues and negotiations. On the contrary, *Egmond* was a warrior, free in his speech, open in his conduct, familiar in his behaviour to the soldiers; but too sincere and honest for a courtier. He publicly expressed his resentment against the late severe edicts, the establishment of the inquisition, and the regulations made in the church; while the prince of *Orange*, then a hostage in *France* for the execution of the peace of *Cambray*, discovered the design formed by *Henry II.* and king *Philip*, of exterminating the protestants, and gave notice of it to his friends in the *Netherlands*.^o

WE have already seen cause sufficient for discontent, but the public murmuring grew louder, when *Philip*'s intention of fixing his residence in *Spain* was known, when it was seen that he put the government of the *Netherlands* into the hands of the duchess of *Parma* his natural sister, assisted by the counsels of *Granvele*, a detested ecclesiastic; that a demand of money was made for the support of the foreign troops, with which the provinces were oppressed; and that *Granvele*, in the king's name, had, at the general assembly of the states, in a particular manner recommended the persecution of the protestants, and made work for the inquisition. Before the king's departure the states respectfully petitioned that the foreign troops might be withdrawn; *Philip* thence perceived that his designs were suspected: he pretended to approve of the request; but instead of complying, he resolved to prevaricate, by appointing the prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* to the command of three thousand *Spanish* troops left in the country: both however refused the employment, as unconstitutional; but the truth is, they aspired at the government of the *Netherlands*, and were chagrined at the disappointment. What above all gave umbrage to the nobility, was the elevation of cardinal *Granvele*, in whose hands the chief direction of affairs were placed: they could not with temper behold the superiority

^o GROT. l. i. p. 11. & seq.

of a person of obscure birth, an ambitious crafty churchman, and furious zealot. Three councils were established at *Brussels*, one to preside over the laws and courts of justice; a second to direct every thing respecting peace or war; and the third to manage the revenues: but the duchess of *Parma* was particularly ordered to consult *Granvele* in every matter, and place her chief confidence in that prelate^p.

A. D.

1560.

Remonstrances made to the duchess of Parma, and to the king.

THE duchess no sooner arrived at *Brussels* to enter upon the government, than complaints poured in upon her from the ecclesiastics, against the proposed establishment of new bishoprics. She endeavoured to appease them with soothing expressions, refused introducing the new bishop at *Antwerp*; but said, that the king's orders must be executed in all the other provinces. The people exclaimed against the inquisition already beginning to exercise its tyranny. The prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* blamed the cardinal, by whose advice it was erected. This prelate had likewise incurred the displeasure of *Philip de Montmorency*, count *Horn*, for having obstructed his promotion to the government of *Cuiderland*. They carried their grievances to the governante, and the prince of *Orange* strenuously insisted upon assembling the states general, to apply proper remedies to those disorders, which must infallibly destroy the constitution, and overturn the government. *Granvele* opposed this proposition with violence; which determined the prince of *Orange*, count *Egmond*, and count *Horn* to write to the king, that the only possible means of restoring the tranquillity of the provinces, was by removing the cardinal, whose insolence rendered him odious to the people. They promised, if their request was granted, to support the crown, the governante, and the established religion, with all their power and influence.

A. D.

1563.

Cardinal Granvele resigns.

Philip long deferred returning an answer to this letter; at last he replied, that it was not usual with him to remove his ministers, without suffering them to give an account of their conduct. He added, that he should be glad to have a more explicit account of the transactions in the *Low Countries*; he invited either of the noblemen to *Spain* for that purpose, and assured them of a favourable reception. An answer so general and unsatisfactory, obliged the prince, *Egmond*, and *Horn*, to write again in a more pressing strain, and acquaint the king, that they could not with honour assist at the council, while they were exposed to the insults of the cardinal. *Philip's* answer was so gracious, that they were en-

^p Id. ibid. BENTIVOL. p. 14.

couraged to pass such affronts and mortifications on *Granvele*, as obliged him to retire to *Spain*; a conduct which the king never forgave⁹.

A. D.
1564.

*The decrees
of the coun-
cil of Trent
published.*

CARDINAL *Granvele*'s resignation did not produce the expected effect. *Viglius* and count *Barlaimont*, two of his creatures, were admitted into the council of state. They possessed the governante's confidence; and trod exactly in the cardinal's footsteps. They pushed on the inquisition to persecutions, stigmatized the principal nobility as disaffected heretics, and broke out into the most ungovernable zeal for the catholic religion. Their violence appeared so unreasonable, that one of *Philip*'s ministers represented to him the danger of a general revolt of the provinces, unless the rigour and severity of the inquisition were mitigated; to which that prince replied, "He had rather be without subjects, than be a king of heretics." Agreeable to these sentiments, he published the decrees of the council of Trent in all his dominions, ordering they should especially be enforced in the *Low Countries*, notwithstanding they were diametrically opposite to the rights and liberties of the provinces. It is said, the prince of *Orange* gave offence by the remonstrances he made on this head; it is certain, that the proposal for investing the council of state with the whole power, and abolishing the two other councils, in which *Viglius* and *Barlaimont* had great influence, met with violent opposition. The divisions produced in the council by this motion, the difficulty of establishing the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and the bold spirit of the people, who had wrested out of the hands of the inquisition certain persons condemned to be burnt for heresy, greatly disturbed and embarrassed the duchess of *Parma*. She approved of the scheme suggested in council of sending count *Egmond* into *Spain*, to inform *Philip* of the state of affairs; but the prince of *Orange* remarked, that it was of the utmost consequence the count should have clear and explicit instructions; by which he was thought to point at *Viglius*, nominated to attend the ambassador. *Egmond* was well received, the king remitted the rigour of the edicts and of the inquisition; all tumults and discontents were appeased, the prince of *Orange* and his friends were consulted by the governante in the conduct of affairs; and she, in return, was obeyed and honoured. The prince of *Orange*, however, entertained suspicions about the sincerity of this change in the king's disposition; and even declared publickly, that

*Count Eg-
mond sent
into Spain.*

⁹ *Le Clerc*, l. i. p. 5.

Bentivoglio. p. 11.

Egmond

Egmond was either over-reached by the policy, or bribed by the money of the court of *Spain*.

A. D.
1565.

*A project
for extir-
pating the
protes-
tants.*

THE prince's conjectures, with respect to the latter, were too well founded ; in the beginning of the following year, the queen-mother of *France*, and her son *Charles IX.* had a conference with *Isabella** queen of *Spain*, at *Bayonne* ; the duke of *Alva* assisted, and it was pretended that this interview had no other object than a tender expression of love between the mother and her children ; though it was shrewdly suspected, that the extirpation of the protestants of *France* and the *Netherlands* was here concerted. The prince of *Orange* made the first discovery, which was afterwards confirmed by an acknowledgment, that religion formed a part of the subject of the conference ; and by the king's letters to the duchess of *Parma*, disclaiming the interpretations put on his instructions to count *Egmond* ; ordering that the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and the imperial edicts, should be strictly observed ; that the utmost assistance of the civil power should be given to the inquisition ; and that all heretics should be put to death without remission. Astonishment and dread first appeared in every face, upon the publication of the edicts ; rage succeeded, written libels were published, bold speeches uttered, and dangerous cabals formed against the government. The public indignation was increased by the terrible spectacles every day presented by the inquisition, of men perishing in the flames on account of religion. The constancy of the sufferers strongly moved the passions of the beholders, weakened the opinion of their guilt, heightened the detestation of the punishers, and inspired them with sentiments of revenge. Open mutinies of the citizens in several towns appeared, the prisons were forced, and the unhappy convicts rescued out of the hands of the executioner. A confederacy of the nobility was formed, never to suffer the inquisition in the *Netherlands*, under the force of edicts, visits, commissions, or any other shape or denomination this terrible tribunal should assume, as being contrary to all laws sacred and prophane, and the most arbitrary, execrable, and iniquitous species of tyranny ever devised or invented by human genius, fruitful in wicked expedients. The confederacy became general, and was subscribed by a multitude of catholics as well as protestants ; by nobles and burghers, merchants, tradesmen, and peasants.^a

A. D.
1566.

*A confede-
racy for-
med a-
gainst the
inquisi-
tion.*

^a GROTIUS. l. i. p. 20. LE CLERC, l. i. p. 7.

So unexpected and formidable a shew of resistance disconcerted the duchess of *Parma*; she found that all resolutions of force and rigour would be unsafe for the government, now too weak to enforce them by the weight of authority. The confederates, headed by *Henry de Bredenrode*, descended from the old earls of *Holland*, and much respected in the country, went in a body to *Brussels*, and in bold terms petitioned the governante to abolish the inquisition, and recal the edicts against liberty of conscience. It was disputed in the council of state whether they should be admitted to an audience; but their numbers were so formidable, as to render a denial hazardous. The duchess used every possible means to appease the confederates; but they insisted so peremptorily on the terms of the petition, that she was forced to dismiss them with an absolute promise they should be granted; for which purpose she immediately employed all her interest with the king. In the mean time, strict injunctions were laid on the inquisition, not to persist in their persecution of heresy. Sir *William Temple* alledges, that *Philip*, in consequence of the governante's remonstrances, granted all that was required, but too late; all other historians affirm, that he was inflexible, and the duchess could procure no better conditions than that the heretics should henceforth be hanged instead of being burned. Even this appeared a concession unworthy of the king; the royal name was therefore forbid to be used.^t

BEFORE the confederates proceeded to extremities, they sent deputies to *Madrid*; but according to *Bentivoglio*, they were refused admittance into the king's presence. It appears however, from circumstances, that they found means of representing to the king and council, that the disturbances in the *Low Countries* arose from the detestation in which people of all degrees held the inquisition. Their remonstrances produced no other effect than a kind of promise couched in equivocal terms; and it was soon perceived that the governante had express orders to resume her severity, and punish with the utmost rigour every deviation from the established religion. Irritated with this conduct, the people broke out into open acts of rebellion; in several towns of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*, the mob assembled, destroyed the churches, pulled down images, beat the officers of the inquisition, and committed a thousand irregularities; the effects of barbarous rage and brutish resentment: still however the nobility and more wealthy inhabitants kept them-

The king evades the petition of the confederates.

^t BENTIVOG. p. i. l. ii. p. 18.

selves within bounds. They were unsatisfied with the government, but they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the greatest of misfortunes. Many of them united their councils and forces with those of the governers, to suppress the seditious and turbulent humour of the people. The prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* were the chief instruments of the repose that ensued. Their moderation, authority, and the veneration in which they were held, operated so powerfully, that had the government made but reasonable concessions, the public tranquillity might have again been restored, and the affections of the *Flemings* regained^u.

*The Prince
of Orange
retires to
Germany.*

The submission of the people served only to augment the security of the government. A new oath of allegiance was now administered by the governante, and all persons obliged to swear they would regard as traitors and enemies to their country, all whom the king should think proper to proscribe. *Egmond*, and great numbers of the nobility, took the oath; but the prince of *Orange* refused to alter the usual form required by the laws of his country. He said it would be unnatural in him to swear the destruction of his wife and family who were protestants, and of consequence in the number of the proscribed. In the mean time, the promise made by the governante was wholly neglected. The persecution went on with redoubled violence; the fury of the inquisition seemed enraged by the short suspension of their authority. Thousands of wretches groaned under the extremity of torture, and breathed their last in bitter execrations poured out on the authors of their misfortunes. Troops were levied to support their diabolical tyranny, and the resolution was taken at court to send the duke of *Alva* with ten thousand veterans to put the last hand to the miseries of the people, and the despotism of the court. Upon advice of this final resolution, the prince of *Orange*, count *Broderode*, count *Hooftstrade*, followed by great numbers of the nobility and people, retired into *Germany*, apprehending they could not remain in safety under a government supported by violence and the sword^x.

HAD *Philip* now granted a general amnesty, it is more than probable he might have still commanded the respect of the people; but it appears that he was not satisfied with enjoying his possessions in tranquillity; he must punish his headstrong subjects with the loss of their privileges. The duke of *Alva*, with the troops destined for

^u LE CLERC, lib. i. p. 18.

^x Id. ibid. GROT, lib. i. p. 29.

the *Netherlands*, embarked at *Barcelona* on the 20th of *May*. A. D. 1567. The army was composed of the best *Spanish* and *Italian* soldiers, commanded by the most experienced officers which the wars of *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* had bred up in *Europe*. The duke of *Alva* with an army sent to the *Netherlands*. These on their arrival were joined by two thousand *Germans* raised by the duchess of *Parma* during the late commotions. Such a force, under so renowned a general as the duke of *Alva*, a man haughty, morose, severe and cruel in his disposition, could not but terrify the inhabitants, who beheld these vast preparations with astonishment, submission and despair. From the character of *Alva*, the princess of *Parma* foresaw that he would assume the chief authority, though his commission extended no further than the supreme command of the army. She endeavoured but too late to divert the king's intention of sending an army into the *Netherlands*, assuring him that all was now in perfect tranquillity, the heretics either in custody or banishment, and sufficient garrisons in all the towns. She represented the outrage offered by the presence of such a military force to the privileges of the provinces; but *Philip*, who regarded these privileges as chimeras, pursued his resolution ^r.

On the duke's arrival at *Brussels*, the governante received him civilly, and told him that if the prince of *Orange* and the lords of his party were treated with lenity, she was persuaded they would continue firm in their loyalty; but such measures were not agreeable to the proud *Spaniard*. He immediately made public the powers vested in him by the king, whence it appeared that the authority of the governante was greatly retrenched. *Alva* had not only the command of the troops, but the presidency of the councils of state, justice, and the finances. He had the right of punishing or pardoning crimes, and of rewarding all who had faithfully served the king. In a word, he was chief in every thing, civil and military, and the duchess of *Parma* was reduced to a mere cypher. He begun his government with removing the edicts against the reformists, and exerting the full power of the inquisition. Instead of the ordinary judges, *Alva* established a council of twelve, to take cognizance of the late tumults, and punish with the utmost rigour all who were suspected on account of their religion. The cruelty of this tribunal soon gained it the appellation of the bloody council. One *Vergas*, a *Spanish* lawyer, was set up at the head of this iniquitous council, and it became a proverbial

A new council established.

^r Auſt. ſup. citat. ibid.

expres-

expression in Spain, *That the gangrene in the Low Countries required the keen knife of Vergas.* To this extraordinary board was committed the care of mortifying at pleasure the rights and privileges of the province. It annihilated the authority of the council of state, which never afterwards met but in the duke's chamber. All who had presented petitions, requesting that the severity of the religious edicts might be mitigated, were treated as traitors. Those who, from the necessity of the times, had connived at the protestant assemblies, were regarded and punished as heretics. But blood alone was not the object of this tribunal; it confiscated the estates of every one, convicted of any tendency to schism, or of shewing the least favour to the reformists. Part was appropriated to the crown, the greater portion went into the pocket of the duke of *Alva*, and was assigned as a reward for the barbarity of the judges. The towns in vain lamented the breach of their charters, the people of their liberties, and the Knights of the Golden Fleece of the privileges of their order. Their murmurs were muttered only in whispers; the terror of the new council seemed for a time to have deprived them of the spirit of resentment. Multitudes of people retired out of the province into places of security; and the duchess of *Parma* was at length forced to acquaint the king, that above an hundred thousand persons had, in a few days, withdrawn with their effects and money; that the country would be quite depopulated, and that as a governante would then be unnecessary, she begged leave to resign before she should have the mortification and disgrace of being left alone in the *Netherlands*. Her request was readily granted, and the whole power given to the duke of *Alva*, with the same titles and badges of authority the princess enjoyed.

The duchess of Parma resigns.

One of the duke's first exertions of the supreme authority was the imprisonment of the counts *Egmond* and *Horn*. The prince of *Orange*, his brother, count *Lewis* of *Nassau*, the counts *Hoogstrote*, *Bergue*, *Guylemberg*, *Brederode*, and others, were cited to appear in six weeks; but they refused to acknowledge the authority of the citation, which determined the duke of *Alva* to condemn them as guilty of treason. Not contented with these processes against the nobility, he heightened, if possible, his cruelty to the people. Several protestants condemned of attending their religious meetings, were dragged by horses, with their hands tied behind, to the place of execution, where they ended their lives

² STRADA, lib. vii. GROT. lib. ii. p. 30. LE CLERC, lib. ii. p. 15.

in the most excruciating tortures. The declarations of the inquisitor-general of *Spain*, and the king's edicts, confirmed and approved all that had been done by the duke of *Alva*; whence it appears that his barbarity was not entirely the caprice of his own inhumanity, but of the instructions of a merciless and proud prince, set at too great a distance from his subjects to feel their misfortunes. In a word, the king was inflexible in his determinations to root out heresy, and deprive the provinces of their privileges; *Alva* was the cruel minister of his purposes. The new army was fierce, brave and insolent, desiring nothing so much as a civil war, in which they might enrich and distinguish themselves; the people were enraged, but overawed and unheaded; all was seizure, confiscation, imprisonment, torture, blood, horror and despair; punishments executed, and meditated revenge.

Egmond and *Horn*, without regard to their quality, to their merit in the services performed to the king and his father, were publicly beheaded at *Brussels*, with marks of ignominy more cruel than death. The execution of *Egmond*, and the confiscation of the prince of *Orange's* estate, the two great favourites of the people, broke all patience. They now called aloud for revenge, invited the prince of *Orange* into their country, and seemed to lose all dread of the veteran troops of *Spain* in the desire of recovering their liberty^a.

Counts
Egmond
and Horn
put to
death.

In the mean time the prince of *Orange*, and his brother *Lewis* of *Nassau*, were labouring to form alliances among the protestant princes of *Germany*. He made use of every argument that could influence the understanding or move the passions; he obtained promises, but could raise only a handful of soldiers. He published several manifestos, which appeared so strong and unanswerable to the emperor *Maximilian*, that he voluntarily sent an ambassador to *Spain*, exhorting the king to treat his subjects in the *Netherlands* with less rigour. The embassy was haughtily received, *Philip* continued his persecutions, and the prince of *Orange* his preparations to enter into the *Low-Countries*. It was thought adviseable to divide the *Spanish* forces, by making excursions on every side. A detachment of *Germans*, in the service of the prince, attempted to penetrate into *Brabant*, and surprise *Ruremond*, but they were defeated by a corps detached against them by the duke of *Alva*. Another party, chiefly *French*, were preparing to push into *Artois*, on the side of *Picardy*, when their officers were arrested by order of *Charles IX.*

A. D.
1568.
The Prince
of Orange
levies an
army, and
marches to
the Ne-
therlands.

^a GROT. lib. ii. p. 29.

Lewis of Nassau was at first more successful in *Friseland*, of which count *d'Areberg* was governor. His design was to gain possession of *Groningen*, but he was opposed by the count at the head of a body of *Spanish* forces. *Lewis* encamped in an advantageous post ; but the *Spanish* soldiers, who despised his raw undisciplined army, attacked him contrary to the opinion of the count. They were defeated, and *Areberg*, with above six hundred soldiers, killed. In this action fell *Adolphus of Nassau*, the greatest loss which the reformists sustained. Count *Megen* was immediately dispatched to *Groningen*, to collect the scattered remains of the *Spanish* army ; and his vigilance prevented *Lewis of Nassau* from drawing any important consequences from his victory ^b.

The duke of *Alva* was greatly chagrined at this first check to his power, and resolved to march in person to revenge the insult. A general muster of his army was made in every part, and he appeared so formidable, that the counts of *Nassau* and *Hoogstrate* were forced to retire to the banks of the river *Ens*, where they posted themselves in a situation which would have proved impregnable, had not the duke of *Alva's* expedition prevented their cutting down the dykes, and the scarcity of money excited a mutiny in their army. Thus labouring under unsurmountable difficulties, they were attacked and easily defeated by the duke, who put to the sword all who fell into his hands. The whole infantry were cut in pieces, the cavalry was saved by the conduct of count *Schaurvenberg*, count *Lewis* escaped in a small fishing-boat, and the baggage and artillery were taken by the enemy, whose loss was very inconsiderable ^c.

All this while the prince of *Orange* was moving towards the frontiers of the *Netherlands* with an army of 28,000 men, which he had levied upon his credit. After passing the *Rhine* and *Moselle*, and raising contributions in *Aix la Chapelle*, he defeated a party of *Spaniards* at *Noiteim*. From thence he sent a defiance to the duke of *Alva* at *Maestricht* ; but the duke ordered the trumpeter to be hanged, and returned no answer. The prince's superiority obliged him to act defensively ; the loss of a battle he was sensible would be attended with the loss of the *Netherlands*, and the scarcity of money he knew must soon disperse the prince's army. He contented himself with defending the passages of the *Meuse* ; but the prince found means to elude all his endeavours. Had he, upon crossing the river, suddenly attacked

^b Id. *ibid.* TEMPLE, c. 1.

^c LE CLERC, lib. 1. p. 17.
the

the duke, it is probable he might have succeeded ; but the soldiers being wet and fatigued, he halted a night to refresh them, gave the enemy time to recollect themselves, and even so to fortify their camp, as rendered an attempt extremely hazardous. It was obvious that the prince intended to penetrate into *Brabant*. The reduction of any towns in this province would have greatly forwarded his affairs, and the duke of *Alva* took all due precautions to obstruct his progress. He fortified *Tillemont*, *Louvain*, and *Brussels*, and considerably augmented their garrisons, at the same time that he cut off all provisions, and extremely harrassed the prince's army. He baffled the prince's design of seizing upon *Tongres*, but could not prevent his receiving succours and refreshment at *St. Trois*, and gaining the frontiers of *Brabant*. Here several skirmishes, but nothing decisive, passed between the armies. While they lay encamped at no great distance, the prince, on receiving advice that the prince of *Conde* had sent him a body of 4000 auxiliary foot and 500 horse, advanced towards *Judoigne* to effect a junction. In crossing the *Geate*, his rear was attacked by *Alva*, and after an obstinate conflict totally defeated and dispersed. This check, and the death of count *Hoogstrate*, mortally wounded in the action, damped the ardour of his soldiers ; they deserted in crowds, and he was prevented by this and a variety of other cross accidents, from establishing winter-quarters in the *Low-Countries*. In the end, he was forced to disband his army, and return into *France*, whence he afterwards returned to *Germany* ^d.

He disbands his army.

A. D. 1569.

Now was the duke of *Alva* at full liberty to act at pleasure. After entering *Brussels* in triumph, he caused diligent search to be made after all who had been assisting to the prince of *Orange*. He destroyed the prisoners taken in the last campaign by the sword, the halter, by fire, and by water ; his success only increased his insolence and cruelty ; he now projected nothing less than the whole extirpation of the reformed religion, by means the most barbarous and inhuman ; of enslaving the provinces, by erecting citadels in all the towns and cities, and of rendering himself despotic and arbitrary. He began with building a strong citadel in *Amsterdam*. The city in vain represented its privileges, and the prejudice which commerce must sustain from a military government. But the duke was deaf to all except pecuniary arguments ; a large sum of money was given him, and the project laid aside. The duke's insolent vanity irritated

^d Grot. lib. ii. p. 37.

*New Com-
motions in
the Low
Coun-
tries.*

the people more than his cruelty or avarice. He ordered his statue to be erected in the citadel, built at *Antwerp*, to enslave this populous, rich, and commercial city. Here he was figured treading upon the necks of two smaller statues that represented the two estates of the *Low Countries*. So public an insult created universal discontent, and roused a spirit of revenge in the people, which soon received additional fuel. The duke demanded larger supplies for the support and reward of his victorious troops than ever had been granted. Assembling the states at *Brussels*, he required the hundredth part of every man's estate should be immediately secured to the government, to answer the present occasions; and that for the future, a tenth of all the merchandize, and a twentieth part of all immoveables, should be annually levied as a standing revenue. Fear obliged the states, after a feint resistance, to grant the first. Whatever inconveniencies might attend the payment of so large a sum, as the hundredth part of the whole wealth of the *Netherlands*, yet it was but temporary; whereas the annual tax on trade and estates would be a perpetual intolerable burthen, to which they resolved never to assent. Upon the duke's persisting, they petitioned the king by deputies, but obtained no redress. The duke employed promises and threats to enforce his demands, but the states remained fixed and unalterable. Incensed at their resistance, he sent the regiment of *Lombardy*, and several companies of *Spanish* foot, to live at free quarters in the province of *Utrecht*. He altered the names of *tythes* and *twentieths*, for other terms less odious; but the people were not to be gulled out of their property by so thin a varnish. The year was drawn out in disputes, altercations, menaces, promises, and supplications; but nothing was concluded, the duke was inflexible, and the provinces determined^e.

*Multitudes
of priva-
teers fitted
out by the
Reform-
ists.*

1570.

In this situation of affairs, admiral *Coligni* advised the prince of *Orange* to fit out a squadron of privateers to cruise on the *Spanish* and *Flemish* merchants, seize upon the supplies of money sent to the *Netherlands*, and thereby raise a fund for the support and maintenance of an army. The poverty of the reformists, who had but few resources from private contributions, was the greatest difficulty they had to encounter. In hopes of remedying this evil, the prince approved of the project, and a squadron was equipped under *Adrian de Bergues*, *Lancelot de Broderode*, *Albert d' Egmond*, and several more of the prince's adherents. In a short time

^e Id. p. 45. LE CLERC, lib. i. TEMPLE, p. 39.

they

they took an infinity of merchant-men, and even defeated some of the king's squadrons ; but as no regular plan for saving the profits was concerted, they greatly annoyed the *Spanish* commerce, but contributed little to forward the designs formed by the prince of *Orange*. This shoal of privateers went by the name of *Gueux*, or *sea-beggars* ; their number daily increased, and they became the terror of *Spain* and the *Netherlands*. However excusable the first design of the prince of *Orange* might have been, certain it is, that an improper use was made of the commissions he granted. The captains of ships paid no regard to flags ; their sole aim was the acquisition of wealth, in which pursuit friends and enemies were plundered without distinction. Commerce was entirely ruined, and their depredations were no less pernicious to their country, than the despotism and cruelty of the duke of *Alva*^f.

To the calamities consequent on the licentiousness of the *Gueux*, was added another, to which the maritime provinces of the *Netherlands* are perpetually exposed. Terrible floods broke in, overturned the dykes, and overflowed the lands, sweeping before them their houses and cattle. The catholics attributed the misfortune to the vengeance of the saints, for the indignity lately put on their images by heretics ; and the protestants, with just as much reason, called it a judgment from heaven, on the oppression, the tyranny, and the barbarity of the court of *Spain*, and her infernal ministers g.

ALL the last year the prince of *Orange* was making preparations for levying an army, to oppose the violent measures of the duke of *Alva*, and rescue his country from impending destruction. His agents were employed in all the provinces to raise subscriptions of money. The same methods were still continued in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*. The latter province was considerably over-awed by the strong citadel, and numerous forces ; but an infinity of evils, to which the tyranny of the government exposed it, attached the inclinations of the inhabitants more strongly to the prince of *Orange*^h.

A. D.
1571.

WHILE the country was impoverished and ruined by the late exorbitant tax of a hundredth penny, by the dreadful inundation, by the licentiousness of the privateers, and other misfortunes, the duke of *Alva*, impatient of farther delay, ordered the edict, concerning the tythe on merchandize, and twentieth penny on immoveables, to be published at *Brussels*. *The edict for levying the taxes, published.*

^f GROTIUS, lib. ii. p. 36, 37.

^g LE CLERC, lib. ii. p. 25.

^h Id. p. 26.

The people refuse to pay, the soldiers levy by force, tradesmen shut up their shops, the peasants forbear the markets, and the utmost scarcity prevails in the cities. Terrified with these appearances, the states offer to pay a subsidy of two millions of florins; but nothing would satisfy the enraged duke but the tax, in the manner he proposed. In *Brussels* the drum beat to arms, and orders were issued immediately to hang up all who refused compliance. The officers and guards were preparing to execute the inhuman mandate, when advice arrived of the surrender of the *Briel*, in the island of *Voorn*, at the entrance of the *Meuse*, to the *Gueux*. *Lumey*, who commanded the *Orange* squadron, made a descent on the island with forty ships, destroyed the churches, broke the images, and executed the priests, but offered no violence to the other inhabitants¹. (A)

¹ GROT. Annal. p. 39.

(A) As the reader may be curious to know the origin of the term *Gueux*, and farther particulars relating to the people called by that name, the following short account may prove entertaining. When *Brederode* delivered his petition against the inquisition to the duchess of *Parma*, his attendants, appearing mean in their cloaths and apparel, were called in derision by the courtiers *Gueux*, or *beggars*. The name was soon after applied to the whole party, and comprehended all who differed from the doctrines of the church of *Rome*. The cruelty of *Alva* and the inquisition had forced them to retire, in multitudes, out of the provinces. Many of the poorer, and more desperate, had fled into the woods, lived by rapine and plunder, and upon the prince of *Orange's* first descent sallied from their holds and fastnings, doing incredible mischief to the *Spaniards* and the duke's forces. When the scheme was suggested by admi-

ral *Coligni*, of raising money by cruizes upon the *Spaniards*, the *Gueux* embarked in the enterprise, composed the body of the seamen, and were the most implacable enemies of the duke of *Alva* and the whole *Spanish* nation. First they were commanded by the count *St. Mark*, and maintained tolerable order. They sheltered, watered, and sold their prizes in creeks and small harbours of *England*, tho' prohibited by queen *Elizabeth*, then at peace with king *Philip*; sometimes in the rivers, creeks, and ports of *Frisland*. In time they confined themselves not to *Spanish* captures only, but seized upon the shipping of all nations, giving for a reason, that they were excluded as enemies from their ports. In their descent on the *Briel*, they carried the town by assault, openly professed the reformed religion, declared against the taxes and tyranny of the *Spanish* government, and laid the foundation of the revolt that immediately ensued in

HOWEVER

HOWEVER unimportant the conquest of so inconsiderable A. D. 1572. a place might appear, it alarmed the duke of *Alva*, and produced the most extravagant rejoicings in *Brussels*. The duke regarded it as the harbinger of further opposition, he dropped his taxes and executions for the present, and diligently applied himself to suppress the growing spirit of rebellion. He withdrew the garrison from *Brussels*, and detached it, under the command of *Maximilian Hermin Bossu*, against the *Gueux*. This officer, endeavouring to force the *Briel*, was defeated by the *Orange* faction, and forced to retire with loss to the island of *Beyerland*. Trifling as this victory might seem, it served to animate the depressed spirits of the enemies to the government. The prince of *Orange*, sensible of the advantage of possessing this island, exhorted the nobility of his party to fortify and garrison it; his orders were obeyed, by which means he soon became master of *Delfshaven*, a town situated on the opposite banks of the *Meuse*. It appeared in *Bossu's* retreat how unpopular the duke of *Alva* was in every part of the country. *Dordrecht* shut its gates against him. *Rotterdam* refused to admit his troops; but *Bossu* obtaining permission, that they should pass through in separate, small divisions, seized the gates, and began a general massacre of the inhabitants. Four hundred souls perished by the sword, the town was pillaged, the women ravished, and every possible act of barbarity and inhumanity committed. Retribution was soon made by the enemy. *Alva* had detached *Ossorio d'Angulo*, with a body of forces, to secure *Flushing*, a considerable port in *Zealand*, and to erect a citadel. The inhabitants denied *Ossorio* admittance, shut their gates, and seized *Pacaneo*, a famous engineer, who had come to measure the ground where the citadel was to be erected. Apprehending that attempts would be made to force them to submission, they petitioned *Lumey*, admiral of the *Gueux*, for assistance; and he furnished them with two hundred men, under the command of captain *Treslang*. On the arrival of this reinforcement, the *Spanish* engineer was hanged, and an unsuccessful attempt made to surprise *Middleburgh*, the capital of the island of *Walcheren*. Not dispirited by this disappointment, the *Zealanders* assiduously prosecuted their cruizes upon

several towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friseland*, where the *Spanish* garrisons were expelled, the oaths of fidelity to

Philip revoked, and allegiance was sworn to the prince of *Orange* (1).

(1) *Grot. lib. 2. p. 38. Le Clerc, 2. Temple, 6.*

the *Spaniards*, and obtained so much wealth as purchased large store of arms and ammunition at *Antwerp*. Joined by great numbers of *English* and *Scotch* adventurers, they ventured to attack the duke of *Medina Cæli*, sent with a strong squadron to succeed the duke of *Alva* in the government of the *Netherlands*^k. Such was the fury and impetuosity of their onset, that the duke was completely defeated, a great number of his ships were taken, and a booty, amounting to near a million of livres, carried off by the *Zealanders*.

North
Holland
and Mons
reduced by
the O-
range fac-
tion.

NEGLECTING the marine was not the least of the errors committed during the duke of *Alva*'s administration. This he now endeavoured to repair, ordering a squadron of ships to be equipped at *Amsterdam*, to bridle the insolence of *Lumey* and the *Zealanders*, while he busied himself in raising an army to oppose the prince of *Orange* and *Lewis de Nassau*, who were making great preparations in *Germany* and *France*. To augment the army in the field, he had draughted most of the garrisons. By this means the prince's friends gained possession of *North Holland*; and *Lewis de Nassau* was projecting a scheme to surprise *Mons*, with the inhabitants of which he held a secret correspondence. The design succeeded, which emboldened most of the cities and towns in *Holland* to declare against the government. The count *de Bergues* gained over several cities in *Overyffel*, *Guelderland*, and *Friseland*. In a word, the revolt became so general, that the duke of *Alva* soon found he could not long resist the torrent. He now, when too late, published an edict to appease the people, setting forth, that he would consent to remit the most oppressive taxes, if the states could suggest any other means of raising the necessary supplies. He convoked the states-general to meet at the *Hague*, but his orders were now disregarded, and the states, in contempt of his authority, assembled at *Dordrecht*, and invited deputies from the prince of *Orange*, the nobility, and the towns that had declared against the governor. Here money was raised to enable the prince of *Orange* to begin his march. His forces amounted to fifteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse. He had promised to advance three months pay, and was enabled to perform his engagements, by the liberality and public spirit of the states-general and the cities. Several regulations, respecting the future support and government of the army, were made on this occasion, and their proportions of the public expence assigned to the several provinces and cities. It was farther resolved, that nothing of importance should be trans-

The states-
general
declare a-
gainst the
duke of
Alva.

^k Id. p. 41. LE CLERC, lib. i. p. 28.

acted without the privity and consent of the prince of *Orange*; and that the prince, on his part, should not negotiate a peace with the king or his lieutenants, contrary to the sentiments of the states. In a word, the prince shewed the address with which he could manage and direct the people. Without the name of sovereign of the provinces under his government, he possessed the authority. He presided at all military operations, by sea and land; made and disposed of offices at pleasure; assembled the states; and published all ordinances and regulations, relative to the present state of affairs, without controul. However, he conducted matters with the utmost delicacy, and used his power with great moderation, to avoid giving offence to the free spirit of the *Hollanders*. The popish religion was banished the churches, and persons of that persuasion were, with great caution, admitted into public employments. Not only the king's revenue and church-tythes were appropriated to the public service, but the estates of those who remained firm in their loyalty. In short, the most vigorous measures were taken for resisting the tyranny of *Spain*, and those persons who had refused the tythes to the government, voluntarily subscribed their all to support a party formed in defence of liberty¹.

WHILE the states-general were employed in ways and means to maintain an army, the prince of *Orange* advanced to *Ruremonde*, which he took by assault, on the refusal of the city to supply him with necessaries. From thence he marched to *Brabant*, and raised heavy contributions. He took *Mechlin*, *Oudenarde*, and *Dendermonde*, and could not restrain the excesses of the soldiers, who pillaged the churches, massacred the priests, and committed other shocking barbarities. Next he approached to *Mons*, besieged by the duke of *Alva*, with design, if possible, to engage him to give battle. The duke baffled all his endeavours to force him, and carried *Mons* by capitulation; but such was the popularity of the cause, and the prince of *Orange*, that the whole *Spanish* dominion, lately so insolent and exulting, was ready to expire in the *Netherlands*, had it not been revived by the massacre of the protestants in *Paris*^m.

WHILE the fate of *Mons* was depending, the states of *Holland* met at *Haarlem*, to deliberate on the defence of the province and the prosecution of the war. *Amsterdam* was in the enemies hands, which greatly obstructed all their measures. It was therefore determined to besiege it, and the enterprize was committed to *Lumey*, chief of the *Gueux*. After

¹ TEMPLE, *ibid*.
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^m LE CLERC, lib. ii. p. 34. UNIV.

putting the states to considerable expence, the project miscarried, through *Lumey's* misconduct. Water was his element, but his vanity led him to display his abilities as a land-officer. He made regular approaches, and was foiled in every attemptⁿ.

*A change
in his af-
fairs ob-
liges him
to retire to
Holland.*

THE reduction of *Mons*, and the depression of spirits consequent on the massacre at *Paris*, obliged the prince of *Orange* to retire to *Holland*; and encouraged *Alva* to invest *Dendermonde*, *Oudenarde*, and *Mechlin*. The latter, being in no condition to resist, opened its gates; but the *Spanish* soldiers chose to scale the walls, to give an air of assault to the enterprise, and countenance to the horrid barbarities intended. Protestants and catholics were massacred without distinction, the priests were not sacred, virginity was deflowered, and infants violated before the eyes of their bleeding parents. The town was pillaged, and the booty estimated at four hundred thousand florins. All the other towns were evacuated by the garrisons, and loaded with heavy impositions by *Alva*. As to the prince, he had now removed the seat of war into the province of *Holland*; only this province and *Zealand* remained firm to their engagements; the rest, overwhelmed with consternation, capitulated on the best terms they could procure from the government. However, the country being strong by its nature, and situation among the waters, and more so by a fierce, rough, and sturdy people, proud of their ancient fame, recorded in the *Roman* story, of being the obstinate defenders of liberty, unemasculated by trade and luxury, and the most implacable enemies of *Spanish* tyranny, it was determined to make the most vigorous resistance. *Frederic de Toledo* was dispatched by *Alva* to begin the operations in *Holland*. He had already reduced *Zutphen* and *Guelderland*, and, flushed with success, appeared before *Waerden*, which he summoned to admit a garrison. The burghers replied, that they were intrusted by the king with the defence of the place, and could not receive a military force without violence to their privileges and engagements. They soon had reason to repent their firmness; the town was taken by surprise, and all the burghers, assembled in the great church, to take the oaths of fidelity to the king, wantonly butchered. Infants, old men, women, and the sick, were all put to the sword without pity or remorse; and of all the barbarities hitherto committed, this was the most terrible. It was imagined that the terror inspired by such instances of severity, would reduce the people to obedience, and shake the obsti-

*Waerden
taken.*

nacy of the other towns. The contrary effects were produced ; rage and despair took possession of every breast, and all determined to suffer the last extremities, rather than submit to so cruel a tyranny.

HAVING finished this tragedy, *Frederic* went to *Amster-Haarlem* *dam*, to deliberate with the officers of the army about the *invested*, siege of *Haarlem*. Here it was determined, before they proceeded to extremities, that the city of *Amsterdam* should write to the magistrates, exhorting them, in the most pathetic terms, to submit, rather than incur the punishment inflicted on *Waerden*. The council of *Haarlem* met to take this letter into consideration. Some were for soliciting an immediate reinforcement from the prince of *Orange* ; and others, who apprehended the prince was too weak to afford the necessary relief, were for making the best terms possible with the king. Those of the latter opinion were the magistrates. Accordingly, without consulting the burghers, deputies were dispatched to *Frederic* to stipulate conditions. In their absence, *Ripperda*, a gentleman of *Friseland*, strongly attached to the prince of *Orange* and the cause of liberty, assembled the chief burghers, and so animated them against the *Spaniards*, that they resolved to stand a siege, and suffer all the horrors of war, rather than submit. They sent to the prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with their determination, and to implore assistance. Four companies of *Germans* were detached to reinforce the garrison of *Haarlem* ; and the deputies, on their return, were seized as traitors to their country, sent to the prince of *Orange*, and by his order beheaded. *Frederic* was prepared to compel the burghers to submission. On the 9th of *December* he invested the town, after carrying *Sparendem* fort by assault, with great loss and slaughter of his soldiers. A variety of errors were committed in the attack, in the defence, and manner of succouring *Haarlem*. The assailants and defendants had equally shewn themselves ignorant of the art of war, and implacable in their resentment. Obstinacy supplied the place of military knowledge ; every difficulty was surmounted by dint of perseverance ; and both sides sustained, with unparalleled constancy, the most extreme hardships. Hunger and fatigue harrassed the besieged ; cold and sickness pinched and destroyed the besiegers. Not the rigours of the severest winter could oblige them to relinquish the enterprize ; *Alva* determined to punish the burghers of *Haarlem* at the expence of half his army. The prince of *Orange* used every expedient to relieve the town, but all his attempts were frustrated by untoward accidents,

dents, and the vigilance of the *Spaniards*°. At last, quite spent with fatigue, despairing of relief, weakened with losses, and totally exhausted of provisions and ammunition, the burghers of *Haarlem* surrendered upon more favourable terms than they could well expect. A few only of the most obstinate were executed, the rest were pardoned, on taking an oath of fidelity, and paying an acknowledgment of fifteen thousand florins (B).

Several
victories
gained by
the Zea-
land fleet.

DURING the siege of *Haarlem*, the *Zealanders* were performing glorious achievements by sea, and gaining victories over the *Spanish* naval armaments. All the efforts of the governor of *Antwerp* could not prevent their carrying off a great number of ships out of the river; but to revenge the insult, and relieve *Middleburg* and *Rammekins*, blocked up by the *Zealanders*, he equipped a squadron, gave battle to *Wertz*, the *Zealand* admiral, and was defeated. After repairing and augmenting his fleet, he again set sail with sixty large vessels, encountered a squadron of *Zealanders* much inferior in strength, and met with his former fortune. Most of his ships were sunk or taken; but he found means to push into *Middleburg*, with the broken remains of his squadron, to the great joy of the garrison, now reduced by the scarcity of provisions to the last extremity. *D'Avila's* disgrace did not end here; for, on his return to *Antwerp*, he was a third time attacked and defeated, with considerable loss, by *Wertz*, who thus repaired the disappointment of an unsuccessful attempt made on *Tolen*°.

SOON after the reduction of *Haarlem*, *Alva*, perceiving that his severity answered no other purpose than irritating the people more against the *Spanish* government, published a proclamation, couched in terms so soothing as afforded room for suspecting their sincerity; inviting the *Hollanders* to accept of his majesty's gracious pardon, to lay down their arms, rely on the king's generosity, and submit to his mercy.

° GROT. Ann. p. 2. LE CLERC, p. 35.
LE CLERC, ubi supra.

° GROT. &

(B) Sir *William Temple* affirms, that four hundred burghers were put to death in cold blood, in contempt of the capitulation (1); but it appears from other writers (2), that the

articles were honourably enough observed, and fewer persons executed than might be expected from the resentment of an insolent and cruel conqueror.

(1) *Temple, chap. 1. p. 4.*

(2) *Grot. lib. 2. p. 38. Le Clerc, lib. 2. p. 35.*

He gave the strongest assurances, that the utmost lenity would be shewn to those who did not obstinately persist in their rebellion ; but the people were not disposed to confide in promises so often violated, nor to throw themselves on the clemency of a prince and governor, who had shewn themselves inflexible, implacable, perfidious, and inhuman. They now were reduced to despair, they expected the worst that could happen, and bid defiance to fortune. The *Spaniards* were preparing to invest *Alcmar*, and the *Hollanders* put every means in practice to resist them. Eight months pay was due to the garrison, who began to mutiny; but contributions were raised, which silenced their clamours. *Frederic* of *Toledo*, with sixteen thousand men, sat down before a town fortified by no regular works, and defended only by three hundred burghers, and eight hundred soldiers, in extreme want of provisions, and without the prospect of relief. *Senoi*, the governor, despairing of being able to sustain a siege, wrote to the prince of *Orange*, that a place destitute of troops, provisions, ammunition, money, and every necessary, ought to be evacuated, and the few soldiers in garrison, and the burghers, saved from falling into the hands of the enemy. But the prince of *Orange* so animated them by a letter, penned in his persuasive and irresistible manner; that, to a man, the townsmen, governor, and soldiers, determined to sacrifice their lives, and spill the last drop of their blood in the breach. Perseverance had made the *Zealanders* masters of *Rammekins*, contrary to all hope and probability; the same virtue, the prince observed, might save *Alcmar*, a town of the utmost consequence to the cause of liberty. What particularly inspired the defendants with courage, was the prince's good fortune in surprising *Gertrudenburg*. *Frederic* pushed the siege with great vigour. He ordered the inhabitants of *Haarlem* to work in the trenches, and sustain the first fire of their friends and countrymen. On the 18th of *September*, a battery of twenty pieces of heavy cannon began to play with unremitting fury, a breach was soon effected, the assault given, and repulsed, with vigour, though sustained by the bulk of the *Spanish* army. From a *Spanish* officer taken, the garrison were informed, that *Alva* had given orders to retire, in case he failed in the third assault; but if he succeeded, to put all to the sword. Their courage was whetted by this account, and preparations were chearfully made for withstanding the utmost efforts. *Frederic* was foiled in every attempt; the assailants were driven from the breach with prodigious slaughter; the *Spanish* soldiers refused to mount the walls; the rainy season came on, and rendered the roads impracticable;

*Alcmar
besieged.*

*The siege
of Almar
raised.*

*The Spa-
nish fleet
defeated.*

*Alva re-
signs.*

cable ; in a word, the siege was raised, and the town relieved, contrary to expectation, but to the exceeding joy of the prince of *Orange*, and great mortification of *Alva*¹.

THIS advantage was attended with another of less importance, but which equally served to inspirit the *Hollanders*. The duke of *Alva*'s grand fleet, equipped with great labour and expence, was defeated by the *Zealanders*. Though the action did not prove decisive, it greatly chagrined the duke, as *Bossu*, one of his best officers, was taken prisoner, and his fleet afterwards afraid to look the enemy in the face. The year, and the government of *Alva*, concluded with a meeting of the states of those provinces subject to *Spain*. Here they deliberated on the means of continuing the war, read, and disregarded, a remonstrance sent by the prince of *Orange*, complaining of the violence of the duke, demanding the free exercise of their religion for his party, restitution of the rights and privileges of the provinces, and that the foreign troops should be withdrawn. On the second of *December*, the duke of *Alva* quitted the *Low Countries*, with his son, *Frederic* of *Toledo* ; and don *Lewis de Requesnes*, appointed to succeed him, began his government with pulling down the insulting statue of his predecessor, erected at *Antwerp* ; a popular act that would have produced happy consequences, had not the court of *Spain* been infatuated with notions of despotism and blind superstition².

S E C T. IV.

Containing the government of Requesnes ; the siege of Leyden ; the other various operations of the war ; the confederacy of the Provinces, and other particulars until the assassination of the prince of Orange, in 1684, under the government of the duke of Parma.

A. D.
1574.
*Reques-
nes suc-
ceeds to the
govern-
ment.*

THE popularity of the new governor did not long continue. His instructions were to push the war with vigour ; and the mutual animosity of the combatants could not but render it bloody and cruel. The first advantage appeared on the side of the prince of *Orange*. *Middleburg*, after a tedious siege and blockade, surrendered. An infinity of expedients were practised in vain for its relief. The obstinacy of the *Zealanders* was invincible ; they became masters of this capital, and with it of the island of *Walcheren*.

¹ MEURS. lib. iv. p. 259.

² GROT. Ann. lib. ii. p. 40.

LEWIS of *Nassau* was now arrived with a considerable Lewis of body of forces, to assist his brother the prince of *Orange*. To *Nassau* de- prevent their junction *Requesnes* opposed the flower of his *feated and* army. He passed the *Meuse*, surprised *Lewis* near a village *slain*. called *Noock*, defeated his army, and left the three princes, *Lewis*, *Henry*, and *Christopher*, dead on the field of battle, but deduced no other consequence from so signal a victory, than frustrating the proposed junction of the brothers. Writers differ widely in their relations of this transaction. Some attribute the calamity to the indolence and security of *Lewis*, while others impute it wholly to the mutinous spirit of his troops, who loudly demanded their arrears, at the very time they were attacked by the enemy^a. In this particular, the *Spanish* general was not much more fortunate. Scarce had the *Spaniards* obtained the victory, when the soldiers formed a *A mutiny* mutiny on the most regular and well-concerted plan, depo- *in the Spa-* sining all their officers, appointing others, establishing a sort of *nish army.* community, and vesting one of their number with the chief authority. *D'Avila*, who then commanded the army, used every means to appease the soldiers, but they were inflexible; complaining that their officers had all the honour and emoluments of the war, while their portion was only the fatigue and danger. The mutineers passed the *Meuse*, proceeded to *Antwerp*, were received and joined by the *Spanish* garrison in the citadel, and at length pacified by a gratuity of four hundred thousand livres, raised by the city, to prevent being pillaged. The anxiety and dread occasioned by this tumult, was augmented by another victory obtained by the *Zealanders* over a *Spanish* squadron of forty ships, under the conduct of *Adolfus Hemstede*, most of which were taken or destroyed.

It was now found that the reduction of the provinces would be a work of time, expence, and hazard; *Philip* *Reques-* therefore at last condescended to less arbitrary measures: by *nes pub-* his orders a proclamation was issued at *Brussels*, granting a *lisbes a* free pardon to those who had assisted at the protestant religi- *proclama-* ous assemblies, taken up arms, and otherwise violated the *tion.* laws; but with an exemption of the prince of *Orange*, and proviso, that all admitted into the king's favour, and partaking of his clemency, should produce an attestation of their having solemnly renounced heresy. So limited an act of grace could produce no effect: it was unanimously rejected by the *Hollanders*, and preparations were made for obtaining

^a *METEREN*. lib. v. p. 101. *RHEDAN*. lib. i. p. 16. *GROT.* lib. ii. p. 43. *BENTIVOG.* lib. viii. p. 167.

Leyden
besieged.

better conditions, or wholly recovering their liberty.^c In vindication of their conduct they published a counter proclamation, shewing the intention of the former to be insidious, and declaring their own views to be no other than to obtain the common rights of mankind, defend the liberties of the provinces, and abolish tyranny and cruel oppression. They sent remonstrances to all the powers in *Europe*, particularly bewailing their situation, and craving that aid and assistance due by humanity; but their chief applications were made to *England*, *France*, and the protestant states of the empire. *Requesnes* perceiving that nothing could be expected from the king's proclamation, resolved upon the most memorable event of the year, the siege of *Leyden*. The prince of *Orange* had given repeated orders for providing the garrison with all the necessaries of a siege; imagining the governor would bend his chief efforts against the town; but they were by a strange fatality neglected, and the inhabitants forced to live under the pressure of a thousand wants and inconveniencies, during the most obstinate, bloody, and cruel siege the *Netherlands* had yet beheld. *Valdes*, who commanded the *Spanish* army, offered the most advantageous conditions; but the burghers and little garrison were deaf to all terms, except those of freedom and independency: they relied on their courage, the justice of their cause, and their perseverance in the paths of liberty, for their defence; and indeed their efforts were prodigious, the result of necessity and despair. The whole surrounding country was laid under water by opening the sluices, and *Leyden* almost overwhelmed in the inundation necessary to its defence. Cut off from all succour, except what they received by boats forcing their way through the enemy, they combated every difficulty, and resisted famine, disease, and a powerful enemy, with incredible constancy. It would indeed be impossible to describe the miseries they sustained, reduced at last to live upon the dead carcasses of their fellow citizens: all their efforts would however have been vain, had not providence visibly interposed: a violent south-west wind drove the inundation with such fury against the works of the besiegers, that fearing his army would be swallowed up in the waves, *Vaides* relinquished the enterprise, drew off his army, and exposed himself to a furious sally of the besieged, by which five hundred of his men perished.^d Thus was *Leyden* most unexpectedly relieved, and the *Spaniards* foiled after undergoing extreme fa-

The siege
is raised.

^c Id, *ibid*.

^d LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 42.

tigue and hardships, losing the flower of their army; waiting their treasure, and those precious moments, which in so critical a juncture are irredeemable. This disappointment drew on *Valdes* the contempt of his troops; they superseded him, and again proclaimed their old commander: a mutiny ensued, they were clamorous for their pay, anarchy and confusion reigned through the whole; they marched to *Utrecht*, declaring they would serve masters who would put the just value upon their merit; they demanded entrance into the city, but met with a different reception than they had done at *Maestricht*. *Barlaimont* commanded, declared them rebels and traitors to their king, gave free liberty to the people to massacre them wherever they were found, and took the most rigorous measures to conquer that mutinous spirit which broke out on every occasion. The rebels attempted to set fire to the gates, but they were repulsed, and their leader slain; upon which they capitulated, were received into favour, and sent to winter-quarters in *Brabant*.

A second mutiny of the Spanish soldiers.

Next year commenced with some fruitless efforts made by the emperor to heal the breach and quiet the disturbances in the *Low Countries*. Negotiations were for several weeks carried on, but neither side would recede enough to come to any conclusion; and the emperor, tired out with vain hopes that his mediation might accommodate the differences, at last renounced the attempt in despair. Some persons indeed imagined, that the ambition of the prince of *Orange* was the chief obstruction to the success of the conferences at *Breda*. Certain it is, that both parties were too violently inflamed to listen to reasonable terms: *Philip* demanded too much, and the prince yielded too little; both were in hopes that the issue of another campaign would be so favourable as to procure better terms, and both were disappointed, as the prospect of an accommodation was then rather more distant^c.

A. D. 1585.
A Congress at Breda.

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Requesnes commenced hostilities with the siege of *Baren*, which he took by assault, the garrison retiring to the citadel. *Hierques*, governor of *Holland*, gave the town up to be plundered by the *Spanish* soldiers. The citadel wanted no necessary of defence; but *Vogelsang* the chief officer accepted of conditions, marched out with the honours of war, and was arrested by order of the states of *Holland*, but shortly after dismissed. Next the *Spanish* general appeared before *Oudewater*, a place untenable from the circumstances of its situation. The garrison, however, made an obsti-

Successes of the Spaniards.

^c BENTIVOG. p. 1. lib. ix. au commencement.

nate defence, were at last stormed and put to the sword. The town was set on fire, and all except a few churches and convents laid in ashes. *Schoonhoven* was the next object of *Hierques*' military ambition. It was surrounded only by a slight wall, and defended by a few companies of *French* and *German* infantry, placed there rather to retard the enemy than withstand a siege. The *Sieur de la Garde* was sent by the prince of *Orange* to the relief of the garrison; and he arrived, after breaking through their works, just as the place was on the point of capitulating. So slender a reinforcement could only retard the fate of *Schoonhoven*; a breach of three hundred yards wide was made in the walls, and the *Spanish* general preparing to give the assault, when *la Garde* seeing that further resistance would be fruitless, capitulated upon honourable conditions. Some other trivial successes attended the arms of the *Spanish* general; after which he invested *Woerde*; but finding the siege would be attended with difficulties, he converted it into a blockade, and was at last obliged to abandon the enterprize, after spending several months before the place, and losing a great part of his army by a vigorous sally on the 24th of *June* 1576. In the mean time *Madragon* reduced the island of *Finart*, standing east of *Zealand*, and performed several actions that raised the credit of the *Spanish* arms^f.

STILL however the prince of *Orange* maintained his superiority at sea, by which he frequently reduced the enemy to great difficulties. *Philip* was sensible that the conquest of the provinces could not be effected while the *Zealanders* and *Hollanders* sailed from port to port with impunity, relieved the towns besieged by his army, and blocked up those held by the king's forces. To overthrow this last hope of the enemy, he gave orders that the whole force of *Requesnes* should be applied in reducing the principal sea-ports in *Zealand*, foreseeing that the enemy's naval strength must of consequence be ruined. *Hierques* was directed to keep no greater number of forces in *Holland* than was absolutely necessary, and a prodigious number of vessels were equipped to be assisting in the meditated conquest. The *Zealanders* saw the design, and, determined to frustrate it, attacked the *Spanish* squadron, the greater part of which they destroyed on the stocks and in the harbours. *Requesnes* laboured to repair this loss, and execute the royal mandate. A great number of light vessels were again got in readiness. Three thousand men were transported to *Tolen*, with a view of attack-

^f LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 47.

ing the little island of *Schouwen*, which would greatly facilitate the attempt on *Walcheren*, and the command of the fleet and five hundred land-forces was given to *d'Avila*. It was concerted to pass by a ford at low water; the *Zealanders* perceived them approaching, drew up their vessels in a line, and poured out volleys of great and small shot on the enemy, embarrassed at the same time with the depth of the water, the weight of their arms and wet cloaths. A firm footing on the dry land being at length established, the *Spaniards*, whose element was the water, every where gave way, leaving the *Spaniards* to the possession of the open country, and liberty to pursue the conquests of the towns. *Ziriczee* was blocked, the severity of the winter preventing its being besieged in form, and *Madragon* took every precaution that it should not be succoured; while the prince of *Orange* used every expedient to throw in a reinforcement and provisions. After sustaining great hardships and extreme want, the garrison at length surrendered, and by that means gave promising hopes to the *Spaniards* they might succeed in the reduction of *Holland* &c.

The Spaniards make an attempt on Zealand.

It was the loss of *Ziriczee* that first suggested the design of conferring the provinces of *Zealand* and *Holland* upon some protestant prince who should be able to protect them against the tyranny of *Philip*. This affair was not talked of vaguely, but debated and approved in the states of *Holland*. The offer was certainly made to queen *Elizabeth* of *England*; but she for political reasons declined it. Necessity even obliged the states to negotiate with the *French* court, and listen to terms offered by the duke of *Anjou*. The treaty came to nothing, but the prince of *Orange* gained by it the advantage of establishing a mart at *Calais* for the disposal of the prizes made by the *Gueux* ^h.

A. D. 1576.

Despair of Holland and Zealand.

On the other hand, *Philip*, though greatly superior in power, was intolerably distressed for money; above 40,000,000 of crowns were due to the *Spanish* and *Genoese* merchants, and the interest still unpaid now amounted to as much as the capital. The war had besides cost a greater sum sent in specie from *Spain* and the *Indies*, which, with the immense losses occasioned by the stagnation of trade in the *Netherlands*, had quite exhausted the treasury. Large arrears were due to the troops, they were every day mutinying, and some broke out into actual rebellion, doing incredible mischief in the open country, and laying the weaker towns under contribution. To remedy these evils, *Requesnes* demanded a supply of the provinces, and they an-

Situation of Philip.

³ Id. p. 48.

^h CAMBDEN, p. 284. REIDAN. fol. 114.

The mutiny among his troops, the revolt of the provinces.

swered him, by requiring restitution of their privileges, and dismissal of the *Spanish* troops. *Flanders* in particular paid the desired subsidy, by ballancing it against half the damages the province sustained from the misconduct of the governors, and the wars wantonly and unnecessarily excited. While this affair was in agitation, *Requesnes* died of an ardent fever; the council of state took upon them the administration, and the prince of *Orange* took the opportunity of the confusion that ensued to lay the first foundation of the *Pacification of Ghent*, by which his affairs were considerably retrieved, and the greatest blow given to the court of *Spain* she had yet sustained. All now was anarchy in the *Low Countries*. The garrison of *Ziriczee* mutinied for want of pay, and to appease them the council of state sent a hundred thousand livres, upon which the *Walloon* regiments under *Madragon* seized, after expelling the *Spanish* soldiers, wounding and murdering their officers. This did not unite the *Spanish* mutineers among themselves; they turned out the few remaining officers, made new appointments, and being joined by the garrison of *Lillo*, marched to the number of 2000 men towards the capital, committed horrible outrages, overwhelmed the inhabitants of *Brussels* with consternation; and on the 26th of *July* seized upon *Alst*, confined the principal burghers, and hanged up a king's officer. The most favourable conditions were offered by the council of state, in order to appease the tumult, and provisions were sent to the mutineers. This created suspicion in the inhabitants of *Brussels*, that the meeting was excited by the connivance of the council, with a view of ruining the provinces without incurring the resentment and odium consequent on any appearance of legal oppression. They arrested the council, declared the *Spaniards* rebels, and took measures in concert with the other cities and provinces for expelling foreigners out of the *Netherlands*. A confederacy to this purpose was formed between the provinces of *Hainault*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, to which all the rest except *Luxemburgh* acceded; and don *John* of *Austria*, who had entered the *Low Countries* in quality of governor and successor to *Requesnes*, was obliged to keep aloof, and live in obscurity in *Luxemburgh*, until the storm should subside¹.

The destruction of Antwerp,

The prince of *Orange* was all this while profiting by these commotions. He had long laboured to have the states-general convoked, and he now saw them not only assembled,

¹ LE CLERC, p. 52, 53, 54. METEREN. p. 125.

and the
pacifica-
tion of
Ghent.

2

F 3

A. D.
1567.

7

The perpetual edict.

pulated, that they should make no innovations in religion without the consent of *Philip*, and several other articles not very consistent with her future conduct, and the character of a protestant sovereign of a protestant kingdom. Next a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon with don *John*, upon his assurances that every reasonable request of the provinces should be granted. On the 27th of *December*, deputies were sent with proposals to don *John* to disband the foreign troops; but he desired to know what security the states would give for their allegiance after the departure of the *Spanish* forces, and remonstrated against the unreasonableness of disarming the king, while his rebellious subjects were in arms, and ready to seize the first opportunity of deserting their obedience. He likewise demanded security with respect to religion; and insisted so warmly on this head, that it was obvious he had no inclination to part with the *Spanish* army before the provinces of *Zealand* and *Holland* embraced the catholic religion. After much altercation, necessity at length obliged don *John* to grant all that was required to confirm the pacification of *Ghent*, and dismiss the *Spanish* army. He had the king's authority for his proceedings, the treaty was proclaimed at *Brussels* and *Antwerp* on the 17th of *February*, and don *John* immediately acknowledged governor and the king's lieutenant of the *Netherlands*. Peace and concord were restored, industry renewed, and religious disputes silenced; in a word, the *Low Countries* would again have become the most flourishing and important of the *Spanish* dominions, had not the ambition of don *John*, the false policy and despotism of *Philip*, or some such cause, a third time lighted up the torch of discord, and excited a civil war, never to be appeased but by the total extinction of the *Spanish* sovereignty over the seven provinces of *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Utrecht*, *Groningen*, *Guelderland*, *Friseland* and *Overijssel*°.

Don John admitted to the government.

After the departure of the foreign troops, when liberty began to draw breath, while commerce was again lifting its head, and the arts of peace distributing their blessings, don *John* gave umbrage by the great number of *Spaniards* retained in his court, the confidence he reposed in his *Spanish* servants, the intimacy he chiefly contracted with those persons who appeared dissatisfied with all the measures concerted since the death of *Requesnes*, by demanding the same honours paid to princes of the blood vested with his authority, the same guard and respect, by assuming a power

° BENTIV. lib. x. ibid.

over the officers of the army, and claiming the title and power of captain-general, by interfering in the civil promotions dependent on the states; and by insisting, that if the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* did not immediately agree to every particular of the late treaty, called the *perpetual edict*, all communication with them should be broken off, and they forced into reason by dint of arms. It must be observed, that when the edict was communicated to the states of *Holland* and *Zealand*, they made the following objections by the advice of the prince of *Orange*. That the states general had not established the right of assembling this sovereign tribunal in the persons originally invested with that power by the constitution; that they had authorized an infraction of their privileges, by not procuring the release of count *Bare*, who had done nothing contrary to the laws of his country; that the pacification of *Ghent* was confirmed only under such limitations as subjected it to what constructions and interpretations the king thought proper; that the *Spanish* troops were suffered to carry off the immense wealth they acquired by the ruin and destruction of the *Netherlands*, and the city of *Antwerp* in particular; that no stipulation was made in favour of those dispossessed of their estates; that no mention was made of demolishing the forts, and that they had shewn but little complaisance to the queen of *England*, and the court of *France*, notwithstanding they had in many instances testified their regard for the *Netherlands*. They added, that it were to be wished they had seen all these articles performed before don *John* was admitted into his government, and that every man had previously been put in possession of his estate and effects, as well in the *Low Countries*, as in the duchy of *Burgundy*; an article that in particular respected the prince of *Orange*, dispossessed since the first disturbances of large possessions in *Burgundy* and *Brabant*. For these reasons the states and the prince refused to sign the edict, though they consented to all the articles that did not contradict those specified. Don *John* was strenuous in urging that violent measures might be used to force them to submission. He wrote to the king in cypher, pressing him to this method as the only expedient. The letter fell into the hands of *Henry IV.* who transmitted it to the prince of *Orange*. His secretary *Escovedo* was next sent to *Spain*, under pretence of soliciting money for the payment of the *German* forces; but in reality to represent the necessity of violent measures, and communicate the plan projected by don *John*. Impatient for the return of *Escovedo*, he meditated quitting the country,

He gives umbrage to the States.

and seizes
Namur.

try, and actually consulted his friends *Barlaimont* and *Mansvelt* upon the subject. At last, under pretence of complimenting *Margaret* queen of *Navarre* on her journey to the *Sparw*, he left *Brussels*, and seized upon the citadel of *Namur*; a conduct which he endeavoured to justify by the necessity he was under of retiring to a place of security, while he saw all around him in commotion, and the flames of war and rebellion ready to break out. He sent his apology to the states, desiring they would disarm the governor and burghers of *Brussels* closely attached to the prince of *Orange*. The states invited him to return, promising they would punish with the utmost severity all convicted of any designs against his person; but he not only refused, but endeavoured to corrupt the *German* forces, and by their means to gain possession of *Antwerp*. In a word, from intercepted letters, from the seizing of *Namur* the attempts on *Antwerp*, the tampering with the *German* soldiers, the subsequent altercation with the states general, and the march of the *Spanish* army towards the *Netherlands*, it incontestibly appears that don *John* was the aggressor, that he was encouraged by *Philip*; and that though the states of *Holland* and *Zealand* refused to sign the perpetual edict, yet they and the prince of *Orange* were desirous of preserving the public tranquillity even upon the terms of the edict ^p.

The prince
of Orange
in high
estimation.

When it was known that the *Spanish* forces were assembling in *Namur* and *Luxemburgh*, the states invited the prince of *Orange* to *Breda*, where he was joyfully received, and accompanied to *Antwerp* and *Brussels* by strong guards, who voluntarily offered themselves for his protection. Here he was chosen governor of *Brabant*, which had no particular governor of the province, being under the immediate direction of don *John*, in quality of the king's lieutenant. At the same time a council of state was formed, which should have the general government of the provinces, and to this the prince was appointed president. He was indeed esteemed not only the principal personage in the confederacy, but the defender of liberty, and the parent of the *Netherlands*. His high reputation incurred the jealousy of the other nobility, particularly of the duke *d'Archat*, the head of an ancient family, the governor of *Flanders*, and a nobleman of great property and influence. He became the leader of a faction opposed to the prince of *Orange*, agreed however with him in the detestation of tyranny and defence of freedom, but differed not only in point of religion and sentiments

^p GROT. lib. ii. p. 50.

with respect to the court of *Spain*, but of personal interest. In short, he was the prince's rival; finding his weight inferior, he was determined to invite the archduke *Mathias*, brother to the emperor, to the government of the *Low Countries*. A message was privately sent to that prince, who, dissatisfied with the little consequence he had at the imperial court, accepted the proposal, quitted *Prague* in the night, and suddenly arrived in the neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, to the great astonishment of the states. Contrary to expectation, the prince of *Orange* espoused the archduke's interest in opposition to the duke of *Anjou*, and persuaded several cities to bestow upon him the government, but on condition that he himself should be appointed his lieutenant. *Bentivoglio*, with the true casuistry of an *Italian* prelate, assigns a variety of subtle causes for the prince's conduct, which probably never had existence but in that writer's own imagination. It must, however, be acknowledged, that they are specious and refined, perfectly consistent with the character of the prince; but perhaps too speculative for practice, and too far-fetched for so pressing a conjuncture.

The duke d'*Archat* now changed his battery: he laboured to dissuade the provinces from coming into the measures of the prince of *Orange*; affirming, that ambition, and not the love of liberty, made him oppose the *Spanish* government; *Factions* he made his public entry into *Ghent*, escorted by a great *formed* number of horse and foot; he gained great numbers of the *against* nobility, obtained from the council of state very extensive *him* powers, with respect to the government of *Flanders*; and after taking upon him the authority of governor, gained the affections of the people, by declaring that he was come to restore their privileges, and demolish the citadel of *Ghent*, which had long given umbrage. However, in the midst of all this popularity, he was arrested in *Ghent* by one *Rubroe*, who raised a sedition among the populace, but released six days after at the intercession of the prince of *Orange*. A conduct that refuted all the calumnies propagated against the prince, and proved that the public good was the guiding star that directed him to so many great and glorious actions, amidst the utmost perils to his present reputation. *Archat* was prevailed on by the states of *Flanders* to publish a declaration, promising he would entirely forget and forgive the injury his honour sustained by his imprisonment. To this declaration, his pride made him give the air of a pardon. His expression gave offence, and that air of au-

1 LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 63.

1 GROT. & LE CLERC, *ibid*.
thority

thority he assumed was a proof of his ambition. All his influence however could not prevent the release of the other prisoners made in *Ghent*, particularly of *Champigni*, who was accused of having drawn up an incendiary paper, tending to disturb the tranquillity of the provinces, and levelled in particular at the prince of *Orange*, whom they wanted to supersede, by substituting *Archot* in his employments. It would be impossible to recite the views, designs, and opinions of parties and individuals, who contributed to the public confusion; they were infinitely contradictory, and frequently absurd. Sufficient it is, that the prince of *Orange* and duke d'*Archot* were rivals, who should raise the archduke *Mathias* to the dignity of governor-general, in order to hold the power in their own hands: both were enemies to tyranny, but the latter better disposed to the *Spanish* government, and a strenuous supporter of the popish religion.*

Don John
deposed.

It was judged necessary by the states and the prince of *Orange*, that the archduke should be maintained agreeable to his quality, until he could be installed in his authority; accordingly the prince, attended by the burghers in arms, went to meet him at *Antwerp*. Immediately after the states general published a proclamation, declaring don *John* an enemy to the country he was bound to protect; and all his adherents were ordered to quit him, under pain of being declared rebels. A closer union was formed between the catholic and protestant provinces, by which the pacification of *Ghent* was confirmed, and the parties engaged mutually to support their privileges. Next an embassy was sent to queen *Elizabeth*, to solicit the assistance of the *English* nation, and engage the queen in an alliance. On the 17th of *December* the states resolved to install the archduke in the dignity of governor-general of the provinces, and a deputation was sent to him with the articles that were to regulate his authority and administration. As the governor was a stranger, supposed uninformed of the laws and privileges of the country, the prince of *Orange* was appointed his lieutenant, whose integrity and ability was acknowledged.†

A. D.
1578.

THOUGH the archduke was fettered and confined by tighter bonds than any preceding governor, he accepted the charge, and signed the conditions, set out for *Brussels* on the 18th of *January*, and was every where received in the quality he assumed. Don *John* sent bitter reproaches to the states, but his letters were neglected, and laid aside without

* LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 64.

† Id. ibid. p. 65.

a reply

a reply; they wrote however to the king, apologizing, for their conduct, and attributing it to the necessity of the times, and the maladministration of don John: the same excuses were made to the emperor, without whose permission the archduke had accepted the government, but in vain; for neither of the princes could be persuaded that the states ought to confer or the duke to accept without the leave or direct appointment of *Philip* and the emperor. In *Spain* councils were daily held upon the affairs of the *Low Countries*; it was at length determined to act vigorously, as the only means of saving those provinces either from claiming their independency, or throwing themselves into the arms of some foreign prince. The troops were ordered to be assembled in *Naples* and *Milan*, levies were made in *Burgundy* and *Luxembourg*, and a resolution taken of supporting don John with the whole power of the *Spanish* monarchy. To oppose the vast preparations, the states concluded a treaty with the queen of *England*, whereby that princess stipulated to advance them 100,000 l. sterling, to assist the provinces with 5000 foot, and 1000 horse; on condition that the loan was repaid with interest in eight months, that certain towns were ceded to her in security, that the states should defray the expence of transporting the troops, and take them into their pay while they acted in their service. It is said, that the ambassadors would have preferred an equivalent in money to the *English* troops; that they hinted the matter to the queen, and found she was offended. The treaty however was afterwards broke by the queen, under pretence that the *French* would harbour suspicions of her having designs upon the *Netherlands*, and would for that reason unite their forces with *Spain* to oppose her attempts. Instead of the *English* troops, the queen proposed sending *John Cassimir* count palatine with 3000 foot and 3000 horse, refusing to pay the money stipulated until the states consented. This scheme had before been suggested in the states general, but opposed, as it would render the reformists too powerful; which indeed was the great objection to the *English* forces.

Preparations for war.

Treaty with queen Elizabeth.

BEFORE this treaty was concluded, don John was joined by the expected army under the conduct of *Alexander Farnese*, duke of *Parma*, the most intrepid, vigorous, expert, and renowned officer in the service of *Philip*. The troops consisted of 16,000 foot, and 2000 horse, all chosen veterans; many of whom had often triumphed under the duke of *Alva*. Don John declared war on the 25th of *January*; and though the winter was severe, determined to commence hostilities, and push the advantages he obtained from a greatly superior army. The states

*Success of
Don John.*

states were irresolute, and slow in their preparations; *William of Orange* had made the most spirited remonstrances, and insisted on the necessity of an offensive war; but so tedious are the deliberations of so unwieldy a body, clogged with numberless constitutional embarrassments, that nothing was executed. A body indeed of 10,000 foot and 5000 horse was cantoned in the neighbourhood of *Namur*; but all the chief officers were at *Brussels*, and only the *sieur de Coigny* marshal de Camp, and colonel *Balfour*, a Scotchman, with the troops. These don *John* proposed attacking; *Coigny* and *Balfour* suspected his design, and prepared for a retreat; the cavalry were placed in the rear to cover the infantry in their march, and don *John* hearing they were in motion, hastened to occupy certain advantageous posts. He fell upon the army of the states, broke their disposition, and forced them to seek shelter in a tumultuous manner under the cannon of *Gemblours*: the town was summoned, and it submitted at discretion; while the fugitive army was dispersed in parties round the country. *Louvain* surrendered to *Gonzaga*, and *Bovines* was reduced by *Hierques*. *Sichem* made an obstinate resistance, but was at length stormed and taken by the prince of *Parma*, all the garrison being put to the sword, except the governor, who valiantly defended himself in an untenable citadel; for which, on his submission, he was unjustly and cruelly hanged. *Diest*, *Archot*, *Tillemont*, and *Leuve*, surrendered without exchanging a shot; but *Nivelle* gloriously stood a long siege, and at last obtained honourable conditions.^u Don *John* would have invested *Brussels*, where the archduke and prince of *Orange* resided; but dreading the difficulty of the enterprise, he contented himself with securing the passes to *Italy* and the empire, by the reduction of *Limburg* and *Philipville*.

Amsterdam declares for the states.

WHILE don *John* was pursuing his conquests with rapidity, the states made an acquisition, that more than compensated all their losses; it was the city of *Amsterdam*, which blocked up for several months by sea and land, at last concluded a treaty with the friends of the house of *Orange*, whereby it was stipulated that the protestants should hold their religious meetings without the walls, and be permitted a cemetery or burying-ground within; that the garrison should be disbanded, and 600 men, commanded by the burghers, levied for the defence of the city; that all persons banished on the score of religion should be recalled; that *Amsterdam*

^u CAMDEN, A. D. 1577. RHYM. Fæd. tom. xv. p. 784. REIDAN. lib. ii. p. 26.

should

should enjoy all its ancient privileges ; and that all vacancies in public employments should be filled without distinction by those who either did or did not incur the penalty of banishment on account of party-conexions. This capitulation was soon broken, the catholic magistrates were driven out of the city, attended by the priests and popish clergy of every denomination ; the images and idols of superstition were pulled down, and only the reformed clergy suffered to preach publicly.^w

THESE transactions were succeeded by the arrival of *Proposals* baron de Selle, with letters and instructions from king *made by* Philip. His first proposal was to reinstate don John ; but *king Phi-* finding the spirits of the people too violently enflamed to admit of such conditions, the baron artfully changed his battery, desired that the duke of *Parma* might be accepted in quality of governor, without troops, or any other security than the promises of the states, and the person of the prince of *Orange*, who was required as a hostage ; but this proposition was entirely rejected. Don John or the prince of *Parma* would not be received upon any conditions ; and the states positively insisted as a preliminary to any treaty, that the government should be left in the hands of the archduke, assisted by the prince of *Orange*. The emperor sent ambassadors with instructions to the same purpose ; but he met with no better success.*

NEGOTIATIONS proving abortive, both sides prepared to ensure their pretensions by the sword. The states, sensible that the misfortunes and losses in the winter arose from the irresolution and tedious deliberations of the provincial states, vested the archduke, the council of state, and the prince of *Orange*, with a power of levying what number of troops they should think necessary, and disposing them in the manner most advantageous to the public, without referring to the states in every particular : they only recommended that they would proportion the expences to the revenue, which at that time amounted only to 600,000 livres. About this time a revolution, greatly beneficial to the common cause, was effected in *Guelderland* ; John of *Nassau*, brother to the prince of *Orange*, was appointed *Revolu-* governor of this province ; upon entering on the admini- *tions in* stration, count John perceived that the whole conduct of *Guelder-* affairs was in the hands of persons strongly affected to king *land and* Philip and the catholic religion. Most of the cities professed *Gronin-* popery ; and the count, who had sworn to the pacification *gen.*

^w GROT. lib. iii. p. 54.

* BENT. lib. x. p. 242.

of *Ghent*, was restrained from attempting any change in religion. The face of affairs however took a sudden turn; *John* acquired great popularity, and soon discovered that foreigners were the leading persons. His artifice and policy stimulated the people against them; they were deprived of their seats in the provincial states, and turned out of their offices in the government of the cities. Thus *Nassau* obtained the chief direction, and was able to co-operate with the measures planned by his brother. Another revolution happened in *Groningen*, of which *Jasper de Rollis* *sieur de Billy* was governor. *Billy* was by birth a *Portuguese*, by religion a catholic, and consequently a dependent on the court of *Spain*: he refused to accede to the union of the provinces, and the states general found it necessary to send to him *Francis Martin Stella*, with proposals for signing the pacification of *Ghent*. *Billy* suspecting that the deputy's real design was to excite a revolt in the province, put him to the torture to extort confession; after having first wounded him with his own hand. The deputy bid defiance to pain; he bore the most excruciating tortures with firmness, and having a surgeon to dress his wound to enable him to undergo a second trial, he communicated something in the *Greek* language, which the surgeon soon made public: in consequence the mob assembled, rescued *Stella*, declared for the pacification of *Ghent*, and obliged *Billy* to quit his government. The change of councils in these two provinces was of the utmost service to the confederacy, and would have enabled the province to have encountered the whole power of *Spain*, had not dissension broke their strength, divided their councils, and distracted their affairs.*

*Jealousies
among the
provinces.*

THE great number of protestants invited into the *Netherlands*, in consequence of the advice of the queen of *England*, gave umbrage to the catholics: this was a circumstance on which they had not bestowed sufficient reflection; but the prince of *Orange* foresaw the effects, and opposed the resolution so warmly, that *Elizabeth* took offence. He even became suspected by several zealous protestants, who did not advert that the desire of preserving unanimity among the province was the sole principle of *William's* conduct. The *Walloon* provinces, violently attached to the church of *Rome*, had in fact entertained suspicions, that a project was concerted between the queen of *England*, the prince of *Orange*, and prince *Cassimir*, for establishing the protestant religion; since the inhabitants of *Ghent* and the protestant provinces

* LE CLERC, lib. iii.

taxed *William* with discovering a bias for popery. Thus his conduct was taxed by both parties, and that moderation that breathed nothing but true patriotism, became obnoxious to those who had equally at heart the good of their country. *France* had long made overtures from the duke of *Anjou*, which the *Walloons* now insisted should be taken into consideration. The state, upon the assurances of *Henry III.* that nothing contrary to the privileges of the province was intended, gratified the request of the *Walloons*, after consulting whether it would be agreeable. In truth, the appearance of the duke of *Anjou*, who was sent to the *Netherlands* merely to be removed from the court, was no way formidable; on the contrary, his army consisted of starved undisciplined wretches, intent only upon plunder and rapine: the duke approached to *Mons*, and on the 13th of *August* a treaty was concluded between him and the states general, stipulating, that he should advance with 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, to be maintained for three months at the expence of the states; that if the war should not within that time be finished, he should continue 5000 foot and 500 horse in his own pay, in consideration of which he should be declared *defender of the liberties of the Netherlands*; that he should enter into an alliance with the queen of *England*, duke *Cassimir*, and the other friends and supporters of the provinces; that his forces should be joined to those of the states, and himself commander in chief, or in his absence the lieutenant of the states; that *Inspruc*, *Bauvais*, and *Landreci*, should be given him as cautionary towns; and that his troops should have liberty to make conquests in *Burgundy* and *Luxemburgh*, provided they did not thereby neglect or retard the common cause. Upon the whole, by this treaty the duke got nothing but the empty title of defender of the liberties of the *Netherlands*; all that was solid depended on the success of the war, and the pleasure of the states.^v

The duke of Anjou comes into the Netherlands.

WHILE the confederates were forming alliances, healing their divisions, and making preparations, don *John of Austria* resolved to attack their camp, entrenched at *Rime-States ar-*
nant, a village between *Mechlin* and *Archot*. This Dutch^{my} army consisted of 8000 foot, 2000 horse, and some companies of *English* and *Scotch* auxiliaries. The duke of *Parma*, lieutenant general of the *Spaniards*, proposed drawing this body out of the intrenchments by skirmishes, and then attacking them in the open plain. Baffled in this de-

^v REIDAN. lib. ii. p. 30. METEREN. lib. x..

sign,

sign, he attacked a post defended by the *British* auxiliaries, but was warmly received, and obliged to retreat with the loss of 800 men. Count *Bossu*, general of the *Flemings*, filed off towards *Namur*, determined to act on the defensive until he should be joined by prince *Cassimir* or the duke of *Anjou*. A solemn embassy was sent to the latter, requesting he would with all expedition march to the assistance of the *Flemings*. *Anjou* began his rout; but instead of pursuing it, he halted to secure a retreat, invested *Binch*, took it by assault, and used the garrison with so much humanity as induced *Maubege* to surrender without exchanging blows. *Quesnoi* and *Landreci* however refusing to receive the *French* troops, proposed the duke should have *Mechlin* and some other towns, as an equivalent. *Anjou* was preparing to join the *Flemish* army, when he received advice, that *Cassimir*, instead of proceeding to attack don *John*, had turned off to *Ghent*, there to receive the pay due to his army. Upon this he halted, and sent to know of the council of state, whether *Cassimir* acted by their instructions. His army murmured, deserted, and complained grievously of the inhospitality of the *Flemings*; disputes in short rose so high, that it was plain the duke of *Anjou* was rather the rival of *Cassimir* than the protector of the *Low Countries*. The states laboured to reconcile the princes, and persuade them to act with unanimity for the common cause. In the mean time don *John* died, some imagine of chagrin, others affirm of poison, and the whole power came into the hands of a more able soldier and statesman, the duke of *Parma*.²

Don John's
death.

Prince
Cassimir
enters the
Nether-
lands.

No advantage was deduced from the death of the *Spanish* governor; the vigour, the prudence, the uncommon diligence of *Parma* kept all quiet in his army; while the confederates, greatly superior in strength, including the forces of *Cassimir*, the duke of *Anjou*, and the *Flemings*, were prevented from action, by disputes, contentions, and rivalry. *Cassimir* entered the provinces with 7000 horse and 8000 foot, a force greatly superior to what had been stipulated. Suspicion seized the minds of the zealous catholics, and even the prince of *Orange* and the states remonstrated against this proceeding. The one was sensible it would destroy the necessary harmony, and the others thought it indicated ambition and design. *Cassimir* made his excuses, and was proceeding to *Ghent*, the burghers of which had promised to pay his army if he would assist them against the *Wallsons*, their declared enemies. The council of state and

² Id. *ibid*.

William of Orange had already denied them all aid, as having openly violated the pacification of *Ghent*; but *Cassimir*, in great want of money, was ballancing whether he should not accept the proposal. From this he was prevented by the necessity of going to the court of *London*, to concert matters with *Elizabeth*. In his absence all was mutiny and disorder in his army; they disbanded in parties round the country, the cavalry were surrounded by the duke of *Parma*, and would have been all cut in pieces or made prisoners, had they not consented to return home, on his granting passports. *Anjou's* army was much in the same condition, and equally useless to the confederates. *William of Orange* perceiving that little confidence was to be placed in mercenary allies, and less in the unanimity of provinces rent by faction, different in religion, and divided by ambition, political maxims, and private interest, formed the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of which he was governor, and cementing them with those more contiguous, in which the protestant interest prevailed. Such an alliance was subject to infinitely fewer difficulties than attended the more general one of uniting all the provinces; it was in fact the only measure that could be proposed with safety, and it was prosecuted with that alacrity and address for which *William* was deservedly celebrated.²

ON the 23d of *January* deputies from the provinces of *Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friseland, Groningen, Overijssel,* and *Guelderland*, met at *Utrecht*, and signed the alliance ever since known by the name of the *Union of Utrecht*, the basis of that commonwealth so renowned by the appellation of the *United Provinces*. This treaty of alliance was founded upon the infraction of the pacification of *Ghent*, solemnly acceded to by *Philip*, and the late invasion of certain towns in *Guelderland*. It was not hereby intended to divide the seven provinces from the other ten, or to renounce the pacification of *Ghent*; its object was to preserve the liberty stipulated in that pacification, by more rigorous operations, and united councils. The chief articles of this union are the following.

THE seven provinces shall unite themselves in interest as one province, never to be separated or divided by testament, donation, exchange, sale, or agreement; reserving to each particular province and city all its privileges, rights, customs, and statutes. In all disputes arising between either of

² Ibid.

the provinces, the rest shall interpose only as mediators. They shall assist each other with life and fortune against every foreign attempt upon any particular province, whether to establish sovereignty, the catholic religion, arbitrary measures, or whatever else may appear inconsistent with the liberties of the provinces, and the intention of the alliance. All frontier towns belonging to the *United Provinces* shall, if old, be fortified at the expence of the provinces; if new, at the joint expence of the union. The public imposts and duties shall be farmed for three months to the highest bidder, and employed with the king's taxes in the public service. No province, city, or member of the union shall contract an alliance with any foreign prince or power, without the concurrence of all the other members. Foreign powers shall be admitted into the alliance, only by consent of all the contracting parties. As to religion, the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* shall act in that particular as they think adviseable; the rest shall adhere to the purport of the edict published by the archduke *Mathias*, which prescribed that no man should be oppressed on the account of conscience. All the inhabitants, from the age of eighteen to sixty, shall be trained and disciplined to war. Peace and war shall be declared by the unanimous voice of all the provinces; other matters that concern the internal policy shall be regulated by a majority. The states shall be held in the usual constitutional manner, and coinage shall be deferred to future determination. Finally, the parties agree, that the interpretation of these articles shall remain in the states general; but in case of their failing to decide, in the stadtholder.^b

IN this grand alliance, sketched out by the prince of *Orange*, may easily be discerned the judicious steady hand of the master and true patriot. It was so universally approved, that in a short time the cities of *Ghent*, *Nimeguen*, *Arnheim*, *Leewarden*, *Venlo*, *Ypres*, *Antwerp*, *Breda*, *Bruges*, with several other towns, noblemen, and persons of distinction, embraced and signed the union. Thus the foundation of a commonwealth was laid, but in a fluctuating and uncertain state of affairs, when men were actuated by different passions, views, and interests; intimidated by the great strength of the *Spanish* monarchy, and supported chiefly by a zealous adherence to liberty, and firm resolution to perish in defence of freedom. The first coin

^b TEMP. chap. i.

• METELEN, lib. x. fol. 190.

struck after this alliance is expressive of the situation of the infant republic. (A)

It was expected, that the important object of this alliance *The Wal-* would have attracted the attention of the *Walloons*, and indeed *loons form* of all the catholic inhabitants of the *Netherlands*: it in fact did *a treaty* so, but in a different manner from what was imagined. The *Walloons* not only refused to accede to the union, but they *with the* made the strongest remonstrances to the states general upon the *duke of* danger, impropriety, and illegality of such a confederacy. It *Parma.* appears from *Strada* and *Bentivoglio*, that the duke of *Parma* was at the bottom of their intrigues. He stimulated and prompted their measures, inspiring them with a jealousy of the protestant designs on the catholic religion. In the end, he contracted an alliance with them, and thereby confirmed by his own example the legality and necessity of the union of *Utrecht*. Immediately they began levying an army, but still kept up appearances with the confederated *Provinces*, though it was obvious that hostilities must soon commence. To prevent the effusion of blood, the emperor, as mediator, set on foot another negotiation; but *Philip*, depending on his own strength, would allow no reasonable terms of accommodation, and give no security for liberty and religion. Instead of granting equitable conditions, he laboured to detach the prince of *Orange* from the union, made him extraordinary offers, offered to restore him to all his estates, indemnify his losses, raise him to the height of power, and give him the first place in his esteem and favour. But *William* was too wise to rely on the promises of a king, who had shewn himself perfidious; too firm to be moved by danger; and too public-spirited to relinquish the interests of his country for his own private emolument^d. He determined to share the fate of the *United Provinces*, to fulfil his engagements, and the hope conceived of his conduct.

In the mean time great disorders arose in *Ghent*. The inhabitants, finding that the *Walloons* refused all proposals of agreement, began afresh their violences against the catholics. *Disturbances in* Their example was followed at *Oudenarde* and *Dendermonde*, *Ghent,* and to such excess did they push their zeal, that the presence *and other* of the prince of *Orange* was necessary to restore the tranquillity of *Ghent* in particular. On the prince's arrival he found *towns.*

^d LE CLERC, p. 86.

(A) Here was represented a ship labouring amidst the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto, *Incertum quo fata ferant*. Vide *Le Clerc*, tom. ii. Sir *William Temple*, chap. i. p. 54.

every thing in confusion, the convents and churches pillaged by the soldiers, the houses and effects of the catholic priests sold at public markets ; and *Imbise*, who arrogated to himself a kind of despotism, laying an undue restraint on the election of magistrates, imprisoning all those who opposed his usurpation. The prince soon put a stop to those arbitrary and iniquitous proceedings ; *Imbise* was forced to abscond, the magistrates were chosen according to the laws, and the catholics restored to the full possession of their estates ; an instance of justice which, however, could not procure *William* the confidence of the catholic faction, who esteemed the man, while they detested the heretic^e. An attempt was made by the *Walloons* to surprise the city ; but it was frustrated by the prince's vigilance and prudence.

Several
towns
taken by
the duke of
Parma.

WHILE the prince of *Orange* was busied in conciliating factions, forming alliances, and strengthening the union, the duke of *Parma* was taking measures to disconcert his projects, and reduce the provinces to the king's obedience. He dispatched *Gonzaga* and *Mondragon* with eight thousand men, to lay siege to *Marsien*. The town was taken by assault, the governor hanged, and forty-five of the chief inhabitants tortured to death, for having valiantly defended themselves, and faithfully discharged their duty. It is said the duke of *Parma* disavowed this bloody proceeding, so inconsistent indeed with the character of a hero. After some farther inconsiderable advantages obtained in the neighbourhood of *Ruremonde*, the king's army insulted *Antwerp*, where the archduke and the prince of *Orange* then resided. The states infantry was intrenched near *Borgerhont*, a post attacked without success by the duke of *Parma*, after a brisk skirmishing of two hours between the armies. *La Noue*, however, the general of the states army, not chusing to expose himself to continual alarms from the enemies cavalry, retired under the cannon of *Antwerp*^f.

ON *La Noue*'s retreat, the duke of *Parma* invested *Maeſricht*. The siege began on the 8th of *March*, and continued, without remission, to the 29th of *June*. This defence was deemed very extraordinary, as the fortifications were in bad order, the garrison slender, and the place but poorly provided with the necessaries of a siege. To one *Sebastian Tappin* the whole glory was due. He was a native of *Lorrain*, an engineer by profession, a protestant, a brave and alert soldier, whose indefatigable vigilance raised continual obstructions to the duke's approaches. The garrison had sustained frequent as-

^e Id. *ibid*.

^f STRADA, lib. iii.

faults,

faults, and made divers bloody sallies, by which they were so much weakened, fatigued, and exhausted, that during a parley the town was surpris'd, and a great many soldiers put to the sword; but *Tappin* was saved by favour of the duke of *Parma*, who gave strict orders that he should have quarter. For three days *Maeſtricht* was a scene of the utmost desolation and horror, the *Spaniſh* soldiers committing every excess and enormity, in despite of all the endeavours of the general to restrain their licentiousness, and maintain discipline: tired with pillage and slaughter, they sat down loaded with booty, but not satiated with blood. With such diligence did the duke apply himself to this siege, that, unable to support the fatigue, he was seized with a fever, which had near proved fatal. His situation inspired the enemy with fresh courage. They ventured to appear in the field; they reduced *Alost*, and some other places of little consequence, but could not prevent the loss of *Menin*, taken by assault; though it was soon after retaken by the prince of *Orange*. In *Brabant* the states likewise obtained some advantages, though of too unimportant a nature to merit attention. The truth is, all the *United Provinces* were in a deplorable situation, and their trifling successes were owing entirely to accident, or the duke of *Parma's* illness. Several provinces contributed nothing to the common cause; others furnished but a small proportion of the taxes agreed upon at the union. The army had large arrears due, and lived at discretion, in a manner more oppressive to the people than taxes to the amount of their regular pay. The people clamoured against the states, they threw the blame on the officers for relaxing in point of discipline; and the officers recriminated, alledging, that the fault was in the states, who failed in performing their engagements to the army. All was in confusion; but as no person would acknowledge his error, there appeared little hopes of amendment. In a word, nothing besides the same distress in the *Spaniſh* army could have prevented the duke of *Parma* from reducing the revolted provinces to accept any terms he should think fit to prescribe. He was equally in want of money, and his late treaty with the *Wallons* required that he should dismiss all his foreign troops in the space of six weeks after the publication of the treaty. His situation indeed was so deplorable, that he requested leave to resign his command, and retire with the foreign soldiers to *Italy*; but the court of *Spain* had too much confidence in his ability to entrust so important a charge to another. In this state of affairs the animosity of the parties remained, without the power of shewing their resentment. The states were resolute,

The situation of both parties.

lute, but unable to defend their liberties. *Philip* was determined, but too weak, to be despotic. They mutually published bitter remonstrances, but their strength would seem to have evaporated in revilings ^b.

At last the prince of *Orange* renewed the treaty with the duke of *Anjou*. It was hoped that a brother of the king of *France* would introduce an alteration in their circumstances, more favourable than could be expected from the government of the archduke, unsupported by the emperor and the empire. The queen of *England* was again offered the sovereignty, but she declined it for political reasons. The duke of *Anjou* was, however, opposed by a great number of the reformed, who could never reconcile themselves to the son of *Catherine de Medicis*; an ambitious, intriguing woman, doomed to indelible infamy, by the share she bore in the horrid massacre of the protestants at *Paris*. All arguments to remove their prejudices were vain. *Anjou* was a Roman catholic, and that alone was sufficient to render him detestable. The prince of *Orange* urged the necessity of receiving the prince. Theologians and civilians allowed that it was lawful to have recourse in extremity to a papist, but the people continued obstinate. This determined the prince of *Orange* to have recourse to the states general, to whom he sent a long remonstrance, pointing out the causes why the confederacy did not produce the intended effect, and exhorting them to re-consider the affair respecting the duke of *Anjou*. He laid before them a scheme for the operations of the future campaign, the forces requisite to push their projects with success, and the means of supporting the troops. He proposed that the oath administered to the troops should be changed, alleging, as the cause of their licentiousness, that having only sworn fidelity to the king, they thought themselves at liberty to oppress his subjects in open war against *Philip*. In consequence, the states general referred the prince's remonstrances to the provincial states and cities; and, after long deliberations, and warm debates, it was at length determined to call in the duke of *Anjou*, as the only resource in so great a calamity. The influence of the prince of *Orange*, the confidence the people reposed in his ability and integrity, and the weight of his arguments, contributed chiefly to this resolution. Accordingly the year began with a solemn treaty, whereby the *United Provinces* renounced their allegiance to *Philip*, and acknowledged *Francis Hercules de Valois*, duke of *Alençon* and *Anjou*, for their sovereign. The

A. D.
1580.
*The duke
of Anjou
elected so-
vereign of
the Ne-
therlands.*

^b BENTIVOG. p. 2. lib. i. p. 19. GROT. lib. iii.

treaty consisted of twenty seven articles, of which this we have mentioned was the chief. Deputies were sent to the duke of *Anjou*, to explain the articles, and congratulate him on his accession. As to the archduke *Mathias*, finding himself unsupported by the emperor, the empire, and the numerous friends whom he expected would have joined him on his elevation, he expressed no resentment at the conduct of the provinces, which with great moderation he attributed to necessity. He only demanded to know their intention with respect to his own person; and the states made their apology, by representing the situation of their affairs, assuring him of their esteem, permitting him to reside in the *Netherlands* as long as he thought convenient, and highly applauding the prudence and equity of his conduct during his administration. (A)

When the king of *Spain* was informed of this open defection of the provinces, he attributed the whole to the prince of *Orange*, and proceeded directly to proscribe him; he confiscated his estate, upbraided him with ingratitude, and stained his character with ignominy. He even promised a reward of 25,000 crowns to whoever should bring him the prince of *Orange* dead or alive, the same to his heirs in case the attempter perished in the enterprise; and he declared all those proscribed, their estates confiscated, their honours and dignities abolished, who adhered to *William* a month after the publication of this edict^a.

The Prince of Orange proscribed.

The prince of *Orange* did not silently pass over this proscription; he employed one *Villiers*, a *Frenchman*, to refute the edict: his answer was well received, and is recorded by historians as a proof of the spirit, the equity, the prudence, and the moderation of the prince. However, when it was proposed to the states for their opinion, with a request they would publish it in their own name, they declined it, assigning for a reason, that it contained some facts too little

A. D.
1581.

Designs of the duke of Parma defeated.

^a METEREN, lib. x.

(A) As to the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, they were left wholly in the hands of the prince of *Orange*, whose power as stadtholder was in no respect limited by the duke's sovereignty. After all, *Grotius* affirms, that the duke's authority was merely nominal, that the real power devolved on the prince of *Orange*, whose name, however, was used in all public acts only in a subaltern capacity. It was apparent indeed to the *French*, that *William* concealed ambitious views under the cloak of patriotism, but it was not convenient to discover their sentiments. *Grotius Annal.* lib. iv. p. 74.

known to be credited, and perhaps too much acrimony and resentment against a prince whose power they still dreaded. With these recriminations ended the transactions of the year.

A. D.
1581.

Designs of
the duke of
Parma de-
feated.

THE following year was ushered in with great commotions at *Brussels*, excited by one *Ruyskenvelt* a monk, who was strongly attached to king *Philip*. This man by preaching, declaiming, and haranguing, endeavoured to enflame the minds of the people against the late measures, and to stir them up to revolt against the new administration. Mobs assembled in the streets with a view of admitting the *Spanish* troops, but they were dispersed by the governor and garrison. Finding that the monks in general were concerned in a conspiracy against the magistrates, the governor ordered their churches to be shut up, their most valuable images and religious ornaments to be sold, and themselves banished the city. Soon after these commotions were settled, the duke of *Parma* projected an enterprize against *Flushing*. Certain *Zealanders* were corrupted to betray their country; but they took the duke's money, and apprized the prince of *Orange* of the design, by which means it was defeated. In *Brabant* the states contented themselves with maintaining their ground, without aspiring at new acquisitions. The garrison of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, *Villevoorde*, and *Willebrocke*, mutinied for their arrears, but they were appeased by the payment of a part of their demands. As to the duke of *Parma*, though he was in great want of money, and therefore unable to undertake any considerable enterprize, yet he had this advantage over the states, that he could suffer the soldiers of the garrison to live at free quarters upon the burghers; a liberty on which the others did not presume, from an apprehension of irritating those spirits to be gained only by soothing, cajoling and moderation. Count *Manfvelt* was detached by the duke with a body of forces to attack *Nivelle*, an enterprize in which he succeeded with little difficulty; while *Conde* was recovered with equal facility by the duke of *Parma* in person. On the other hand, *Harspenne* surprized the citadel of *Breda*, defended only by a very slender garrison, and soon reduced the city. This officer's next attempt was on *Gertruydenberg*, but it failed ^k.

The States
renounce
the allegi-
ance to
Philip.

DURING these petty hostilities, the states, after long deliberations at the *Hague*, published an edict, excluding king *Philip* from any sovereignty, right, or authority over the *Netherlands*. This writing appeared on the 26th of *July*,

^k LE CLERC. 3. GROT. lib. 4.

under

under the title of “ The abdication of *Philip* king of *Spain*.” It was extremely well drawn up, stated in the strongest manner the mutual privileges of the king and people, proved that the allegiance of the latter was void by the breach of contract on the side of the former, enumerated the oppressive and tyrannical acts of his government, set aside his authority for the most cogent reasons, forbid money to be coined in his name, and took every other step towards independency. It was in vain for *Philip* to remonstrate, he knew the states were to be convinced only by the sword; to this therefore he appealed. The duke of *Parma* blocked up *Cambray* so closely, that the garrison was reduced to the extremity of living upon horses, dogs, and cats, though they still refused to capitulate, in hopes of being succoured. At length the duke of *Anjou* assembled a body of 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse, and approached *Cambray*. The vis-
count de *Turenne* and count *Voulandois* undertook to force
themselves, with a body of men, but they were surrounded
and taken prisoners by the *Spaniards*. This disappointment
did not discourage the duke of *Anjou*: he still pressed forward with intention to attack the *Spanish* lines; but the duke of *Parma*, not caring to hazard a battle, deserted his works, and retired to *Bouchain*. As soon as the duke of *Anjou* entered the city, he took an oath to govern it agreeable to its ancient laws, and to preserve the citizens in the full possession of all their liberties. He was now pressed by the states and the prince of *Orange* to march directly into *Flanders*; he endeavoured to comply, but his army composed chiefly of volunteers, was so weakened by desertion, that the design was laid aside¹.

It was about this time that the duke of *Anjou* resumed the
notion of addressing *Elizabeth* queen of *England*, and pro-
posing marriage to a princess too fond of independency to
be shackled with the authority of a husband. The prince
not deterred by the ill success of his former negotiation, determined upon a voyage to *England*; an excursion which proved equally unsuccessful to himself and unfortunate to the *United Provinces*. He was magnificently entertained, led into a persuasion that all would succeed according to his wish, and at length tired out with tedious expectation. In his absence, *St. Guilan* was reduced by the prince of *Espinoy*. This general directed his march towards *Dunkirk*, with intention to join the *French* forces. The duke of *Parma*, who had notice of his motion, repaired to seize the opportunity

¹ REIDAN, lib. ii. c. 38.

Tournay
taken.

of investing *Tournay*. He begun his approaches, and was vigorously received by that garrison, inspirited by the courage of the princess *Maria d'Espinoi*, niece of count *Horn*, so cruelly beheaded by the duke *d'Alva*. The town was stormed in breach by the duke of *Parma*, who supported the assailants in person, received a wound, and had the mortification to see his *Spaniards* thrown headlong from the walls. The duke of *Anjou* repeatedly promised succours, but either forgot or could not perform his engagements; the latter indeed is the most probable, as he was certainly a dupe to the superior policy of *Elizabeth*, who had not yet declared openly in favour of the states. In the end, despairing of relief, harrassed with perpetual watching, and weakened by losses, the garrison capitulated on the 29th of *November*. The conditions were honourable, and the princess *d'Espinoi* in particular was received with particular marks of distinction by the duke of *Parma*, who highly esteemed the heroic qualities of this amazon. This advantage was succeeded by another obtained by the *Spanish* general *Verdugo*, over the confederate army in *Frisland*, commanded by general *Norris*, and *William Lewis* of *Nassau*, a young prince of great expectation. It appears from the *Spanish* account, that *Norris* was attacked in a defile, where he could not draw out his troops in battalia, that he was put in confusion, and defeated with great loss. On the other hand, the *Dutch* writers alledge, that he attacked the enemy, but being inferior in cavalry, retreated in good order, with scarce any loss^m.

A. D. 1582. THE next year began with a spectacle very unusual in the *Netherlands*, the public entry of a sovereign elected by the people. The duke of *Anjou* setting sail from *England* on the 8th day of *February*, arrived on the 10th at *Flushing*, where he was received by the princes of *Orange* and *d'Espinoi*. Next day they set out for *Antwerp* with a magnificent retinue, and went up the *Scheld* attended by fifty barges. His reception at *Antwerp* was splendid, beyond any thing ever seen in the provinces; they even exceeded the preparations made for *Philip* himself on his being appointed to the government in the *Netherlands* by *Charles V.* his father. A theatre was erected before the walls of the citadel, in which was placed a chair of state, covered with cloth of gold. There the duke was seated, and the conditions read to him, upon which he was received as duke of *Brabant*.

^m CAMDEN in hoc An. LE CLERC, ibid.

When

When he had sworn to observe the articles, he was cloathed with the ducal robe, and his head adorned with the ducal coronet by the prince of *Orange*, who said, "I will pin it in such a manner that it will not be easily shaken;" an expression which at that time was taken for a happy omen, though it soon proved fallacious^a.

WHILE the states of *Brabant* were employed in festivity and mirth, an action that would have proved fatal to the provinces was on the point of execution at *Antwerp*. A *Biscayan* merchant named *Gasper Anastra* had contrived a project to redeem his shattered fortune by the death of the prince of *Orange*. He corrupted one of his domestics by the promise of half the reward, to strike the blow. The assassin entered the citadel, and as the prince was passing after dinner into another room, discharged a pistol, and dangerously wounded him behind the ear. The prince was stunned with the force of the ball, and before he recovered the assassin was killed by his attendants, which prevented for a time the absolute discovery of the plot, though it afterwards appeared from circumstances. It was traced that he had confessed the secret to a *Dominican* named *Antonio Tunnermon*, receiving from the wicked priest absolution, and a promise of eternal reward. *Tunnermon* was hanged, drawn, and quartered, his limbs being fixed up on the walls of the citadel at *Antwerp*. Nothing could more fully prove the importance of *William's* life, than the rejoicings of the *Spaniards*, in a false report of his death, and of the confederates as soon as it was fully confirmed that his life was in no danger. It was, perhaps, not very prudent in the prince of *Parma* to write circulatory letters to the cities on the presumption that the prince of *Orange* was no more; since it afforded suspicion that he was not ignorant of the conspiracy. Finding the report groundless of the prince's death, *Parma* determined to begin hostilities. *Oudenarde* was invested and closely besieged from the 8th of *April* to the 23d of *July*. The brave defence made by the garrison, gave the duke of *Anjou* sufficient time to come to the relief of the town, had his army been sufficiently strong for the enterprize; but he had not yet received the expected reinforcement from *France*, and was under the necessity of contenting himself with the surprisal of *Alost*, by way of retaliation^o. His infantry was encamped, and under the command of count *de Roche-*

An attempt made on the life of the prince of Orange.

Oudenarde is taken by the duke of Parma.

^a Le CLERC, lib. iii. p. 96.
p. 75. BENTIVOG. p. 42.

^o GROT. Ann. lib. iv.

fort, before the walls of *Ghent*. Here the count was attacked by the duke of *Parma*, who after an obstinate conflict was forced to retire, without being able to bring on a general engagement.

A conspiracy against the duke of Anjou, &c.

ON the first of *July* a conspiracy against the duke of *Anjou*, the prince of *Orange*, and *d'Espinoi*, was happily discovered at *Bruges*. The accomplices of the plot were seized and tortured, upon which they declared that they were expressly employed by the duke of *Parma*. It is probable that the duke must have received positive orders to this effect from the court of *Spain*; for so base and little a revenge was totally inconsistent with the generous and heroic qualities of that warrior. For the remainder of the campaign, the chief operations consisted in the surprising of inconsiderable places: both sides were unable to take the field with dignity or advantage for want of troops and money. The duke of *Parma* had a great number of forces in the *Netherlands*; but they were necessarily employed in garrisoning those towns the inhabitants of which were suspected; and the states were prevented from augmenting their army, because no settled provision was made for their maintenance. The king's chief army in the field did not exceed 4000 men, and yet it was superior to the confederate forces. It was now the great aim of the duke of *Parma* to obtain the consent of the *Walloons*, that the *Spanish* forces might return into the *Netherlands*; he gained so much upon the affections of the people that they readily came into his sentiments; but the nobility still opposed him, from the apprehension that their own services would then be of less consequence. The nobility, however, were forced to yield to the clamours of the people and the king's command, who gave orders that 5000 *Spaniards* and 4000 *Italians* should immediately begin their march for *Flanders*. Such an accession to the enemies strength required the utmost vigilance and activity on the side of the confederates, who immediately engaged in their service 4000 *Swiss* infantry, and a body of *French* cavalry, under the conduct of prince *Dausin*, and *Arnaud de Biron*. But as the auxiliaries of neither party arrived before it was late in the season, they were put into winter-quarters, in order to commence operations with vigour in the spring.^p

Spanish troops again admitted into the Netherlands.

A. D. 1583.
Situation and design of the duke of Anjou.

THE taking of *Endove* by surprise, and some other spirited actions, preposessed the people strongly in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, and inspired them with hopes, that, with his brother's assistance, he would soon oblige the *Spaniards* to

P METEREN, lib. xi. fol. 219.

evacuate the *Netherlands*. But these expectations were frustrated by the apparent coldness with which *Henry III.* promoted the duke's interest. Both princes were indeed of two indolent and easy a disposition to employ much attention on public affairs, which they left entirely to the management of their favourites and minions. It was owing equally to jealousy and inactivity, that *Henry* feebly assisted his brother; if the duke succeeded in his enterprize, the king foresaw he would become independent; if he failed, he must fall back an incumbrance on the crown. This determined *Henry* to steer a middle course, to feed him with hopes, and supply him with succours, just sufficient to prevent his sinking, but very inadequate to what was necessary to insure success. It would indeed be an unpopular measure entirely to abandon the duke of *Anjou*, who would probably gain a strong party in the kingdom from the cruelty of the usage, and the pusillanimity of *Henry*. On the other hand, the duke, who had figured to himself on his arrival in the *Netherlands*, all the power and pomp of despotism, finding that he was now destitute of money, forces and councils, abandoned himself to the direction and admonitions of the young people about him, whose views in coming to *Flanders* was to enrich themselves at the expence of the *Flemings*. They were perpetually throwing out complaints of the ingratitude of the states, which served only to irritate the people and alienate their affections from the new government. In a short time, he entirely lost the confidence of the people, by means of his pernicious counsellors, who advised him to seize with the *French* forces on *Newport*, *Dixmuyde*, *Ostend*, *Bruges*, *Dendermond*, *Alost*, *Vilvorde*, *Antwerp*, and the several towns and cities round which the *French* and *Flemish* troops were quartered. By gaining the entire possession of these places, it was weakly imagined, he might render himself arbitrary, and fix the states in dependence upon the *French* interest. The project was executed with success at *Dunkirk*, *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Vilvorde*, but it failed at *Antwerp*, and other places. The duke took it upon himself to gain possession of *Antwerp*; but the vigilance of the prince of *Orange*, and the courage of the burghers, defeated the attempt, and obliged the *French* to retire, with the loss of 1500 men killed and taken prisoners⁹. He afterwards endeavoured to apologize for his conduct, which he attributed to accident; and the states, not daring to exasperate a prince in possession of so many of their towns,

⁹ THUAN. lib. 77. p. 612. . .

seemed

seemed to give credit to his excuses, while they determined narrowly to watch his conduct.

Prince of
Orange's
remon-
strance to
the States.

As soon as these transactions were known in *France* and *England*, *Henry* and *Elizabeth* offered their mediation to appease the difference, and reconcile the duke to the states. *Elizabeth* advised him to dismiss the counsellors of this measure, as well as the officers employed in the execution, as the only step that could possibly regain the affections and confidence of the people. The states would do nothing without consulting their great leader the prince of *Orange*, whose sentiments upon this subject they demanded. *William's* answer was such as might increase the high opinion of his foresight, prudence, and penetration, though some have supposed that it was dictated by ambition. In the present circumstances of affairs, only one of these methods can be chosen; either to make peace with the king of *Spain*, to reconcile themselves with the duke of *Anjou*, or to defend their liberties with the native forces, without having recourse to foreign powers. As to the first it was impracticable without renouncing all the advantages proposed by the war, and receiving worse conditions than had been proposed by the duke d'*Alva*. It was, he said, no difficult matter to heal the breach between the states and the duke of *Anjou*; but in doing this, they were again exposed to the same danger from which they lately had been so providentially delivered. With respect to the remaining alternative, that of defending their liberties by national troops, it would, he said, be much the most desirable, were it possible; but he feared, that neither the chiefs were unanimous, the provinces rich, and the people numerous enough to rely upon their endeavours. Upon the whole, however, he recommended this last course, provided any degree of harmony of counsels could be established, and that all the provinces would resolve to act up to their engagements. But he submitted his sentiments to the judgment of the states, declaring, that he would be wholly governed by their opinion. Many persons imagined that he sought to increase the public distraction in the strong manner in which he stated the difficulties consequent on every possible measure. It is not improbable, that the states were likewise of this opinion, from the resolution they formed of being reconciled to the duke of *Anjou*.

The States
are recon-

AFTER the prince's answer was fully examined, and the remonstrances of *Bellevue* the *French* ambassador, in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, heard; the states nominated deputies

^r LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 102.

to confer with the duke. They had no expectation of assistance from Germany, the queen of England was sparing of her promises, money, and forces; but Henry III. not only engaged to assist them liberally if they would accommodate matters with his brother, but threatened in case of refusal to throw himself in the opposite scale. These menaces, and the desire that the duke would attempt the relief of *Endove*, now besieged near three months, hastened the negociation. It was agreed that the French prisoners at *Antwerp* should be released, that the effects of the Flemish merchants seized in France, and the towns of *Vilvorde*, *Dendermond*, and *Vinox* should be restored; that the duke's army should take the field, and every thing be placed on the same footing as before the attempt on the liberty of the provinces; *Endove* in the mean time surrendered for want of provisions, and the mareschal *Biron*, at the head of the French army, retaliated upon the Spaniards, by surprising the castles of *Viersel* and *Woud*, the latter of which was defended by a strong garrison. *Viersel* however was soon after retaken by the count *Manfvelde*. To stop the progress of *Biron*, the duke of *Parma* marched against him with all his forces, attacked him near *Bergen-op-zoom*, and defeated him, with the loss of 500 men. In this action *Biron* was wounded; but historians differ widely in particulars. After this advantage the Spanish general laid siege to *Hirentals*, but relinquished it on advice that the duke of *Anjou*, disgusted at the late defeat, and the tedious deliberations of the states, had retired into France, leaving the sieur de *Chamois* with a slender garrison in *Dunkirk*. As this town was an object of more importance than *Hirentals*, he resolved to invest it with all his forces: his operations were so vigorously pushed, that *Chamois*, after several brisk sallies, was obliged to surrender. He was no sooner in the possession of this port, than he equipped a great number of armed vessels to cruize upon the *Zealanders*, restrain their enormities, and make reprisals. To the reduction of *Dunkirk* succeeded the submission of *Furnes* and *Newport*; then of *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Menin*.^{*}

The French army defeated.

Dunkirk taken.

The duke of Anjou returns to France.

THE rapidity of the prince of *Parma*'s conquests rendered more apparent the effects of the dissensions in the states, the want of unanimity, and of a head to direct their councils. Of all men the prince of *Orange*, who was perfectly acquainted with the humour of the people, and the state of affairs, was the fittest to preside, but jealousy obstructed his promotion. That prince had now by a fourth marriage formed a strong

* METEREN. lib. xi. p. 230.

interest

interest with the protestants of *France*, having espoused *Louisa de Coligni*, daughter to the famous admiral *Coligni*. His life was every day in danger, upon account of the services he had done the provinces; he was firmly attached to liberty; but his ambition, which however he restrained, and artfully concealed, was dreaded to such a degree, that though all acknowledged his superior capacity, few ever thought of raising him to the supreme government.[†]

A. D.
1584.
*Commo-
tions in
Ghent.*

THE duke of *Anjou's* retreat was of the utmost service to the duke of *Parma*, who artfully fomented the division in the provinces, and every day strengthened his army by desertions from the enemy, not of individuals but of whole cities and garrisons. On the 5th of *March* he received deputies from *Ghent*. The seditious and tumultuous spirit of the inhabitants had forced the prince of *Orange* to quit the city, and abandon that rebellious people to their fate; upon which they desired to be restored to the favour of king *Philip*, promising him the utmost loyalty and fidelity, provided their privileges were secured. These however were only the sentiments of a party: the greater part of the citizens remained attached to the states, and being seasonably supported by a body of troops from *Brussels* and *Antwerp*, suppressed the *Spanish* faction, just as it was upon the point of delivering up the city to the duke of *Parma*.

*The prince
of Orange
assassina-
ted at
Delph.*

AMIDST these confusions the duke *d'Anjou* died in *France*, and soon after the prince of *Orange* was assassinated at *Delph*, by one *Balthazar Gerrard* or *Guion*, a person who had before served his highness with fidelity and zeal. He was at that very time employed by the prince to carry letters into *France*, and had received money to bear his expences, with which he purchased pistols to murder his benefactor. At the criminal's examination, it appeared that he had long meditated this bloody action, and was confirmed in his resolution by the jesuits and catholic priests; he even affirmed on the rack that the duke of *Parma* was privy to the design, who promised he should have the reward: upon the whole, *Gerrard* seems to have been an enthusiast, and his crime the result rather of insanity, than any concerted scheme, malicious or interested intention. His punishment however regarded only the action; it was cruel beyond measure, shocking to humanity, and a striking instance of the vehement party-spirit of the times; not of the justice of the judges, or the attachment of the people to the prince of *Orange*.[‡]

[†] Id. *ibid.*
lib. xii.

[‡] GROT. *An. lib. iv. p. 85, 86.* METEREN.

S E C T. III.

Containing an account of the state of affairs consequent on the death of the Prince of Orange, the stadtholdership of Prince Maurice, and the government of the Earl of Leicester, with other particulars.

THE *United Provinces* were now deprived of their chief hope; *William* was the soul of the union, though he found it frequently impossible to govern the passions of the multitude; his vigilance, address, penetration, eloquence, liberality, and prudence, had hitherto preserved their liberty; but his ambition, boldness, cunning, and intrigue, had involved them in a maze of politicks, out of which it required his superior capacity to extricate the *Netherlands*. A general gloom and despondency appeared in every face; confusion and anarchy now reigned in the councils of the confederates. The provinces of *Zealand* and *Holland* alone endeavoured to repair the loss, and shew their gratitude to *William*, by electing his son *Maurice* their stadtholder and captain general by sea and land. *Maurice* was at that time eighteen years of age, but such rays of genius shone forth in his character, as approved him worthy of the honours conferred. Such was the youth opposed to the duke of *Parma*, the most renowned general of the age. It was imagined in *Spain*, that the death of *William* would deprive the confederates, not only of counsel, but of courage, longer to resist the power of *Philip*; but as soon as the first emotions of terror and grief were subsided, it produced very contrary effects. Revenge took place of despair, and the horror of the assassination, universally attributed to the intrigues of *Philip*, so irritated the people, that they determined to prosecute the war with such vigour and constancy, as required the exertion of all the duke of *Parma's* abilities. For a time indeed their efforts were feeble, because they were ill directed; but *Zealand* and *Holland* having led the way, *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overijssel* followed the example; chusing governors strongly attached to the cause of liberty, and to the memory of the prince of *Orange*. Now they united themselves more closely; they came to a resolution, that if any article of the treaty of *Utrecht* had been broken or neglected, henceforward strictly to observe it, to remove difficulties, duly to furnish their several quotas, to permit only the publick exercise of the evangelical religion, and to exert their utmost efforts to resist the tyranny

Prince Maurice elected stadtholder of Holland.

A renewal of the treaty of Utrecht.

of *Philip*, and revenge the assassination of their great deliverer the prince of *Orange*.^a

The duke of Parma's successes. WHILE the provinces were taking the most vigorous measures for their mutual defence, the *Spanish* general was preparing to push the advantage he expected from the disorder consequent on the death of *William of Orange*. *Antwerp*, notwithstanding its losses in the beginning of the troubles, was still the most wealthy city of the *Netherlands*; this city had long been the object of the duke of *Parma's* designs, but the enterprise was attended with such difficulties as obliged him until now to defer it. He once proposed laying siege to *Antwerp*, immediately after the reduction of *Maestricht*, and he now resumed the project, in hopes that the confusion in the provinces would prevent their sending the required succours; to succeed, it was necessary to cut off the communication of the city with *Holland*, with *Ghent*, and all the places above and below *Antwerp* on the river *Scheld*. With this view he laid siege to *Lifkenshouk* and *Tillo*, places of the utmost consequence to the commerce and security of the city: both were obstinately defended, and the siege of the latter raised after it had been carried on for three months with incredible fatigue, industry, and expence; however, the duke of *Parma* gained possession of several other posts on the river, where he built forts, and greatly annoyed the shipping and trade of *Antwerp*. He next laid siege to *Dendermonde*, in order to cut off the communication between *Ghent* and *Antwerp*; in which he succeeded by the reduction of the town. His next attempt was on *Vilvorde*; this place he took by assault, and thereby put a stop to the intercourse between *Antwerp* and *Brussels*. Finding this method of hemming in the city tedious and uneffectual, while an opening to the mouth of the river remained, he proposed in council, that a fortified bridge should be built across the *Scheld*, and defended by strong forts and outworks at both extremities. At first this proposition was received as whimsical and idle by the members of the council, but on the duke's explaining his design, with applause: while he was procuring the proper materials for his design, the inhabitants of *Ghent*, terrified with the preparations, and assured that his next attempt would be directed against their city, resolved to deprecate his wrath by their submission. Deputies were accordingly sent to the duke of *Parma*; and it was agreed on the 17th of *September*,

^a Idem ibid.

that *Ghent* should receive a *Spanish* garrison, on condition the city should be preserved in all its privileges.^b

AFTER this acquisition the duke returned to his main Ghent object, the reduction of *Antwerp*; he began with collecting *submits to* great quantities of wood at *Callo* and fort St. *Philip*, where *king Phi-* he intended the bridge should be erected; but his project *lip.* was for a time retarded by the *Antwerpers*, who broke down the dykes, overflowed the whole country, and swept off with the inundation all the duke's magazines. Not discouraged by this accident, he applied himself diligently to repair the loss, and by way of carrying off the waters cut a canal from *Steken* to *Callo*, a work of prodigious labour and expence. It was pursued with the utmost diligence, and executed with expedition scarce credible. Next he set *Siege of* to work upon the bridge, and finished, without interrup- *Antwerp.* tion from the *Zealanders* or *Antwerpers*, in seven months, that stupendous monument of his genius, which was to determine the fate of *Antwerp*. Private interest, even when all was at stake, prevented the *Antwerpers* from executing a scheme which would have infallibly baffled all the duke's endeavours, and effectually have destroyed the fruits of his labour. *Aldegonde* the governor proposed building a fort on *Coursenstein* dyke, to secure that important post, and breaking down the dyke, after the duke of *Parma's* bridge should be near finished; but his sentiments were violently opposed by certain citizens, who apprehended their lands and villas would be destroyed by the inundation: this unseasonable opposition, with the unexcusable negligence of the magistrates, who, depending upon a free intercourse by means of the river, deferred laying in corn, because the markets happened to be high, occasioned the loss of the city, and was a flagrant proof that *William* of *Orange* no longer directed their councils. However, in despite of all the duke of *Parma's* precautions, the *Zealanders* found means to throw in a convoy of corn; but the citizens knowing they would not run the hazard of carrying it back, so cheapened the price that those bold traders refused ever again bringing their goods to so bad a market. Thus, through avarice, indolence, and insensibility, did the *Antwerpers* see their ruin daily approaching, without seeming to observe it. They did not apprehend the consequence of quietly permitting the duke to finish the bridge, until it was too late to repair the error, and they began to suffer by famine; then they pressed the *Zealanders* to attempt their

^b *Le Clerc*, lib. iv. p. 112.

relief by attacking the bridge ; but the reception those mariners had last met with, was no inducement to run fresh hazards : however, by order of the states, *Treslong* the admiral of *Zealand* was preparing to make the attempt. A squadron was appointed ; but he deferred the enterprise under so many pretences, that he was superseded, and the command given to *Hohenlo* and *Justin Nassau*, who immediately attacked *Liffkenshouk*, with so much spirit and resolution, that it surrendered on the first summons. They next fell upon *St. Antonio* fort, which, together with several other posts, they took ; but they neglected building a fort on a post they seized near *Callo*. The duke of *Parma* perceived their oversight ; he forced the post, and then had it fortified.

BUT as all the endeavours of the *Zealand* fleet could procure no relief to *Antwerp*, the governor and magistrates began to deliberate by what means they could now destroy the bridge, which they might have prevented the duke from ever completing. Seasonably *Ginebelli*, a *Mantuan* engineer, offered his services, undertaking at a certain expence to blow the whole work into the air : the expence was the main objection entertained by those penurious merchants, but this obstacle was at last surmounted by necessity ; *Ginebelli* was provided with two large vessels, a number of small boats, the powder, combustibles, and all the other materials he required ; he formed the two large vessels into fireships, set them adrift with the stream, and deceived the enemy by means of false fires lighted up in the fleet of small boats. The train of one of the fire-ships was consumed before the time expected, and she blew up with a terrible explosion, but little damage to the bridge ; the other was more successful, carrying off all the outworks, setting fire to the whole bridge, and burying above 500 soldiers in the ruins it made, among whom were the *marquis de Roblais*, the *sieur Billy*, and several *Spanish* officers of distinction : however, the terror which this dreadful stratagem of war occasioned, exceeded the damage ; the fire was soon extinguished, and the bridge again repaired by the diligence of the duke : avarice deterred the *Antwerpers* from repeating the experiment ; they continued nevertheless in conjunction with the *Zealanders* to attack and harass the enemy ; but finding themselves baffled in every attempt, and reduced to the greatest extremities, they seriously thought of making their peace with *Spain*.^c Depu-

Antwerp
submits to
king Phi-
lip.

^c METEREN, lib. xii. p. 247. BENTIVOG. p. 2. lib. iii. p. 74. LE CLERC, lib. iv. p. 120.

ties were accordingly sent to the duke of *Parma*, a treaty was concluded, and king *Philip's* sovereignty again acknowledged in *Antwerp*. It is affirmed that the city of *Amsterdam* had obstructed every measure proposed for the relief of this commercial city, hoping to profit by the fate of her flourishing rival. It was not doubted but the protestants would forsake it as soon as it fell into the hands of an arbitrary catholic prince. The conjecture was fulfilled, whole families retiring with their effects to *Amsterdam*.

A. D.
1585.

WHILE *Antwerp* was besieged, it was universally believed, that the fate of the provinces depended on the fortune of that city; yet such was the confusion among the confederates, that only feeble attempts were made for its relief. Now the terror inspired by the duke's conquests determined the states general to send a solemn deputation to the queen of *England*, offering her the sovereignty of the provinces upon certain conditions. This *Elizabeth* refused; but she concluded a treaty with the states, whereby she engaged powerfully to assist them with men and money, upon having the towns of *Briel*, *Flushing*, and *Ramekins*, put into her hands in security of future payment. All this time *Elizabeth* and king *Philip* preserved little more than the appearance of peace; the latter was fomenting the insurrection in *Ireland*, while the former lent a hand to the foundation of a new commonwealth forming in the *Netherlands*. The addition of the kingdom of *Portugal* to his vast monarchy, rendered *Philip* more haughty and uncontrollable, without much enlarging his power; he now thought himself a match for all *Europe*, though he had not yet subdued his rebellious subjects in the *Low Countries*; and accordingly he embroiled himself with the crowns of *France* and *England*, by protecting the league, and receiving the investiture of *Ireland* from the apostolic see. *Elizabeth* engaged by treaty to succour the provinces with 5000 foot and 1300 horse, under the command of an *English* general; to pay those troops during the war, on condition of being reimbursed when peace should be re-established; and to accept of the three towns mentioned in security of payment. The treaty farther imported, that the *English* governors of the cautionary towns should have no authority over the inhabitants; that the towns should be restored to the states on the repayment of the money; that the *English* general and two other persons nominated by the queen of *England* should have seats in the states general; that neither peace nor war should be made without the mutual consent of the contracting parties; that in case of her equipping a fleet for the services of the provinces,

A treaty
with the
queen of
England.

provinces, the states should back it with an equal force, the whole to be commanded by the *English* admiral; finally, that the ports and harbours of both countries should be open to the subjects of each nation. The treaty was no sooner signed, than the *Brille* was delivered into the hands of Sir *Thomas Cecil*; Sir *Philip Sidney* took possession of *Flushing* and *Ramekins* in quality of governor; and the earl of *Leicester* was appointed general of the *English* auxiliaries. Immediately succeeded a manifesto in vindication of the queen's conduct, shewing her reasons for assisting the oppressed inhabitants of the *Low Countries*; here she alledged, that the alliance between *England* and the *Netherlands* related to the mutual welfare of both countries, rather than to any personal animosity between the sovereigns; her majesty therefore thought herself at liberty to succour the injured subjects, without declaring war against the king. She complained of the conduct of the *Spanish* minister *Mendoza*, who had endeavoured to excite factions, and stir up rebellion among her popish subjects: she enumerated the many proffers she had made of mediating a peace between the king and her good allies in the *Netherlands*; she taxed *Philip* with a design of invading *England*, and with having sent powerful supplies of money to the rebels in *Ireland*; and lastly, to anticipate the king's vengeance, she equipped a squadron of twenty ships, detached under the conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*, to infest the *Spanish* settlements in the *West Indies*.^a

A. D.
1586.
Leicester
made go-
vernor ge-
neral.

ON the earl of *Leicester*'s arrival in *Holland*, he was received with the utmost respect and veneration; the confederates had conceived great hopes of his abilities, they constituted him governor-general of the provinces, and before he had exhibited any proof of his valour or conduct, vested him with a power almost dictatorial, which he soon abused by an administration equally weak, wanton, cruel, and oppressive. His authority was in a manner unlimited, not only in respect to the conduct of the war, but in civil affairs and the finances. The confederates lavished honours upon the favourite chiefly to engage *Elizabeth* in their interest; and the queen penetrating their design, was by no means pleased with their extraordinary indulgence to her minion. Some attribute her resentment to jealousy, others with more probability to policy, which required that she should not too deeply involve herself in the quarrel between *Philip* and his subjects. It was soon perceived, that the confidence of

^a CAMDEN Vit. *Eliz.* Ann. 1586. METEREN. lib. xiii. p. 256.

the states was misplaced. *Leicester* not only shewed his incapacity to direct military operations, by permitting the duke of *Parma* to proceed in a rapid course of conquests; but he assumed the air of a sovereign prince, swayed arbitrarily in the *Netherlands*, and expressed a contempt of the queen of *England's* authority; a princess whose ill-judged favour had raised him to the height of ambition. They had suffered him to nominate a counsellor of state for each province, to change the great seal, and quarter his own arms with those of the states; but all this was insufficient to gratify the earl's ambition. Actuated by a kind of fatality, and intoxicated with his elevation, he refused the instructions of the states, filled up all vacant places, coined base *nobles* to pass for double their intrinsic value, erected a new court of exchequer, filled the colleges of the admiralty with his unqualified favourites, opposed the levying *German* auxiliaries, excited the people to rise against the magistrates, introduced disorder into the finances, and filled the provinces with confusion.

BEFORE *Leicester* had betrayed his incapacity, *Elizabeth* remonstrated to the states on his extraordinary elevation, without her knowledge or consent, notwithstanding she had publicly declared her intention was only to assist her oppressed neighbours, not to seize upon the sovereignty of the provinces: she now required that they would revoke those honours conferred so wantonly, not that she meant to desert their interest, but to maintain her own honour. The states submissively apologized for their conduct, and declared it was the farthest from their intention to offend her majesty; but finding that a governor general was necessary to preserve unanimity, they had preferred a subject of *England* to any other. They had put the word *absolute* in the act only to distinguish him from some temporary governors, and to give weight to his dignity. They concluded with requesting her majesty, that she would not insist upon a revocation, which they apprehended would be attended with confusion, and the most fatal consequences. This letter was accompanied with another from the earl, filled with the most humble submissions and feigned contrition, with which however *Elizabeth* rested satisfied.^c

Leicester began his government with restoring military discipline, for regulating which he published some good ordinances. Had he kept to this plan, his administration would have been happy, and his person beloved; but he

^c METEREN. lib. xiii.

immediately proceeded to pass certain decrees relative to commerce, that were justly deemed very arbitrary, oppressive, and injurious to the country. He prohibited all kinds of warlike stores, provisions, or other merchandise, to be sold not only to the enemies of the state and their allies, but to neutral powers; by which means trade sustained considerable damage: he even prohibited all intercourse either by exchange or otherwise with *Spain, France,* and the northern powers, under penalty of the confiscation of their ships and goods. The adviser of this measure was *James Reginault*, a person before odious to the people; and to enforce it, *Reginault*, in contempt of the council of state, procured an extraordinary commission to proceed with rigour against those who should be guilty of a trespass upon the decree: by this commission he was empowered to examine the books and papers of merchants, contrary to the ancient rights and privileges of the commercial inhabitants of the *Netherlands*. *Leicester* likewise demanded, that all foreign traders should have passports from him, by which he pretended he could greatly augment the revenue: certain it is, that he levied great sums by those oppressive measures; but no part was applied to the public service.^f

Grave,
and other
towns sur-
render to
the duke of
Parma.

WHILE the earl was busied in rendering his government odious, and destructive to the people who had just promoted him to the pinnacle of human grandeur, the duke of *Parma* was pushing the operations of the campaign. Count *Mansveldt* was ordered to block up the town of *Grave* on the *Maase*, and to throw a bridge cross the river, to prevent the entrance of supplies. He built four forts upon the river, which he strongly garrisoned, and completed the bridge in the manner directed; though the garrison of *Grave* used every expedient to obstruct his operations. *Leicester* sent orders to *Hohenlo* and *Norris*, the general of the *English* infantry, to attempt the relief of the town; they immediately seized on the fort and town of *Botemburgh*, but were driven from that post by *Mansveldt*, while they were preparing to entrench themselves; being afterwards reinforced, they attacked the *Spaniards* with such vigour as obliged them to retreat; however the duke of *Parma's* arrival prevented their succouring *Grave*: he now turned the blockade into a siege, and carried on his approaches so rapidly, that the governor surrendered before a breach was made, or the garrison in the least stinted for provisions. Pursuing his successes, the duke of *Parma* led his army a-

^f LE CLERC, lib. iv.

gainst

gainst *Venlo*, higher up the *Maese*, invested the town, and obliged the garrison in two days to capitulate, at the intreaty of the bishop of *Cologne*; he attacked *Wuys*, the garrison of which place had pillaged the country, and obstructed all convoys of provision; and by the impetuosity of the assault, forced the governor to submission. Next he reduced *Meurs*, *Alphen*, and the castle of *Crulno*; after which he invested *Birk*, but was forced to relinquish the enterprise; *Morgan* an *English* officer having thrown himself with 1000 men into the place.^b

To stop the duke of *Parma's* progress, *Leicester* detached prince *Maurice* and Sir *Philip Sidney* with 2000 men into *Flanders*; they surprised the little town of *Axel* on the 17th of *July*; but failed in an enterprise formed against *Graveline*: at last, *Leicester* determined to take the field in person; he ordered the army to move to *Guelderland*, and accompanied by the princes of the house of *Nassau*, and all the general officers, *English*, *German*, and *Flemish*, he arrived at *Arnheim* on the 6th of *September*; finding his strength inferior to the enemy's, he contented himself with reducing *Doesburgh* upon the *Rhine*, and blocking up *Zutphen*, into which the duke of *Parma* threw supplies at pleasure. It was in attacking one of these convoys that the brave, generous, gallant, and amiable Sir *Philip Sidney* lost his life. After taking all the outworks, and building little forts round the town to restrain the excursions of the garrison, who levied heavy contributions on the neighbouring country, *Leicester* cantoned his army in winter-quarters, without effecting any thing worthy of the public expectation.^a

DURING this recess from hostilities, the earl of *Leicester* would seem to have made it his whole study to render himself odious. He put into all vacant offices persons the most obnoxious to the people; and, among others, one *York*, an *Englishman*, who had deserted from the confederates to the duke of *Parma*, served for two years in the *Spanish* army, and now deserted it to obtain preferment from the *English* general. The states remonstrated against the promotion of a person, who had so often betrayed his trust; but *Leicester*, without regarding them, poured down his favours upon a man whose sole talent consisted in a servile adulation and compliance with the humour of his patron. The government of *Deventer* became another cause of altercation between the governor and the states. That trust was conferred upon an-

^a REIDAN. Ann. lib. vi. GROT. lib. iv.

^b Id. ibid.

other

*He sets sail
for Eng-
land.*

A. D.
1587.

*Sluys be-
sieged.*

other *Englishman*, whose character was equally liable to censure. Besides, the right of appointing belonged to the earl of *Meurs*, as governor of *Guelæerland*, *Utrecht*, and *Overijssel*; but *Leicester*, without attending to his prerogative, or to the murmurs of the people, vindicated his own conduct, and refused to relinquish the interest of his dependent. Happily for the provinces, he was called to attend the *English* parliament. On his departure, the states exhorted him to use his influence with the queen to accept of the sovereignty of the *Netherlands*; he promised to exert his utmost endeavours, but at the same time was too much enamoured of power to have any intention to perform his engagements. While he resided at *Flushing*, waiting for a fair wind, he seduced the garrison of *Vere*, a place belonging to prince *Maurice*, persuading the soldiers that they owed no allegiance but to the queen of *England* and her governor. The same attempt was made on several other garrisons, in all which it is impossible to conceive *Leicester* could have any other object in view, than to render himself detestable to the very people whose affections he ought by every means to conciliate¹. On his arrival in *England*, he wrote to the states, demanding payment of 480,000 livres, due in arrears to the army. Their answer was, that the supplies raised, if managed with œconomy, were more than sufficient to answer every purpose of the government. Some altercation arose, which was followed by a long catalogue of grievances, transmitted from the states to queen *Elizabeth*. This produced mutual recriminations, which enflamed both sides to a degree of animosity.

Now was the season for the duke of *Parma* to reap the advantage of these contentions. He made several motions, in order to perplex the confederates, and cover his designs. At last it appeared that he meditated the conquest of *Flanders*, by first reducing *Ostend* and *Sluys*. The former was saved by a seasonable reinforcement of seven hundred *English*; but *Sluys* was invested in despite of the utmost endeavours of prince *Maurice* and *Hobenlo*, who tried every expedient to divert the duke from this enterprise. As the place was but badly provided, the governor sent repeatedly to *Flushing* for supplies; but the *Spaniards* had so closely blocked up all the avenues that it was impossible to throw in a convoy. The garrison, however, determined to make a vigorous defence. They withstood several assaults, and always displayed the most obstinate courage.

¹ LE CLERC, lib. iv. GROT. *ibid*.

Sluys

Sluys had been now six weeks besieged, when the earl of *Leicester*, by the queen's mediation, returned to his government. On his arrival at *Flushing*, it was determined in a council of war to succour the place by sea. A detachment of five thousand foot and six hundred horse were ordered to make a diversion in favour of the fleet; but the project was frustrated by the narrowness of the channel, which would not admit the shipping. *Leicester* was blamed for not attacking the duke of *Parma's* trenches, and to his want of courage the public voice ascribed the loss of *Sluys*, which, after sustaining numberless hardships during a brave defence of two months, at last surrendered, when the garrison had expended all their provision and ammunition. The duke of *Parma* entertained so high an opinion of the conduct of the governor, *Arnaud de Groenveldt*, and of the courage of the garrison, that he voluntarily granted them all military honours, their baggage, arms, and lighted matches. His conquest indeed was dearly purchased; he lost in the siege seven general officers, and near four thousand soldiers^k.

THE reduction of *Sluys* renewed the clamour against the earl of *Leicester's* administration. Out of compliment to the queen, he was again received by the provinces, but the reconciliation was not cordial. Had he however acted with proper spirit and prudence, he might have regained the esteem and affections of the people. He determined otherwise, and proceeded upon his old plan of introducing discord, confusion, and anarchy. He renewed his complaints against the states, prince *Maurice*, and *Hohenlo*. They answered; he replied in terms full of passion and resentment, in which he lost all regard to decorum. *Hohenlo* was, in particular, the object of his detestation, merely because he strenuously vindicated the privileges of his country, and discharged the duty of an able, bold, and faithful officer. He had this year performed considerable services in *Brabant*; but he was accused by *Leicester* of disobedience, because he had not joined the main army with his detachment, at a time when it was not possible, without sacrificing the public interest. *Hohenlo* published a very spirited and sensible answer, in which he fully vindicated his own conduct, and obliquely hinted at the weakness and absurdity of *Leicester's* measures. A long paper altercation passed likewise between the states of *Holland* and the governor-general. Nothing can be more masterly than all the remonstrances published on this occasion by the states; they fully explain the privileges of the provinces, and

*Disputes
between
Leicester
and Ho-
henlo.*

* METEEN. lib. xiv.

the prerogative of the governor-general ; vindicate their own conduct, without throwing blame on the queen of *England* ; and artfully distinguish between the misconduct of the queen's lieutenant, and her majesty's own intentions. In a word, though *Leicester* was foiled at every weapon, such was the unsteadiness of the people, and address of his faction, that even the provincial states were divided in opinion ; some blaming, while others highly applauded his conduct. The magistrates of *Utrecht*, and the clergy of *Holland* and *Zealand*, strongly espoused his interests, and bitterly reflected on the states of *Holland*, whose opposition arose, they said, from a jealous, capricious, and turbulent humour. Even the magistrates of several towns in *Holland* blamed the states, especially those of *Dordrecht*, who appeared to have solely enlisted themselves in the earl's faction. In the midst of these contentions *Leicester* imprudently gave colour to the accusations of his enemies, by forming a project to seize upon *Leyden*. The plan was concerted with one *Cosmo de Pascarengis*, an *Italian* banker ; it was discovered by accident, and fully detected by the confession of the banker and his accomplices, on the rack. *Killegrew*, who was of the council of state for *Elizabeth*, interceded for the criminals, and boldly affirmed, in their vindication, that they had acted by orders from the governor-general¹. This alone was sufficient testimony against *Leicester*, but the states not chusing to irritate and inflame the public dissensions, wisely suppressed their sentiments.

*Leicester
recalled.*

WHEN the winter approached, lord *Leicester* was recalled, either for the defence of *England*, threatened with a *Spanish* invasion, or to prevent his falling into further errors in the *Netherlands*. The *Dutch* writers alledge, that the queen was so well satisfied of his misconduct, pride, and ambition, that she dreaded the consequences to her favourite, of suffering him longer to hold the reins of government, which he had hitherto directed with so little prudence and ability. Before he quitted the *Low Countries*, he sent an apology to the states of *Holland*, for not bidding them a personal farewell ; he exaggerated the services he had done the provinces, gently reproached the states for having traversed all his measures, to which he attributed the failure of every enterprise, admonished them to a different behaviour, and promised upon these conditions to use his utmost influence with the queen in their behalf. On his arrival in *England*, though he was well received by *Elizabeth*, and appointed to the command of an

¹ METEREN. lib. xiv.

army encamped at *Tilbury*, yet he was divested of his government. *Leicester* apprehending he should be arraigned before the council, had the address by his submission to procure the queen's pardon, and a stop to all proceedings touching his conduct in the *Low Countries*. However, his enemies were so powerful, and the remonstrances sent over by the states so evincive and undeniable, that nothing but the vast preparations in *Spain* to invade *England*, which turned the whole attention of the ministry to the security of the nation, could screen him from a public trial. Among other articles of accusation transmitted by the states, it appeared that the earl had formed a design to apprehend, and put to death, *John Olden Barneveldt*, and thirteen other strenuous opposers of his arbitrary measures; to seize *Dort*, *Enckhuisen*, *Leyden*, and other places; in a word, to render himself despotic, and establish a kind of military government in the *United Provinces* ^m.

By orders from the court of *Spain*, the duke of *Parma*, A. D. 1588. since the reduction of *Sluys*, was forced to drop all thoughts of pursuing his advantages in the *Netherlands*, in order to assist with his whole power the enterprise concerted against *England*. Here was a fair opportunity for the confederates to redeem their losses, had they not been divided by factions, and poorly supplied with money, ammunition, and provision, from *England*. The penurious disposition of *Elizabeth* would seem in this instance to have suppressed the dictates of prudence and sound policy. *Spain* had great confidence in the duke of *Parma's* assistance in carrying on the grand expedition. That general had assembled thirty thousand men to be transported into *England*, in four hundred flat-bottom boats, under the convoy of a squadron of twenty ships of war; yet did *Elizabeth* use no expedient to divert his intention, by enabling the confederated provinces to engage him at home. All hostilities ceased on both sides until the miscarriage of the most formidable scheme ever planned for the conquest of *England*. It is not within our province to relate the circumstances which contributed to the defeat of the *Spanish* armada; sufficient it is, that providence seemed to co-operate with the intrepidity of lord *Effingham*, the *English* admiral, to baffle the designs, and mortify the pride of *Philip*. His fleet was first dispersed in a hard gale, afterwards roughly handled by the *English*, and at last shattered, destroyed, and wholly ruined, in a terrible storm, off the coast of *Scotland*. Seventeen ships, having five thousand land-forces on board, were

^m LE CLERC, lib. iv.

cast away on the *Hebrides* and coast of *Ireland*; some were wrecked on the rocks of *Norway*, and many perished by fire, or were swallowed up by the ocean. In a word, of one-hundred-and-thirty great ships, which set sail from the ports of *Spain*, manned with twenty thousand soldiers and nine thousand seamen, and mounting two thousand three hundred and sixty pieces of fine cannon, only fifty-three ever returned, and these in a miserable, shattered conditionⁿ.

Negotiations in the Netherlands.

WHILE *Philip* and *Elizabeth* were making the utmost preparations, the one for attacking, the other for defending *England*, they both endeavoured to gain time, by amusing each other with a negotiation. It was the business of *Philip* to procrastinate matters until he should be able to strike, and of *Elizabeth*, until her affairs should be in a posture to ward off the blow. The king sent the duke of *Parma* a commission to treat with the *English* envoys; he accordingly repaired to *Ostend*, and the conferences were opened at *Bourbourg*, notwithstanding the estates of the *Netherlands* had refused to consent to the treaty. It was proposed by the *English*, that liberty of conscience should be granted for two years to the reformed; but neither the duke of *Parma*, nor the estates, would hearken to this proposition. A truce was in the next place demanded by the commissaries, and rejected by the duke. Then they required that the ancient alliance between *England* and the house of *Burgundy* should be renewed; that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the *Low Countries*; that the people should be secured in their liberties; and that the money lent the estates by queen *Elizabeth* should be repaid by the king of *Spain*^o. A variety of debates arose upon these articles, and it was obvious that the whole design of the conference was to retard measures until the armada should enter the channel. It no sooner appeared than the negotiations were broke off, and the *English* commissioners dismissed with a safe conduct to *Calais*.

The duke of Parma takes the field.

As soon as the defeat of the grand expedition was known in the *Netherlands*, the duke of *Parma* turned his attention to the affairs of his government. He now determined to repair the loss sustained from his late inactivity, by prosecuting the most vigorous measures. The marquis *de Renthes* and *Charles Mansveldt*, were sent with a strong detachment to reduce the Isle of *Tolen*, separated by a canal from *Brabant*. By this he meant to facilitate his approaches against *Bergen-op-Zoom*. The bravery of colonel count *Solmes* frustrated the attempt on the island. He repulsed the *Spaniards* in two vi-

ⁿ CAMDEN, p. 555.

^o Id. sub Ann.

gorous attacks, but could not prevent the duke from forming the siege. *Bergen-op-Zoom* was invested on the 24th of September. It was defended by lord *Willoughby*, general of the *English* forces, and an *English* garrison, with so much spirit and intrepidity, that after divers efforts and stratagems of war, the duke was forced to relinquish the enterprise. Chagrin and disappointment having impaired the duke of *Parma*'s health, and the season becoming rigorous, he put his army into winter-quarters.

On the 14th of September died the earl of *Leicester*, to the great joy of the states of *Holland*, who now at length conceived hopes that they might be able to crush his faction, and introduce harmony among those provinces so long torn by civil dissensions, while they were maintaining a war against the most powerful potentate of *Europe*. Immediately the towns which, in consequence of his protection, had withdrawn their allegiance from the states, returned to their duty. The garrison of *Gertruydenberg* alone stood out; they first mutinied, then revolted against the states, and at last threw themselves into the arms of the duke of *Parma*, after committing shocking outrages, under pretence that they had sworn only to obey the queen and *Leicester*. *Willoughby* and the *English* are blamed by *Dutch* historians for their conduct in this transaction. The year concluded with the siege of *Wachtendock*, an enterprise formed by count *Peter Ernest Mansveldt*, contrary to the opinion of *Verdugo*, and the most experienced generals in the *Spanish* army, and indeed of the duke of *Parma* himself. The place was strong and well provided; the season was rigorous, and the *Spanish* soldiers reluctant, and averse to the undertaking; but *Mansveldt*'s success was a full vindication of his conduct^p. The garrison surrendered on the 20th of *December*, after the town had almost been laid wholly in ashes by a ruinous bombardment. Some writers alledge that *Mansveldt* used only ignited bullets, with which he set fire to the place, and terrified the garrison into submission^q.

In the beginning of the year this general passed into the isle of *Bommel*, where he reduced several forts, but failed in his principal aim, that of seizing the capital by surprize. While he was thus employed, prince *Maurice*, count *Solmes*, and *Hobenlo*, uniting their forces, attacked and retook *Heusden* in sight of the *Spanish* army. From this time we may date the decline of *Philip*'s affairs. His best officer the duke

State of
the Spa-
nish af-
fairs in
the Ne-
therlands.

^p REDAN. p. 171. GROT. lib. v. ^q STRADA, sub.
Ann. p. 601.

of *Parma* was in a bad state of health, his soldiers became mutinous for their pay, and his finances were exhausted by the immense expences of the armada, and the destruction of his commerce and rich plate fleet. Jealousies likewise arose between the duke of *Parma* and the *Spaniards*, who even had the presumption to tax that great general with the miscarriage of the grand expedition, and of the siege of *Bergen-op-Zoom*. One *John Mora* a *Spaniard*, wrote letters of complaint to the king, in which he bitterly inveighed against the duke; these letters were intercepted by prince *Maurice*, decyphered, and sent to the duke of *Parma*. In consequence *Ricardot* was dispatched to *Madrid*, to vindicate the duke, and *Mora* being invited to dinner was poisoned: an action, that leaves an indelible stain on the character of the duke of *Parma*.

WHILE the duke was drinking the waters of the *Spaw*, the marquis of *Waremben*, the *Spanish* governor in *Guelderland*, projected a scheme for reducing the whole province, and began the execution with surprizing the castle of *Bliembeck*. He then resolved to lay siege to *Rhimberg*, but was anticipated by a strong reinforcement thrown in by general *Schenk*. Besides reinforcing *Rhimberg*, this active officer cut off a regiment of *Spaniards* in *Friseland*, but unfortunately perished in an unsuccessful attempt on *Nimeguen*. *Waremben*, after *Schenk*'s death, renewed his design on *Rhimberg*, but constant supplies were thrown in by lord *Falkenstein* and Sir *Francis Vere*, who commanded a body of 2000 *English* infantry. The marquis resolved to attack the *English*. He sent a strong detachment to that purpose; but the *Spaniards* met with so warm a reception, that they retired in disorder, with the loss of 300 men and ten standards. Notwithstanding this advantage, the states suffered *Rhimberg* to fall into the hands of the enemy, because they found it expensive and hazardous to cover with an army a place so distant from their frontiers. The loss of *Rhimberg* however was balanced by divers successes in *Groningen*, where prince *Maurice* foiled the *Spanish* general *Verdugo* in every attempt. Notwithstanding he had not an army sufficient to perform any signal exploit, or considerable enterprize, the *Batavian* prince exhibited sufficient proofs of his superior military talents and towering genius. One very important blow was given to the power of *Spain* in the *Netherlands* by the reduction of *Breda*. This city and *Gertruydenberg* were the keys of *Brabant*; and the loss of the latter had wholly excluded the confederates from that province. A project

Breda taken by the Confederates.

^r *METEREN*, lib. xv. *GROT. Hist.* lib. i. p. 318.

was

was laid for surprising *Breda*, and it succeeded. The master of a trading vessel who was permitted to supply the *Spanish* general with necessaries, took on board about sixty *Dutch* soldiers, and concealed them so artfully under planks and boards, that his vessel was visited in the usual manner by the officers on guard, without discovery. In the night, the concealed party seized upon the city-gates, and being opposed by *Hohenlo*, who lay with a body of troops at a little distance from the town, gained possession without hardly striking a blow. By order of the duke of *Parma*, the commanding *Spanish* officer was put to death for neglect of duty, cowardice, and remissness. He afterwards took every possible method to recover *Breda*. *Manfveldt* was detached with a select body of troops to attack *Nortdam*, a fort on the canal, by which the city was supplied with necessaries; but he was so warmly received by *Mathias Hall*, a *Fleming*, who commanded, that he retired precipitately, leaving 600 dead before the fort. All he could effect was to build a fort opposite to *Nortdam*, to restrain the garrison; after which he invested *Breda*. Prince *Maurice* immediately took the field to protect a town of such consequence. He marched straight to *Nimeguen*, and by his operations persuaded the duke of *Parma* that he intended besieging the town; upon which *Manfveldt* was ordered to relinquish *Breda*, and succour *Nimeguen*, a town of still infinitely greater moment. In despite of *Manfveldt*'s endeavours, prince *Maurice* erected the fortress of *Knotsembourg*, to cut off the trade of *Nimeguen*, and facilitate any future attempts to reduce the city*.

A. D.
1590.

THOUGH the naval power of the states was greatly augmented, and their commerce carried to a high degree, they could not restrain the pernicious prizes of the *Dunkirk* privateers, which swarmed in all the neighbouring seas, to the immediate damage of traffic. The *Zealanders* equipped several squadrons of small vessels; but these being found insufficient to restrain the pirates, grown bold by success, it necessarily became a national concern. The different colleges of the admiralty stationed a number of ships in such a manner as to block up the port of *Dunkirk*, by which means numbers of privateers loaded with booty fell into their hands before they could enter the harbour, and others were prevented from putting to sea. We have, in a former volume, largely expatiated on the origin and progress of the *Dutch* commerce, which took its rise from their profitable voyages to the *East-Indies*, and the ruin of *Antwerp*; it will

Naval affairs.

* Id. ibid.

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there-

therefore be unnecessary to dwell upon it in this place. Sufficient it is, that the provinces were now enabled to furnish their contingences towards the public expence, to act offensively, and maintain greater armies, than they had ever before sent into the field. They even sent supplies of men and money, to support *Henry IV.* against the league and the king of *Spain*, whence they deduced the advantage of making a powerful diversion from the *Netherlands*¹.

The duke of Parma is sent with an army to assist the league in France.

A. D.
1591.

Successes of prince Maurice.

ABOUT this time, the duke of *Parma* received orders to hasten to the assistance of the duke of *Mayence*, defeated by *Henry IV.* with the greater part of the *Spanish* army in the *Low Countries*. The duke immediately perceived that the loss of the *Netherlands* would be the consequence; but his orders being absolute, he directed his march with 12,000 foot, and 3000 horse, to the frontiers of *France*, leaving count *Manfeldt* to conduct the war against the *United Provinces*. This general was too weak to keep the field, or to prevent prince *Maurice* from raising and destroying all the *Spanish* forts on the frontiers of the provinces. The confederates resolving to make the most of the opportunity, attacked and reduced the fort of *Blamemberg*. This enterprise was conducted by *Norris*, governor of *Ostend*, for the queen of *England*. The garrison retreating to another fort in the *Dunes*, he vigorously assaulted this fortress, took it, and put the garrison to the sword. On the 2d of *April* the garrison of *Breda* surprised the castle of *Turnbont*, one of the largest villages of *Brabant*; and on the 9th of *May* they gained possession of *Westerloo*, a place extremely convenient for keeping the province under contribution. As soon as the season was sufficiently advanced to afford forage for the cavalry, the states sent an army of 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse, into the field, under the conduct of prince *Maurice*, lately made governor of *Guelderland*, and by thus directing the affairs of three of the most considerable provinces of the union, raised to great influence and authority. By this time the duke of *Parma* was returned, after having acquired laurels in a defensive war against *Henry IV.* by relieving *Paris*. *Maurice* made some movements which raised apprehensions in the duke for *Gertruydenberg*, imagining his design was upon that city; but the prince turned suddenly towards the territory of *Velaw*, and presented himself before *Zutphen*; after having the good fortune to seize by a stratagem upon some of the outworks, he then regularly invested the place, and pursued his operations with so much rapi-

¹ LE CLERC, 4.

dity,

dity, that the garrison capitulated on condition that they should have a safe conduct to *Deventer*. The *Spanish* garrison no sooner entered this last place, than *Maurice* was close at their heels, laid siege to *Deventer*, and took it after a short resistance. It was defended by *Herman de Horam*, being the prince's own cousin-german, who had served *Philip* with great fidelity, and would now have considerably retarded the progress of the confederate army, had he not received a wound in the face, by which he was confined. From *Deventer* the prince directed his rout to *Groningen*, with design to invest that city; but on receiving advice that the garrison was strongly reinforced and well supplied, he fled off towards *Delfziel*, which together with some neighbouring forts he reduced, and thereby extremely incommoded the city of *Groningen* ^u.

As the duke of *Parma's* army did not exceed 5000 foot, and 2000 horse, he dreaded the extension of *Maurice's* conquests, and that *Nimeguen* would be the next object of his operations. To prevent this he determined to attack *Knotsemberg*, and thereby to throw unturmoutable obstructions in the way of the confederates. After seizing some posts in the higher *Guelderland*, he made a feint as if he intended to fall upon fort *Schenk*, and then suddenly passing the *Vaal*, invested *Knotsemberg* on the 13th of *July*. The artillery of this fort totally destroyed the works on the opposite side of *Nimeguen*, and the garrison had more the command of the river than the city itself. It was of great importance to *Maurice* to maintain this advantage; he was therefore watchful of the motions of the *Spanish* army, and suspected the duke's design which he had so artfully concealed. Before the duke of *Parma* approached, he had directed count *Solmes* powerfully to reinforce the garrison, and supply the fort with every necessary. He then followed with his army nearly equal to that of the enemy, and encamped at a short distance from the duke of *Parma's* trenches. The *Spaniards* carried on the siege with vigour, but every inch of ground they gained lost a multitude of lives. Frequent skirmishes passed between the two armies, in one of which *Nicelli*, captain of the horse-guards, and 400 troopers, were made prisoners. Very seasonably for the duke of *Parma's* reputation, he received an order to repair with all expedition to *France*, leaving only troops sufficient for a defensive war in the *Netherlands*. He immediately complied with the royal mandate, and accordingly raised the siege, and covered

^u GROT. p. 146.

his retreat with so much address, that he crossed the *Vaal* without furnishing the enemy with an opportunity of falling upon his rear. This was his last campaign in the *Netherlands*, where his long services had deservedly acquired him the reputation of an able, vigilant, and faithful general, though numberless attempts were made by envious *Spaniards* to blast his character. Before he quitted the *Low Countries*, he endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants of *Nimeguen* to admit a reinforcement of *Spanish* soldiers; but the magistrates not chusing to be saddled with foreign pensioners, took upon themselves the defence of the city^x.

Prince *Maurice*, satisfied with seeing *Knotsemberg* relieved, and the *Spanish* army weakened by the detachments sent off to *France*, passed to *Guelderland*, without however relinquishing his designs on *Nimeguen*. In the middle of *September*, he marched with 4000 foot, and 600 horse, into the territory of *Was*, and laid siege to *Hulst*. On the 19th the place was invested; the batteries began to play on the 23d, and by the 25th the garrison capitulated. The same terms were granted as to the other conquered places; that is, the inhabitants were permitted their own religion, but the magistrates were protestants. Count *Solmes* was appointed governor of the town and adjacent territory. As soon as transports could be provided, *Maurice* embarked a strong body of horse and foot, alarmed the whole coast of *Flanders*, spread a report that he proposed besieging *Dunkirk* or *Newport*, then debarked his troops, and appeared unexpectedly before *Nimeguen*. He began with forming a bridge of boats across the river, to prevent the towns being supplied, then erected batteries, and all at once battered the walls with sixty five pieces of heavy cannon. First, however, he summoned the magistrates; but they answered, "that as the prince was a young man, he ought to consider *Nimeguen* as a coy virgin, whose favours were only to be gained by gallantry and assiduity." They soon, however, changed their tone, beat a parley, and desired to capitulate. The effects of the red hot balls poured into the city, terrified them into submission. All the conditions imposed by *Maurice* were accepted, only they refused to embrace the reformed religion, but consented to a liberty of conscience; and that the magistrates should be appointed by the prince, a right which he preserved during the course of the war. Six companies of foot and two troops of horse

^x LE CLERC, lib. iv. METEREN. lib. 17.

were left in garrison, after which *Maurice* put his army into winter-quarters in *Overyffel* and *Friseland*.

So glorious and successful a campaign highly elated the spirits of the people, and raised the young prince to the height of popularity and fame. Since his father's death, the *United Provinces* had experienced nothing but disappointment and misfortune. They were every where defeated, divided among themselves, impoverished, dispirited, and on the point of despair. The alliance of *England* contributed only to augment their misery, it rendered them dependent on the queen, and her insolent, capricious, and arbitrary lieutenant, whose sole aim was to establish despotic sway, by fomenting the civil discord of the provinces, and forming a powerful faction. It is true, the *English* forces performed considerable services in the three last campaigns; but these were more than weighed down by the inconveniencies consequent on *Leicester's* mal-administration. Now the *Dutch* saw their frontiers extended by prince *Maurice*, and the whole country secured by rivers, and covered by fortified towns, with the greatest probability of driving the *Spaniards* in another campaign out of *Friseland*.

State of
the United
Provinces.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the transactions in the Low Countries, during the administration of the Spanish governors *Maniveldt*, *Ernett*, and *Fuentes*, to the arrival of the archduke *Albert*.

THE year 1592 was ushered in by some abortive efforts of the emperor *Rodolph* to establish peace. The minds of both parties were still too much heated to admit of equitable propositions; and the point of religion, upon which so many conferences split, was now an unsurmountable obstruction. In a word, *Philip*, harrassed as he was with the war maintained in *France*, required too much, and the *United Provinces*, insolent with their late success, would grant too little. Hostilities accordingly commenced, and prince *Maurice* taking the field in the month of *May*, sat down before *Steinwyck*, a strong town on the frontiers of *Overyffel*. It was the 13th of *June* before the batteries were opened, when they began to play with unremitting

A. D.
1592.
Fruitless
negociations.

7 BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. i. p. 5.

I 3

fury.

Steinwyck
taken.

fury. The garrison made a brave defence, and prince *Maurice* received a wound from a musket-ball, which, however, did not retard the progress of the siege. Observing that his heavy cannon produced no effect, he sprung a mine on the 3d of *July*, which made a practicable breach. He then prepared to storm the town; but the general not caring to hazard the consequences of an assault, capitulated upon honourable conditions. In this siege the prince lost about 700 soldiers, and the garrison more than half that number. Several deserters were excepted in the articles, surrendered, and immediately hanged. From *Steinwyck*, *Maurice* proceeded to *Oknarsch* in the territory of *Twente*, which he reduced before the close of the month. Then he invested *Corvoerden*, a strongly fortified town in the district of *Drente*. Before any progress was made in the siege, the *Spanish* general *Verdugo*, having been strongly reinforced by the duke of *Parma*, marched to *Oldenzeel*, with intention to relieve *Corvoerden*, defended by the same *Haremborg* lately mentioned. The prince with 300 men went to reconnoitre the enemy, and had the good fortune to intercept a letter from *Verdugo* to the governor, acquainting him, that he proposed raising the siege, by attacking *Hohenlo's* quarters early next morning, and desiring him to second his attack by a vigorous sally. *Maurice* took his measures, he was attacked in the manner expected, but received the enemy with such vigour, that they retreated in great confusion, leaving behind 400 dead, and an equal number of prisoners. Despairing of relief, the governor capitulated, and surrendered himself a second time to his cousin upon honourable conditions. After repairing the fortifications, the prince led his army into *Guelderland*, where, dividing his troops, he cantoned them in winter-quarters. This season the duke of *Parma* attended the *Spaw*, but his bad state of health prevented his taking any share in the government; and indeed the unjust clamours of the *Spaniards* against his conduct, obliged him to write pressing to the king to permit him to retire; but *Philip* had resolved to use his services another campaign in *France*².

A. D.
1597.
New regulations
in the
Spanish
Provinces.

COUNT *Manfveldt* had for these two campaigns the direction of affairs in the *Netherlands*, as deputy to the duke of *Parma*, but circumstances obliged him to leave the execution to the count *de Fuentes*, don *Estavan de Ibarra*, and *Verdugo*. To gain the entire confidence of the *Flemish* nobility, *Philip* promoted him to the government of the *Ten*

² GROT. Hist. lib. iii.

Provinces that continued in their allegiance. The duke d'Arche was made particular governor of *Flanders*, the prince de Chimai of *Hainault*, and the count d'Haremborg of *Artois*. The council of war, however, which enjoyed extensive privileges, rendered the provinces dependent on the general of the army and governor. It was wholly composed of *Spaniards*, and the chief authority of the council was vested in *Fuentes* and *Ibarra*. They were strictly enjoined by the king to be extremely frugal of the public money, and to reform the abuses of the revenue complained of under the administration of the duke of *Parma*. However, to give credit to the new government, the army was paid the arrears due, without which it was impossible to suppress those mutinies and tumults which had been the greatest prejudice to the affairs of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*. The count de *Fuentes* immediately proposed several alterations, which produced divisions in the council of war. They were absolutely necessary, but contrary to the interest of several of the members. Others indeed appeared rigid, though they passed into an act without opposition. On the 5th of *January*, *Mansveldt* published an edict, prohibiting contributions to be paid to the enemy, or safe conducts accepted, under the penalty of death, and military execution. The nobility and clergy seeing their lands pillaged without the possibility of redress, loudly demanded a revocation of this cruel edict. To counteract the effects of *Mansveldt's* ordinance, the states of the *United Provinces* published a declaration on the 17th of *February*, taxing the *Spaniards* with cruelty, exhorting the inhabitants of the *Netherlands* without distinction to join with them against their cruel oppressors, and granting them to the first of *April* to change their sentiments and conduct; after which time they would give no quarter to prisoners, or those who refused to pay the stipulated contributions. To enforce their declaration, count *Philip* of *Nassau* was sent with a strong detachment to levy contributions in the province of *Luxemburgh*. His soldiers committed shocking ravages, and the count *Barlaumont* retaliated upon the frontiers of the *Seven Provinces*. The situation of the people was deplorable, death presenting itself, and all the horrors of war, which ever way they turned, whatsoever resolution they formed. If they complied with the edict of the states, they were subject to legal punishment; if they refused, to military execution. At the same time, the soldiers of the *Spanish* army mutinied against a decree, which intitled them to no quarter after they had discharged their duty in the field and garri-

son, notwithstanding their defeat might be the consequence of the ignorance of their commander ².

Gertruydenberg
besieged.

WHILE matters were in this state of confusion, prince *Maurice* invested *Gertruydenberg*, from which he had cut off all convoys of provisions and ammunition during the preceding season. His approaches were considerably retarded by the marshy situation of the place, and by the vigour of the garrison, which consisted of a thousand veterans well inured to action, hardships and fatigue. To prevent the enemies throwing in succours before his works were compleated, the prince drew lines of circumvallation, such as for strength had never before appeared in the *Netherlands*, mounted at proper distances with more than an hundred pieces of cannon. In a word, the expence, labour, and genius, bestowed on these lines were wonderful, the camp being plentifully supplied with provisions by the canal, guarded with intrenchments equal to the fortifications of a city, and the industrious peasant pursuing his rural occupations in the midst of war, with the same security as in the most profound peace. From this it appears, that the lines took in a considerable compass of ground, which *Grotius* estimates, by calling the walls three hours walking round. Soon after this prodigious work was finished, a messenger, sent from the governor to solicit succours from count *Manfveldt*, was taken. The prince ordered him to be carried round the lines, and then dismissed with the governor's letter, to report what he had seen to the count. This would have effectually deterred *Manfveldt* from attempting the relief of *Gertruydenberg* at so imminent a risque; but the council of war imagined it would be shameful to suffer a barrier so important to be lost without making extraordinary efforts. They were determined to stop the draughts ordered for *France*, in order to reinforce the army so powerfully, as to put the success of a battle beyond doubt. Accordingly the army, amounting to 12,000 foot, and 3000 horse, was assembled at *Turnhout*. With this force, *Manfveldt* approached the lines, which he found were strong and regular beyond expectation. He erected batteries against prince *Maurice's* quarter, as if he had been carrying on a regular siege; but finding provisions failing, he removed to the opposite quarter commanded by *Hohenlo*. Here he employed himself in filling up the ditches and canals, in battering the lines, and making regular approaches; while *Maurice*, with a handful of men, was repelling his

² GROT. *ibid.* LE CLERC, lib. iv. METEREN, lib. xvii.

efforts,

efforts, advancing his works towards the town, battering in breach, and at the same time forming lines of contravallation to secure him against the sallies of the garrison. The art of war, as then known, was exhausted between the fruitful genius of the prince, and the long experience of *Mansveldt*, grown hoary in military service; when at length the garrison capitulated, after having lost their best officers. Before a parley was beat, *Mansveldt*, by a letter, acquainted the garrison, that he intended to decamp, and desired they would not be disheartened, for he would attempt their relief by another method. The messenger was taken, but prince *Maurice* suffered him to enter the town. *Mansveldt's* resolution determined the commanding officer to demand terms; he obtained honourable conditions, and the articles were signed on the 25th of *June*, after a siege of three months^b.

THUS ended the siege of *Gertruydenberg*, the most remarkable in the war; in which the besiegers were themselves besieged by a greatly superior army, commanded by one of the best officers in the *Spanish* service. The surrender of the town was announced to *Mansveldt* by a general discharge of the artillery on the lines and ramparts, upon which he immediately broke up his camp, and retired, greatly chagrined, towards the Isle of *Bonneval*, with design to attack *Crevecœur*. In this he was frustrated by the diligence of the garrison, and activity of *Maurice*; the one had laid the country under water, and the other marched with such expedition, that he was encamped and entrenched on the only accessible eminence near the town, before the arrival of the *Spanish* army. *Mansveldt*, after expressing his astonishment at the rapidity of the prince's manoeuvres, retired, highly disgusted at having been thus foiled by a boy, sending strong detachments to *Verdugo* in *Friseland*^c.

THE prince's next exploit was to break off the communication between *Germany* and *Groningen*, by erecting a fort at the passage *Bourtange*. This he effected, in defiance of the utmost efforts of *Verdugo*; and leaving five companies of foot for its defence, he retired. *Verdugo*, being powerfully reinforced by *Mansveldt*, attacked *Fort Bourtange*, but was forced by the vigour of the garrison, and scarcity of provisions, to relinquish the enterprise for one which, if successful, would be more decisive. This was to surprise *Maurice* in his camp. He was greatly superior in strength, and marched with such silence and diligence, that he did not

^b GROT. Hist. lib. iii. p. 176.
^c TIVOQ. p. 3. lib. i. p. 16.

METEREN. lib. vii. BEN-
^c Id. ibid.

*End of
the cam-
paign.*

doubt of finding the prince unprepared ; but on his arrival he perceived the confederate army under arms, an intrenchment began the night before almost finished, and every other measure taken to baffle his project. Upon this he began to skirmish with the out-parties, in hopes of drawing *Maurice* out of his intrenchments ; but on finding him too cautious, retired under cover of the night, and sent his troops into winter-quarters. The operations of the year ended with an abortive attempt made by *Maurice* to surprise *Bruges*, and another of *Mansveldt's*, equally unsuccessful, to penetrate into *Zealand*^d.

A. D.
1594.
*The arch-
duke Er-
nest made
governor
of the Ne-
therlands.*

PHILIP had now conferred the government of the *Netherlands* upon the archduke *Ernest*, in hopes that a *German* would be more acceptable to the *Flemings*, than their *Spanish* or *Italian* governors. On the 30th of *January*, *Ernest* made his public entry into *Brussels*, attended by a numerous retinue of the nobility, and was welcomed with loud acclamations, and great demonstrations of joy. The *United Provinces* were terrified that the war would now be renewed with redoubled vigour. It was reported that the new governor had made powerful levies in *Germany*, and was fully determined to subdue the whole *Netherlands*, and terminate a war tedious, expensive, and vexatious to *Philip*. These fears, however, were soon quieted by certain advice, that the levies could not even pass in review for want of pay, and that most of them were already defeated. It was likewise a favourable circumstance to the confederates, that *Ernest* being a foreigner, unacquainted with the laws and customs of the country, must devolve the conduct of affairs upon others ; which would probably breed dissension, and excite jealousy among the enemy. Their conjecture was well-founded. The very first measure entered upon by the archduke incurred the displeasure of the *Spaniards*. He found means to convey a letter to the states-general, in which, after pathetically enumerating the calamities of war, and the distresses of the provinces, he earnestly exhorted them to think of peace, and propose such terms of accommodation, as he might reasonably offer, and press upon the king. In this particular he acted with honour and integrity ; but it was imprudent in the first step of his administration to give umbrage to the *Spaniards*, whose interest it was to continue the war. They held all the lucrative places, had the whole management of the revenue, and acquired immense fortunes by a war that exhausted the treasures of *Spain*, and

^d LE CLERC, lib. v.

brought

brought the *Netherlands* on the verge of destruction. The letter was well received, but answered in a manner that shewed the states were determined to hazard all rather than submit on any terms to the tyrant who had so long endeavoured to subvert their liberties. This negociation was scarce finished, when a conspiracy against the life of prince *Maurice* was detected. One *Michael de Renichen*, a monk, was seduced by the count *Barlaimont*, and other noblemen, to make the attempt, and instructed in the manner. He was seized, and executed at the *Hague*. Soon after, a second conspiracy of the same nature was discovered, and the criminal hanged, drawn, and quartered. It was publicly averred, and confirmed by the testimony of the expiring criminal, that the archduke was privy to this attempt, that it was planned by *Ibarra*, and debated in the duke's own cabinet council. This rendered him extremely odious to the confederates, and wiped out all remembrance of the kindness formerly intended by his letter. It indeed persuaded the protestants that he was a hypocrite, who concealed the darkest designs under the cloak of friendship. Both parties soon came to despise him, on discovering that he was a weak, dissolute prince, directed by minions, and governed by women*.

WHILE the public were forming various conjectures on the character of the new governor, *Verdugo*, in the depth of winter, assembled part of his army, and closely blocked up *Coevoerden*. But the obstinacy of the garrison exhausted his patience, and obliged him to withdraw the blockade. The garrison of *Groningen* was likewise defeated in an attempt to surprise fort *Delfziel*. Nor was prince *Maurice* more fortunate in the enterprises formed against *Bolduc* and *Mae-stricht*; one of which miscarried by accident, the other through the misconduct of his officers. But the great object was the reduction of *Groningen*, to effect which the states made numerous levies in *Germany*. Count *Solmes* happily conducted these new troops to the prince's camp, amidst all the schemes and ambuscades laid in their way by *Verdugo*. *Maurice* immediately put his army in motion, and on the 20th of *March* invested *Groningen* with ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The garrison was summoned, and they returned a resolute answer; upon which the prince opened his batteries, mounted with sixty pieces of battering cannon. The attack and defence were equally vigorous. The besiegers set the town on fire with red-hot bullets, but

Groningen besieged and taken by prince *Maurice*.

* Id. ibid.

this

this produced no effect on the garrison. As the former advanced their works, the latter multiplied their sallies, and fought with desperate fury. *Maurice* at last sprung a mine, by which he gained the ravelin. This gave the first shock to the constancy of the besieged, particularly of the burghers, who dreaded an assault. The soldiers however would have stood the consequence, but the clamours of the townsmen prevailed, a parly was demanded, and articles of capitulation were signed the 24th of *July*^f. *William* of *Nassau* was appointed governor, with five companies of foot, to support his authority, and maintain the right he assumed of chusing the magistrates. Six companies more were quartered in the suburbs, the great extent of the city rendering an extraordinary garrison necessary.

*Mutiny of
the Spa-
nish army.*

WHILE *Maurice* was pursuing his conquests, the utmost confusion appeared in the *Spanish* army under *Verdugo*, whole regiments refusing to act, to acknowledge military discipline, and even menacing the life of their general, unless their pay was advanced. The wretched inhabitants were the chief sufferers in all those tumults; they were pillaged without remorse, and their effects seized as legal plunder. Two *Spanish* regiments of foot revolted in *Picardy*, where they committed the most terrible disorders. Two thousand foot, and one thousand *Italian* and *Spanish* horse, seized on *Sichem* in *Brabant*, demanded their pay, and acted as if it had been due to them from the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. No sooner was one mutiny appeased, than another appeared; the archduke's authority was despised, and the mutineers at length became so formidable, that they threatened the city of *Brussels*, and the subversion of the *Spanish* government in the *Netherlands*. Apprehending that force might be used to reduce them to obedience, they tampered with prince *Maurice*, and demanded to know if he would afford them a retreat, and protection. Indolent as the archduke was, he dreaded the consequences of this last overture, assembled a considerable body of troops appeased by the advance of their pay, and ordered don *Lewis de Velasco* to march against the rebels. They had built some forts, which *Velasco* attacked with such impetuosity as obliged the besieged to withdraw, unite themselves in a body, and take shelter in the territory of *Languestraat*, in the neighbourhood of *Gertruydenberg*, where they were protected by the confederate army and garrisons. Though the mutineers would not consent to enter into the service of the states, the prince

^f *METEREN*, lib. xvii. p. 357.

found it his interest to keep up the division, by which the *Spanish* army was weakened. The rebels were no expence to the *United Provinces*, for they supported themselves by excursions into the *Spanish Netherlands*, in which they were assisted by a body of confederate cavalry. Notwithstanding this desertion, the diligence of the council of war assembled an army of eleven thousand men, with which the archduke blocked up *Cambray*, held by *Balagney*, who had hitherto preserved a strict neutrality. This measure produced no other effect than obliging *Balagney* to declare for the confederates. The governor of *Cambray* made incursions into the *Spanish* territories, carrying terror and desolation to the gates of *Arras* and *Valenciennes* &c. In return, the archduke laid waste not only the district round *Cambray*, but the frontiers of *France*, which produced a letter from *Henry IV.* to the cities of *Hainault* and *Artois*, complaining of the usage, and threatening retribution, unless the *Spanish* troops were immediately withdrawn. The letter was sent to the archduke, who referred the contents to the assembly.

WHEN the assembly met at *Brussels*, the *French* monarch's letter made but a small part of their business. Disputes and contentions arose between the *Flemings* and *Spaniards*. The duke *d'Archot* refused appearing at the first meeting, because the count *de Fuentes*, a *Spaniard*, was to have a superior seat at the board. The archduke opened the congress with a long speech, in *Spanish*, recommending pacific measures; or if that was found impracticable, exhorting the assembly to use their utmost efforts in terminating the war by the sword. Next day the same topics were repeated in *French*, and approved by the clergy, and a great number of moderate persons. On the contrary, *Archot*, though he had firmly adhered to the king, highly resented the influence of foreigners. He said that his majesty's loyal *Flemish* subjects were a sufficient defence of his authority; that the provinces had been ruined by the avarice of foreigners, who found their interest in fomenting a civil war; and diligently supplied with fuel the fire of discord, lighted by their misconduct. He asked what the *Spaniards* would have done, had *Philip* been hedged round at *Madrid* with *Flemish* counsellors, who should exclude natives from the royal person, from all places of trust, influence, and profit? The *Netherlands*, he said, were subject to *Philip*, not to *Spain*. *Charles V.* had thought them worthy of the imperial residence; he did not convert them into pastures to fatten starved and emaciated *Spaniards*. He

The assembly convoked.

A. D. 1595.

The Flemings jealous of the Spaniards.

& LE CLERC, lib. v. REIDAN. lib. xi. p. 444.

then

then ran into invectives against the conduct of *Fuentes*; and concluded with affirming, that peace could never be restored to the provinces until foreigners were withdrawn, and the privileges of the people committed to those who were excited to preserve the country, by nature, duty, and interest. *Archot's* speech highly offended the *Spaniards*, but it was well received by the rest of the assembly. The archduke then proposed three questions: Whether peace was so absolutely necessary as to be obtained on conditions contrary to the king's inclination? Whether terms which had before been refused to the rebels should be now granted? and, Whether the same ends could not be attained by other means? To this all the *Flemings* unanimously answered, that peace was necessary, honourable, and very possible; in a word, that it was the best and most practicable measure. *Ernest* then broke up the assembly, with an assurance that he would lay their sentiments before the king, and enforce them so strongly, that he had no doubts about the success: however, it appeared by his intercepted letter to *Philip*, that he was endeavouring to demonstrate to that prince the impossibility of restoring the tranquillity of the provinces, except by the sword: sentiments, probably, dictated by the *Spanish* council^h.

France declares war against Philip.

All this time not the smallest regard was paid to the king of *France's* letter; it was not even mentioned to the assembly. *Henry IV.* therefore published a declaration of war against *Philip*; and the archduke then wrote to the frontier provinces, to prepare for their own defence. There could not be a more glaring instance of the absurdity of the *Spanish* councils, than involving the kingdom so unnecessarily in a war with a powerful and spirited monarch, forced now by private interest into an alliance with the *United Provinces*. Mutual preparations were making; the king of *Spain* published a counter-declaration at *Brussels*; the forces of the states joined the duke of *Bouillon* at *Luxembourg*, and in the

The archduke dies.

mean time the archduke *Ernest* yielded up his last breath, appointing the count *de Fuentes* to the government of the *Netherlands*. *Fuentes* was approved by the king, and vested with the same authority as count *Mansveldt* enjoyed. Still, however, the government apparently continued in the hands of the council of state, though the count, by commanding the army and finances, possessed great authority. His promotion was highly displeasing to the natives, and the first act of his government heightened their aversion.

^h GROT. lib. iv. LE CLERC, lib. v. p. 156.

Under pretence of quelling a tumult of *German* soldiers in *Brussels*, he saddled the city with a numerous *Spanish* garrison; the burghers complained, the operations in the field suffered; but *Fuentes* was headstrong and immovable. The late mutinies were not yet appeased, and the great scarcity of corn excited other tumults. All degrees of men in the *Spanish Netherlands* now more ardently than ever wished for peace, but the prospect was at a great distance. Conferences were set on foot with prince *Maurice*, and rendered fruitless by the intrigues of *Fuentes* and the *Spaniards*. Indeed such terms were demanded by the states, as *Philip* was not yet sufficiently humbled to grant.

As soon as the negotiations of peace were broken off, *His conduct*. prince *Maurice*, though extremely weakened by the strong reinforcements sent to the duke of *Bouillon*, took the field, as if he intended to fall upon *Bolduc*; and *Fuentes* opposed *Madragon* to him, then about eighty years of age. After various feints, *Maurice* appeared before *Grol*, in the territory of *Zutphen*, in hopes of reducing the place in a few days, on intelligence that the garrison was ill provided. He was carrying on his approaches, when *Madragon* appeared with 11,000 foot and 1000 horse, and obliged him to relinquish the enterprise: some consequent manœuvres produced a skirmish between the cavalry of both armies, in which *Philip* of *Nassau* was wounded, and the confederates worsted. *Maurice* next made a fruitless attempt to surprise *Meurs*, after which both armies retired into quarters.¹

AFTER the affair of *Brussels*, *Fuentes* determined so to regulate his conduct, that the *Flemings* should be forced to esteem, if they could not be induced to love his person. He now unexpectedly renewed the negotiations with prince *Maurice*, possibly to amuse both the *Flemings* and the states, but was now modelling the army, as if he doubted the success of the conferences. Though he failed in the design of a general peace, he managed matters with such address, that the *Italian* and *Spanish* mutineers, protected by the prince, returned to their duty: he had numerous forces in the field. *Vilasco*, constable of *Castile*, was at the head of an army in *Burgundy*; *Waramben* commanded another army in *Artois* and *Picardy*, a third was opposed under *Madragon* to prince *Maurice*, and a fourth acted in *Luxemburg* under the direction of *Verdugo*. It was not the diligence of *Fuentes* alone the states had to combat; greater difficulties arose on the side of their allies. Queen *Elizabeth* loudly

¹ Id. *ibid*.

Elizabeth complained of the strict union entered into with *Henry IV.* *resents the* yet had this monarch compelled them into the alliance by *alliance of* threatening to make peace with *Spain*, and suffer *Philip* to *the states* employ his whole strength in the *Netherlands*. The policy of the queen directed that the states should not fall under the *with* dominion of *Philip*, and yet she could not bear to see them *Henry IV.* independent. The vast commercial schemes planned about this time in *Holland*, and the successful expeditions of certain merchants to the *East Indies*, excited her jealousy; the bold and enterprising genius of the *French* monarch likewise gave her umbrage; she had refused that prince four regiments, though the city of *Nevis* engaged to pay the subsidy; but she willingly consented that her troops should garrison *Dieppe*, *Boulogne*, and *Calais*; an offer of friendship which *Henry* was too penetrating to accept.* She sent her ambassador *Thomas Bodley*, to complain to the states of their sending succours to *France*, while they were themselves supported by the *English* forces. The states pleaded the necessity of making a diversion to keep the whole weight of *Spain* from falling upon the provinces. Not satisfied with this answer, the ambassador demanded repayment of the money lent by the queen to the provinces in their distress, though the treaty imported that the money should not be reimbursed before the conclusion of the war. *Bodley*, to enforce his demands, added menaces, and hinted that her majesty would take such measures as would prove very disagreeable to the states, in case of refusal. It was not the business of the *United Provinces* to come to a rupture with *England*: they therefore endeavoured to appease her majesty; they besought her to reflect on the conjuncture of affairs; they pleaded inability, exaggerated their losses at sea, the inundation of their country, and the great expence incurred in equipping a fleet to join her navy against the *Spaniards*. In fact, however, the *Dutch* were grown rich by the war; the queen therefore could not admit their excuses, alledging, that if they could supply the king of *France* with money, they could not surely be at a loss for the means to pay their just debts: she taxed them with ingratitude, and again reminded them of their deplorable situation when she generously took them under her protection. The *Dutch* might justly have retorted, that the assistance granted proceeded more from a sense of her own interest, than from motives of generosity and compassion; but they chose to temporise, to deprecate the queen's wrath by submission,

* GROT. hist. lib. iv. p. 288.

and obtain a respite, by furnishing her with a fleet of twenty-four men of war, appointed to join the *English* squadron destined upon an enterprize against the *Spaniards*.

In the midst of these altercations, king *Philip* appointed the cardinal archduke *Albert* to the government of the *Low Countries*: the design was well laid, and more deeply founded than was at first imagined. Born to vast possessions, and still vaster designs, *Philip*, after a long dream of ambition and universal monarchy, was now depressed with disappointment, broken with age and infirmity, and dis-tempered in mind by continual care and solicitude. Hitherto had he sacrificed his health, his ease, and all the pleasures of life, to vain glory and empty projects; but now his thoughts were turned towards obtaining that rest and quiet which he never suffered the world or himself to experience. His designs on *France* and *England* had terminated in events the most contrary to those he proposed; and instead of subduing the spirit of his rebellious subjects in the *Netherlands*, he saw himself dispossessed of seven provinces, obliged to hold the rest upon the uncertain tenure of a destructive war; by his obstinate ambition he had given birth to a powerful republic, whose grandeur should be reared on the ruins of his dominions. His pride however disdained the thoughts of proposing peace to his revolted subjects in his own name; yet he wished for the means of accomplishing that end, without prejudice to his honour: he resolved therefore to commit this important business to cardinal *Albert*, intending, that if he could subdue the provinces, he should govern them as *Spanish* dominions; if that was in vain attempted, he should, by a marriage with the infanta *Clara Isabella Eugenia*, receive the *Netherlands* in dowry, become their prince, and with this provision only, that they should revert to the *Spanish* monarchy in case the infanta died without issue. The king had reason to believe, that the birth and manners of *Albert*, a *German* born, the affable sweet disposition of *Isabella*, and the presence of a native prince, might contribute more to subdue his stubborn people, than the force and rigour of his former measures; at the worst, the cardinal could make peace, without affecting the grandeur, or derogating from the dignity of the *Spanish* monarchy, should he find arms ineffectual. In pursuit of this resolution, *Philip* made the utmost preparations for war, though his intentions were altogether pacific; every thing was reasonably expected from the administration of *Albert*, who had passed twenty-six years in *Spain* highly esteemed, and governed *Portugal* in quality of viceroy, with great approbation.

King Philip's designs and projects.

Before he quitted *Spain*, he procured the liberty of *Philip William de Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, and eldest son of the late prince *William of Orange*, after he had lived twenty-eight years in a kind of captivity: nor was this sufficient, he prevailed on the king to restore him to his titles, estates, and honours; persuaded that this act would prove grateful to the *United Provinces*, and useful to the royal cause, as the prince had been from his infancy bred in the rigid principles of popery. *Philip of Orange* accompanied *Albert* in his voyage to *Italy*, and was by him sent to the court of *Rome*; where he was received with the utmost respect. As soon as the states general of the *United Provinces* had certain advice of what was transacted, they sent an embassy to the prince, congratulating him on his deliverance, professing the utmost esteem to his father's memory, and affection for his family; but at the same time lamenting his change of principles, from which the *Spaniards* boasted they should derive great advantages. They persuaded themselves, that a prince of the family of *Nassau*, the son and representative of *William of Orange*, that strenuous assertor of freedom, would never swerve from the cause of liberty, and those maxims which rendered the memory of his heroic parent immortal. They admonished his highness to defer his intention of returning to his native country, to a more favourable opportunity, and until such passports as were necessary to his safety could be obtained. This message the prince answered by a letter couched in the most obliging terms, professing his sincere regard for the provinces, and offering the strongest assurances that his whole endeavours should be directed to obtain for them a just and honourable peace. Such was the situation of affairs at the time cardinal *Albert* was appointed to the government.^m (A)

^m BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. iv. p. 95. METEREN. lib. xviii. GROT. lib. iv.

S E C T.

(A) Though we have in a former volume given an explicit detail of the rise, origin, and progress of the *Dutch East India* company, which gave birth to the wealth and grandeur of the republic, we cannot avoid mentioning their present naval strength, in the midst of a bloody ruinous war, in which they were so long and deeply engaged. *Grotius* affirms, that the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* alone sent yearly 70,000 sailors to sea, and were then the most formidable naval power in *Europe* (1). This year they built 200 ships, in which number

(1) *Grotius Hist. lib. 4.*

S E C T. V.

Containing the administration of cardinal Albert; the death of Philip II. and of queen Elizabeth; with other particulars.

CARDINAL Albert dispatching matters in Italy, quitted Turin on the 29th of September 1595, and arrived in Luxemburg on the 29th of January following; thence he posted to Namur, in order to assemble the troops, and make preparations for pushing vigorously the war with France; which was the first objects of his politicks. Here he was congratulated by crowds of the nobility, and the count de Fuentes waited upon the cardinal to surrender his trust, and give him the necessary information concerning the state of the country.

A. D.
1596.
Cardinal
Albert
made go-
vernor of
the Low
Countries.

Henry IV. in the mean time was busied in prosecuting the war; he chased the Spaniards out of Burgundy, forced the duke de Mayenne to sue for an accommodation, and now besieged le Fere, a strong town in Picardy, which he reduced under his obedience. The cardinal however retaliated by investing Calais, and obliged the garrison to surrender; it was immediately after this success, that, by advice of the Spanish provinces, he formed the resolution of laying siege to Ostend, then garrisoned by English forces; but de-

our author probably includes small craft and coasting vessels. During the course of the war with Spain, not less than 400 ships went annually to Lisbon, Cadix, St. Lucar, and other ports of Spain and Portugal; (2) at which illicit commerce the king connived, knowing it to be necessary to his subjects, tho' advantageous to his enemies. The reciprocal necessity of both states obliged them mutually to tolerate and even cultivate their traffic, under the disguise of the ships hoisting foreign colours. In consequence however of a remonstrance sent to Philip this

year by the provinces of Hainaut and Artois, he seized upon all the Dutch ships trading to the king's ports; a Dutch squadron, in conjunction with the English navy, was destroying the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadix, assisting in the reduction of that city, undermining the Portuguese commerce in the East Indies, ruining their settlements, and ravaging the Spanish plantations in the West Indies; so early did the cunning, the artifice, and commercial spirit of this republic distinguish itself.

(2) Reidan, lib. 12, Meteren, lib. 18.

He reduces Hulst.

A. D.
1596.

A treaty between Holland and Henry IV.

ferred the enterprise as impracticable so late in the season, in order to bestow his whole attention on the reduction of *Hulst*. Count *Solmes* commanded the garrison, he took every precaution to render the cardinal's approach difficult. To draw off the attention of prince *Maurice* from his principal object, the cardinal made a feint as if his design was on *Breda*; this obliged the prince to send part of the garrison to succour that city, upon which *Albert* made a sudden turning, and sat down before the former: the surrounding marshes and canals greatly obstructed his operations, and fort *Nassau* still kept open a communication between the besieged and the provinces; the artillery on both sides played with fury, and the garrison made frequent vigorous sallies; but some failure in the execution of prince *Maurice's* orders, obliged them on the 17th of *August* to capitulate, on conditions extremely honourable. In this siege the cardinal lost 3000 men, among whom was the famous sieur *de Rhone*, mareschal of the league, known in the *French* historians by the name of *Christian Chavigni*. Though count *Solmes* had made spirited efforts in defence of *Hulst*, the province of *Zealand* was incensed to see a place, the fortifications of which had cost some millions of livres, lost in so short a time: in resentment he was deprived of his regiment; but the states general judging more favourably of his conduct, received him again into their service. Some writers alledge, that he had orders from prince *Maurice* not to stand an assault, but to preserve the garrison for more important services; and it is certain, that the prince greatly wanted a reinforcement, his inferiority on account of the detachments sent to *France*, and numerous body of troops now on the *Spanish* expedition under the earl of *Essex*, preventing his keeping the field, and facing the cardinal, who had 30,000 men at the siege of *Hulst* ¹.

IN the spring of this year a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between the queen of *England* and the *French* king, to which all princes and states were invited to accede. The *United Provinces* were highly delighted with an alliance which permitted them to link themselves more closely to *Henry*, without giving umbrage to *Elizabeth*. Accordingly, in the month of *November*, they signed a treaty with that monarch, whereby they agreed to pay him the sum of 450,000 florins for the maintenance of 4000 foot to be employed in *France*, unless *Philip* should attack the *United Provinces*. In return, the king granted the states very extraordi-

¹ *METEREN, ibid.*

nary commercial privileges ; among others, that their subjects should be exempted from the rights of *Aubaine*, as they are called ; whereby the goods of foreign merchants dying in *France*, became the king's property.^b

IT was now that the *English* and *Dutch* fleets, under the lord *Charles Howard* admiral of *England*, and the earl of *Essex* general of the combined land-forces, set sail from *Plymouth*, and anchored on the west side of the island of *Cadiz*. The *Spanish* ships of war retiring into the *Puntal*, were vigorously attacked; the engagement lasted from break of day till noon, when the enemy perceiving their galleons miserably shattered, and their men slaughtered, resolved to set their vessels on fire, and run them on shore. Here the desolation was terrible ; but three ships were saved, and taken by the *English*. Immediately after this success, the earl of *Essex* debarked with 800 men at *Puntal*, and advancing briskly against a body of *Spaniards*, forced them to retreat to *Cadiz*, and pursued them so closely, that the inhabitants were in too much confusion to reflect on the proper measures for their defence. The *English* burst open the gates, entered the city, and after a short skirmish in the streets, obliged the garrison to retire to the castle ; where they soon capitulated. In the mean time Sir *Walter Raleigh* had orders to burn the merchant-ships that had taken shelter in port *Real*. Two millions of ducats were offered for their ransom; which the *English* admiral rejecting, he began setting them on fire, though the duke *de Modina Sidonia* found means to save great part of their cargoes. This expedition was a severe blow to *Spain* ; besides the loss sustained by the merchantmen, the king lost two galleons, thirteen ships of war, twenty-four vessels laden with merchandise for the *Indies* ; in a word, to the amount of twenty millions of ducatoons. *Cadiz* was pillaged and burnt, and the combined fleet put again to sea, loaded with rich booty, though the expedition might have turned out to much greater advantage, had it been judiciously conducted. The *Dutch* writers mention an obliging letter sent by queen *Elizabeth* to *John de Duvenvoorde*, thanking him for his gallant behaviour, and ascribing great part of the success to the bravery of the *Hollanders* ; but in this particular all the *English* historians are silent.

DURING the winter the states, by means of the city of *Breda* and other openings, laid heavy contributions on *Brabant* ; the inhabitants implored the assistance of cardinal

Expedition to Cadiz.

A. D.
1597.

^b *METEREN*, lib. xviii. fol. 390.

Albert, and he detached the count *de Vareux* to their relief, Prince *Maurice* formed the design of surprising the count ; but failing in this, he attacked him in his retreat, and pushed the enemy with such superiority, that he obtained a compleat victory, with the loss only of 100 men. In this action, fought near *Tournbont*, the enemy left 1200 dead upon the field, 300 pair of colours, their military chest, and other trophies of war. Such an advantage was necessary to raise the spirits of the confederates, after the late glorious campaign of the cardinal. Next day *Tournbont* surrendered, after which the prince again put his troops in garrison ; as for *Maurice*, he went to the *Hague*, where his trophies were deposited as a monument of his past victory gained in the open field ; for hitherto all his successes consisted in reducing and defending towns. (A)

State of
Spain.

THE cardinal now turned his whole thoughts to the augmentation of his army, and making new levies ; but the treasury of *Spain* was so exhausted, that this was a matter of difficulty. *Philip* was in a manner already bankrupt, he having publickly declared his inability to pay even the interest of the immense sums borrowed of foreign bankers and *Spanish* merchants. He was forced to stop the course of justice against those merchants become bankrupts by their loans to the court ; and this, instead of mending, entirely destroyed his credit. *Albert* however stirred himself so effectually, that he was able to bring a considerable army into the field, though not before it was late in the season.

Conquests
of prince
Maurice.

Considerable efforts were made on the side of *France* ; *Dourlens* was taken by the count *de Fuentes*, and *Amiens* surprised by *Teglio Portocarrera*. To revenge himself, the *French* monarch invested *Arras*, and performed incredible service to the *United Provinces*, by engaging the whole attention of the cardinal to the relief of that city. *Maurice* did not let slip the opportunity ; he hastened with all possible expedition to assemble his army, crossed the *Rhine*, took the castle of *Alphen*, and then fell upon *Meurs*, which surrendered on the 3d of *September* ; on the 8th he again crossed the *Rhine*, and invested *Grol*, defended by a numerous garrison ; notwithstanding the brave defence of the besieged, *Maurice* pushed his operations with such rapidity, as obliged the place to surrender by the 26th of *September*, upon receiving

(A) Prince *Maurice* is reported to have gained this victory by means of his cavalry, whom he armed with carbines instead of lances : he was like-

wise the first general who introduced pistols among the confederate horse, if we may credit *Meteren*, p. 408. lib. xix.

honour-

honourable conditions. The town of *Briefort*, situated among bogs and fens, was the next object of the prince's plan of operations ; this place he scarce invested when the burghers retreated precipitately to the citadel ; which was likewise reduced by the 12th of *October*. After an incredible swift course of conquests, after having in a few days obliged *Enschede*, *Oldenseel*, and *Otmarsen*, to receive his garrisons, *Maurice* sat down with his army before *Linghen*, which he compleatly invested by the 28th of *October* ; count *Frederic de Berg* commanded a numerous and resolute garrison. Divers brisk sallies were made without effect ; *Maurice's* sagacity foresaw and prepared for every event, and the besieged were by the middle of *November* reduced to the greatest extremities, and the necessity of capitulating ; upon which the prince put his army in quarters, and was received by the states with all those honours which his great services merited. In this campaign *Maurice* placed great confidence in the abilities of a celebrated mathematician, one *Simon Stevin*, to whose skill in the attack and defence of fortified places some writers attribute the celerity of the prince's conquests ; but *Maurice* had discovered profound knowledge in this branch of the military art long before *Stevin* was employed.

BROKEN with age, and chagrined by disappointment, *Philip* endeavoured to engage the emperor, and the diet, to *Negotiate* use their influence with the *United Provinces*, to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation. He could not, however, *peace.* support the thought of renouncing his sovereignty over a country which had cost him more blood and treasure than all his other wars ; and nothing would content the states but their being acknowledged a free people. For this they had fought, and sustained an incredible variety of hardships ; now to relinquish it, would be to surrender the fruits of all their toil and labour. They had already experienced that all negotiations proved abortive, because neither side would yield what was an essential article of peace : they perceived *Philip's* insincerity, from the frequent attempts made to surprise them unguarded, at the time when the forwardness of the negotiations had lulled the states into security. However, they received *Nutzel*, the imperial ambassador, who arrived in the month of *August* at the *Hague*, with letters from the emperor, and divers *German* princes. *Christiern IV.* of *Denmark* likewise offered his mediation, and promised he would be guarantee for the security of the protestant religion ; but the states replied to both ambassadors, that all the conditions hitherto proposed by *Spain* were insidious and oppressive, tending to divide the provinces, weaken the alliance, extinguish that liberty of conscience

conscience they had hitherto asserted, and treacherously wrest from them their liberty ; at the same time they assured the ambassadors, that if proper security of the rights and privileges of the provinces could be obtained, nothing could be a more desirable object than the establishment of the public tranquillity, the blessings of which were almost forgot and unknown in the *Netherlands*. It was certainly not the interest of the *Northern* powers to augment the power of *Spain* ; but they were deceived by *Philip*, and cozened into a belief, that the obstinacy of the states alone prevented an accommodation. *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, was prevailed on to send an ambassador to *England*, with a view of detaching the queen from the states general. *Sweden* had likewise made some overtures towards mediating a peace ; but the states opened the eyes of these powers, and plainly demonstrated to them that the catholic king would never consent to such terms as they were determined only to accept. As for *Elizabeth*, she treated the *Polish* ambassador, who assumed extraordinary airs, with the highest contempt, and dismissed him, disgusted at her spirited treatment. Thus the decision of all differences was again committed to the sword, though it was imagined that *Philip's* design of marrying his daughter, the infanta, to *Albert*, and giving him the *Netherlands* for a portion, would prove so agreeable to the states, as greatly to facilitate the king's pacific intentions. Time was indeed when the provinces would have rejoiced at this event, and accepted of any terms founded upon this basis. Now they had been so long engaged in the cause of absolute freedom, that subjection to any master was become irksome. We shall see how, after farther noble efforts and glorious struggles, they obtained their end, and the full scope of their ambition ; first by a truce concluded in 1609, whereby the king of *Spain* acknowledged the freedom of the *United Provinces* ; and afterwards by the peace of *Westphalia*, in which they were acknowledged a sovereign state, the court of *Spain* renouncing all pretensions to sovereignty over the seven *United Provinces*.

Peace between
Spain and
France.

WHILE *Philip* was trying every expedient to engage the mediation of the empire and northern powers, he was making prodigious offers to *Henry IV.* of *France*, in order to detach so powerful a monarch from the confederacy with *England* and *Holland*. *France* was quite spent and exhausted with war ; *Henry* was equally desirous of peace as *Philip*, but he could not with honour receive proposals without

F BENTIVOGLI. p. 3. l. iv, THUAN. sub Ann.

communicating

communicating them to the queen of *England* and the *United States*. The *sieur de Busenval* was dispatched with letters to the states general, acquainting them of the advantageous terms offered by *Philip*, of the situation of the kingdom, and of the king's resolution to act in concert with his allies. It was obvious, however, from the pathetic description *Henry* drew of the deplorable state of his affairs, that he meditated an accommodation with *Spain*. The states therefore used all their address to prevent this measure, which would enable *Philip* to employ his whole force in the *Netherlands*. They told the ambassador, that the fortunate issue of the last campaign would enable them to prosecute the war with double vigour and advantage; that *Philip* desired peace with *France* only until he could oppress and subdue his subjects in the *Netherlands*; that when he had obtained this great object, he would, agreeable to his constant system of policy, turn his arms against *Henry*, and with more success, as the conquest of the *Netherlands* would enable him to maintain an hundred thousand men without touching the *Spanish* revenue. They concluded with beseeching his majesty, to accept of no conditions until they had first consulted *Elizabeth*, their common ally. *Busenval* replied in the most obliging terms, assuring the states of the king's inviolable friendship; but *Henry* was too much a politician to let slip this opportunity of recovering his towns in *Picardy*, and restoring the blessings of peace to his subjects. Pope *Clement VIII.* laboured with indefatigable pains to conciliate the courts of *France* and *Spain*, and he sent upon that commission his legate, the cardinal *Alexander de Medicis*, the most expert statesman of *Italy*. He came to *Vervins*, and was there met by the *Spanish* and *French* ambassadors. No remonstrances from the states could retard a treaty upon which *Henry* had already resolved. The greatest obstructions which that prince had encountered, were raised by *Philip*. His kingdom was torn with faction, and ruined with the expences of an oppressive war. To enjoy the felicity of governing obedient subjects, peace with *Spain* was essentially necessary. He was urged by his most faithful servants, and particularly by *Gabriel d'Etrees*, who pressed it as the only measure which could firmly establish him in the throne. *Bentivoglio*^d indeed ascribes the whole to the influence of *Clement* and his legate; but had not *Henry* found a reconciliation with *Philip* attended with the greatest advantages to himself and his people, it is probable he would never suffer himself to be

^d BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. xviii. p. 102.

moved by all the address and arguments of the pope and the cardinal *de Medicis*.

THE states of *Holland*, alarmed at the congress of *Vervins*, immediately dispatched *Justin Nassau*, admiral of *Zealand*, and *John Olden-Barneveldt*, to throw every possible impediment in the course of the approaching pacification. They proceeded to *Nantz*, and laid their instructions before *Henry*, who, receiving them politely, replied, that he apprehended peace was more distant than he could wish : he must insist upon restitution of *Blavet* and *Calais*, and he feared *Philip* would have no inclination to part with those towns, in which case the war would be undoubtedly continued. Peace, he said, was necessary to his kingdom ; but they might depend it should be such as would turn out to the confusion of his enemies. *Elizabeth* laboured in the same cause with the states general. Her ambassadors had a conference at *Nantz* with the chancellor of *France*, and the dukes *d' Epernon* and *Bouillon*, about the means of establishing a general peace, which the queen was ready to accept in concert with the states : but the *Dutch* ambassadors replied, that their instructions were limited to demonstrate the necessity and advantage of continuing the war ; a proposition which would scarce admit of hesitation, with respect to *Holland*. The *English* ambassadors acceded to this opinion, the scheme for a general pacification was relinquished ; but the treaty between *France* and *Spain* took place on the 2d day of *May*. *Elizabeth* and the states exclaimed against the conduct of the *French* king ; but that wise prince soon convinced the latter, that he had not renounced their interest by restoring peace to his own subjects^e. On the contrary, we shall find the court of *Spain* complaining loudly of the sums of money he remitted to *Holland*, which remonstrances *Henry* answered, by saying, *That he did not assist the states, but he was paying his debts*.

A. D.
1598.

*The states
send am-
bassadors
to Eng-
land.*

THE treaty of *Vervins* was no sooner signed, than *Justin Nassau* and *Olden-Barneveldt* quitted the *French* court, and set out for *England*, to concert a plan of operations for the farther prosecution of war. Here they were civilly received, but treated at the same time with great freedom by *Elizabeth*. That princess told them frankly, that she had liberally assisted the *United Provinces* with her money, but never met with any returns of gratitude. No attempt was made to reimburse her expences, notwithstanding the commercial wealth of the states, and her necessities, entirely occasioned

^e GROT. lib. vii. p. 381.

by her compassion for their sufferings. This had involved her in a war with *Spain*, at the very time when the disturbances in *Ireland*, and intrigues in *Scotland*, greatly embarrassed her affairs. In consequence of her rupture with *Philip*, her subjects were cut off from all intercourse with *Spain*, to the great detriment of trade; it was therefore now incumbent upon her to listen to the catholic king's proposals, which however she promised never to accept, without first acquainting the states general. After all, the *Dutch* envoys easily perceived from the temper of the public, that the *English* would shew no aversion to the continuance of the war, provided the states would break off all traffic with *Spain*, reimburse the queen's expences, and take upon themselves a more reasonable proportion of the burthen. At that time the *English* councils were divided into two parties, headed by lord *Burleigh*, treasurer, and the earl of *Essex*. The frugal disposition of the former inclined him to a peace with *Spain*; the ambition and martial genius of the latter made him favour the opposite system, in which alone glory could be acquired. Warm debates arose, and the most poignant sarcasms were levelled against *Holland*. It was said that the states, under the mask of religion and liberty, had destroyed the former, by permitting every faith besides the Roman catholic; and the latter, by converting freedom into licentiousness; that they fought entirely for their own interest, and artfully threw the weight of their cause upon the shoulders of their allies; that they committed the most intolerable frauds, with respect to the pay of the *English* forces, extorting from them a double price for every kind of provision; that they traded to a vast extent with *Spain*, and grew wealthy amidst all the horrors of a war, ruinous to their allies, and particularly to *England*; that in all pecuniary transactions with *England* they adulterated the coin, recoined the *English* money, and made payments to them in base money, greatly below standard; that they had monopolized all the trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*, excluding their greatest benefactors from those markets in which the *Dutch* were lately but interlopers. Such were the assertions, many of them founded on truth, thrown out by the partizans of *Burleigh*, and the advocates for a peace with *Spain*. On the other hand, the power, the policy, the perfidy of *Philip*, were urged as reasons for continuing the war, until the wings of his soaring ambition should be sufficiently clipped. It was affirmed, that no lasting treaty could be concluded with a monarch who broke through all moral obligations, to gratify his lust of power, and set oaths at defiance to satiate his

*Treaty
concluded
between
England
and the
States.*

his resentment ; that if the queen abandoned the states general, and suffered *Spain* to gain possession of *Brille* and *Flushing*, she would at the same time lose the sums lent to the states, and bring dishonour on the kingdom ; that if *Spain* once re-established her power in the *Netherlands*, she would then become a more formidable antagonist than ever to *England* ; that if an offensive war carried on in the *Low Countries*, or the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, was found expensive, her majesty might easily and advantageously direct her operations against the *Spanish* colonies in *America*, the reduction of which would more than compensate the expences of the armament ; lastly, it was asserted that the *United Provinces*, and particularly those of *Holland* and *Zealand*, were the strongest barriers of *England* against the attempts of the *Spanish* monarch. Had *Cecil* lived, the issue of this dispute might possibly have been different ; his death immediately turned the scale in favour of the opposite party, and produced a renewal of the treaty with the states, which was signed at *London* the 26th day of *August*. The articles were, that the states should repay the queen, at stated instalments, the sum of 800,000*l.* sterling ; that they should maintain at their expence the *English* garrisons in the *Brille* and *Flushing* ; that they should levy troops in *England*, to be commanded by *English* officers, and paid by the states ; that, in case of any attempts to invade *England*, the states would immediately send to the assistance of that kingdom a body of 5000 foot, and an equal number of horse ; that the number of ships and the strength of squadrons, equipped in the common cause, should be equal ; that the queen's claim to the money due from the provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders* to *Palavicini*, should remain entire, as a deposit for her yearly expences of 25,000*l.*^f. These were the measures taken for vigorously supporting the war, and resisting the power of *Philip*, now at liberty to point his whole strength against the provinces.

*Transac-
tions of the
court of
Madrid.*

IN the mean time, the councils of this prince were fluctuating and unsteady, that depth of policy and refined understanding, for which he was formerly celebrated, were clouded with disappointment, weakened by infirmity, and entangled in embarrassments. It had long been debated, whether the infanta and the *Netherlands* should not be given to the archduke *Albert*, as the best method of preserving those provinces, and extricating *Philip* out of a labyrinth of difficulties ; but great inconveniencies attended this mea-

^f CAMD. p. 157. THUAN. p. 78*l.*

sure, in case *Isabella* should ever succeed, as was not improbable, to the *Spanish* monarchy. When the affair was proposed to the council, the count *de Fuentes* opposed it with a variety of specious arguments. The marquis *de Castel Roderigo* answered the reasoning of *Fuentes*, and declared with equal warmth in favour of the measure, insisting that the dismemberment of the *Netherlands* from the monarchy would produce a variety of advantages, and particularly a great saving of blood and treasure. *Philip* was himself of the same sentiments, and declared for them the more readily, that they were approved of by a majority of the council. He considered that *France* was ascending by vast paces to a great height of power, that the union of the crowns of *England* and *Scotland* would, under the successor of *Elizabeth*, render *Great Britain* formidable; and that those kingdoms, by keeping alive the sparks of rebellion in the *Netherlands*, might perpetually harass, disturb, and embroil the *Spanish* monarchy. He likewise dreaded lest the *Flemings* should carry their conquests into the *Indies*; and was in hopes that the provinces, placed under a prince of the house of *Austria*, would content themselves with a free trade with *Spain*, without equipping fleets for long and dangerous voyages at so vast an expence. He was not aware that a spirit of liberty, of commerce and enterprise, was now excited, which it would be impossible to extinguish. What affected the king most, according to *Bentivoglio*, was the loss the church would sustain, by permitting the free use of the protestant religion. It was falsely supposed, that the provinces wanted nothing more than to be subject to a prince of the house of *Austria*; they had now so long tasted liberty, though imbibed with war and bloodshed, that no terms would have induced them to renounce what was purchased at the price of many battles. *Philip*, however, not doubting but their submission would follow, had the contract of marriage between *Isabella* and his nephew the archduke *Albert* made out and signed; the articles of which were, that she should enjoy for her portion the *Netherlands* and provinces of *Burgundy* and *Charlerois*; that the male heirs should succeed, and in case of failure the females; that provided one daughter only survived of this marriage, she should marry the king of *Spain*; that the archduke should oblige his subjects to cease trading to the *Indies*, and rest satisfied with a free intercourse with the *Spanish* dominions in *Europe*, &c.

To execute this treaty, the cardinal *Albert* quitted the *Netherlands*, and proceeded with all expedition to the court
of

of *Madrid*. His absence was suddenly perceived by violent seditions and tumults among the troops, who, unawed by his presence, threw aside all restraint. All the garrisons of the towns in *Picardy*, which by the treaty were to be restored to the *French* monarch, demanded large sums of money before they would evacuate the places they possessed. Their example was followed by the garrisons of *Ghent*, *Antwerp* and *Cambray*, who demanded their arrears, and threatened to throw off all subjection. This seditious humour was propagated like a contagious disease among all the troops, every man expressing his unwillingness to serve a court too needy and profuse to regard the wants of the soldiers, who were fighting her battles, and shedding their blood for her security. At length supplies of money arrived, and the mutineers were appeased.

Death of
king Phi-
lip, and
marriage
of the
archduke
and Isa-
bella.

Before the archduke left his government, he appointed a successor, and nominated his brother the cardinal *Andrea* of *Austria* to that dignity. He likewise quitted the ecclesiastical habit, and resigned the archbishopric of *Toledo*, reserving only a pension, payable out of the revenues of the see, of 5000 ducatoons. Before his arrival at *Madrid*, *Philip* was in extremities, and exceedingly impatient to see the marriage concluded before he took leave of all sublunary enjoyments. A variety of accidents retarded the archduke; and before he could reach the court, the king had breathed his last (A). *Philip's* will, however, was punctually executed, the marriage was solemnized, and the ceremony performed by pope *Clement*, by means of proxies sent to *Ferrara*, where his holiness at that time resided.

THE contract of marriage had no sooner been signed by the late king, than *Albert* passed the necessary forms of taking possession of his sovereignty, previous to his journey to *Spain*. He likewise wrote a letter to the states of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and their allies, acquainting them with the king's having resigned the *Low Countries* in favour of his daughter, and requesting that they would no longer refuse submission to their natural princess, who would endeavour to govern with the utmost lenity, indulgence and affection. This letter was enforced by another from *Philip* prince of *Orange* to his brother *Maurice*; but no reply was made to either.

§ METEREN. fol. 407. lib. xix.

(A) The particulars of the life and death of this prince, whose ambition, policy and genius for intrigue, had, for a series of years, embroiled all Europe, may be seen in a former volume of this work.

ABOUT

ABOUT this time 4000 *Spanish* recruits arrived in *Flan-* *Progress*
ders, to complete the old corps broken and diminished in *of the war*.
the last campaign. With this reinforcement, the king's
army consisted of 7000 *Spanish* infantry, 3000 *Italian*, 2000
Burgundian, 1000 *Irish*, and 7000 *German* and *Flemish* foot,
with the cavalry, amounting to 25,000 men complete. Af-
ter the archduke's departure, the admiral of *Arragon* was
placed at the head of this army, to which the states were
unable to oppose an equal force. Passing the *Meuse* at
Ruremonde, *Mendoza* took possession of *Orsois*, an open town
belonging to the duchy of *Cleves*. As the place was of
considerable importance, the admiral ordered a citadel to
be built, erecting likewise a strong fort at *Wassum*. Prince
Maurice having notice of the fate of *Orsois*, quitted the
Hague to put himself at the head of the army quartered about
Arnheim. In the month of *September* he marched to *Guel-*
dres Weert, to watch the enemy's motions, and while he
lay encamped here, the admiral reduced the fortresses of
Alphen and *Bronk*^h. Thence he proceeded to *Rhimberg*, an
unfortified town, subject to the elector of *Cologne*, but
guarded by a body of the confederate forces. In his way
thither, he seized the castle of *Barila*, and then cannonaded
Rhimberg with such fury, that the garrison immediately
surrendered. *Maurice* was too weak to oppose the enemy
in the field; he was obliged to content himself with fortify-
ing his camp, and reinforcing the garrisons of the places
most likely to attract the admiral's attention; but he enter-
tained hopes that the scarcity of money and provisions would
excite mutinies in the *Spanish* army before the winter,
and effectually stop *Mendoza's* operations. In this, how-
ever, he was disappointed, the admiral having found means
to support his troops by contributions raised on these towns,
which desired to be exempted from garrisons. Having
made himself master of *Rheez*, *Emmerick*, *Dotchoum*, and
other places, he placed his troops in quarters, the heavy
rains rendering it impossible to keep the field longer. The
inhabitants of *Westphalia* and *Cleves* loudly complained of
the oppression of maintaining the *Spanish* forces; they sent
remonstrances to the cardinal *Andrea*, but were not re-
dressed.

WHILE the admiral lay before *Dotchoum*, prince *Maurice*
apprehending his next effort would be pointed against *Doef-*
burg, a place of more consequence, fortified all the posts
by which it was accessible, and encamped before the walls,

^h Ibid. l. xx. BENTIVOG. p. 3. l. iv. p. 109.

in a strong situation, until the advanced season removed all danger. During the whole winter skirmishes passed between the troops ; but they were too inconsiderable to merit regard. Thus ended the campaign, in which the vigilance, activity, and address of *Maurice*, prevented *Mendoza*, with a greatly superior army, from obtaining any important advantage.

Naval transactions, and the state of commerce in the provinces.

ABOUT the close of the year a fleet arrived from the *East Indies*, which disappointed the expectations of the proprietors and the publick, the profits having been scarce sufficient to defray the expences of the voyage. This did not, however, check that spirit of enterprize now so general and ardent in *Holland*. A new society subscribed large sums, and eight new ships were equipped for the same voyage. Numbers of individuals embarked in attempts to make new discoveries, and open fresh sources of commerce. Voyages were made to the remote quarters of the globe, where the *Dutch* flag was unknown, and one *Balthasar Monchuen*, a *Zealander*, fitted out at his own expence, not only two ships to *India*, but a squadron of five large vessels, to establish colonies in the islands of *St. Thomas*, and the continent of *Africa*. At first his project was attended with all possible success, the *Portuguese* of *St. Thomas* joyfully accepted the proffers of an advantageous trade, a mutual oath was taken to exclude all other nations ; but the *Portuguese* soon renounced their engagement, drove the *Zealanders* out of the island, and ruined the whole scheme which had greatly raised *Balthasar's* reputation¹. This year was particularly fruitful in bold expeditions. Certain merchants of *Rotterdam* equipped four ships, which they sent through the straits of *Magellan* to *California*, with intention to discover a passage to *Japan* and *China*, and return by the *Cape of Good Hope*, after having encompassed the globe. In a word, such was the avidity and spirit of this people, that no less than thirty large ships were sent by the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* to the *East* and *West Indies*, while they at the same time were establishing a *Levant* trade by means of the *French* ambassador at *Constantinople*, and prosecuting their fisheries with great diligence. The trade indeed was considerably disturbed by the swarms of privateers that issued from *Calais*, still garrisoned by the *Spaniards*. This was an affair of so much importance as to require the attention of the legislature. The states general assembled to deliberate upon the means of securing

¹ LE CLERC, p. 101. l. vi. METEREN, l. xx.

the navigation of the provinces ; but they could come to no other resolution, than that the general officers of the marine should, in their turns, cruize upon the privateers, and block up the harbour of *Calais*. The year concluded with a rich capture made by a small Squadron equipped by prince *Maurice*. Four *Spanish* merchantmen, richly laden, were taken before they got out of sight of *Calais*. We have mentioned these naval transactions, to shew how assiduously the *Dutch* cultivated commerce, in the midst of an oppressive war, which would otherwise have proved intolerable.

S E C T. VI.

Containing the operations of the subsequent campaign ; the arrival of the archduke and Isabella in the Low Countries ; the victory obtained by the confederates at Newport ; with other particulars, to the death of queen Elizabeth, in 1603.

THE arrogance of the *Spanish* troops quartered in the empire caused violent commotions, particularly in the districts of *Cleves* and *Westphalia*. They committed the most horrible outrages ; entering, without distinction, and plundering neutral cities, to compensate their deficiency of pay. All the peasants deserted their usual employments, and sought protection in the fortified towns ; industry was wholly laid aside, and every consequent misery introduced. Sensible that their little effects would fall into the hands of the enemy, the peasants indemnified themselves by plundering the seats of the nobility, resolved to obviate the prospects they foresaw from the neglect of agriculture. The *Spanish* soldiers were in the mean while over-running the bishopric of *Munster*, the archbishopric of *Cologne*, the counties of *Bentheim*, the duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg* ; in a word, all the country from the *Meuse* to the *Rhine*, where they seized upon all the towns, and collected so rich a booty, that private men remitted large sums to *Antwerp*. Their avidity was accompanied with the utmost riot and most dissolute luxury. Unaccustomed to affluence, they spent it in profusion, in drunkenness, incontinence, and abandoned mirth ; endeavouring at the same time to repair their fluctuating fortune by the most cruel extortion, putting all those suspected of concealing their wealth to the torture. All were surprised that the *Germans*, so jealous of their liberty, should

A. D.
1599.
*Oppression
of the Spaniards in
Germany:*

have permitted those violences on the laws of nations to pass unpunished. Repeated assemblies were held by the princes of the empire, but nothing was determined. Only the count of *Oldenburgh*, the bishops of *Bremen* and *Osnabrug*, and *John of Nassau*, had the courage to repel by force the insults of the *Spaniards*. The assemblies wrote several pathetic letters to the cardinal *Andrea*; but that prelate, unable to advance the arrears of the soldiers, was forced to wink at their excesses, and disregard the remonstrances of the assembly. The emperor sent *Neufel*, a member of his privy council, to regulate the affairs of the duchy of *Cleves*, but he returned without having executed his instructions. *Mendoza* treated the inhabitants with great contempt, and he publicly expressed his detestation of the protestant princes of the empire, boasting that the Almighty had sent him as a scourge to punish heresy. Incensed at this conduct, the emperor published a decree, ordering *Mendoza* and the *Spaniards* immediately to quit the imperial dominions, a similar injunction being at the same time transmitted to the confederate forces. In substance the edicts differed in nothing; but that to *Mendoza* was couched in terms more bitter and poignant. Both were enjoined to make immediate reparation, to release all the prisoners made in the imperial dominions, to abstain from future violation of the laws of nations, under penalty of incurring the emperor's wrath, and feeling the weight of his displeasure.

Mendoza paid little regard to impotent menaces; a few days after the decree was put into his hands, he seized upon *Calcar*, a town in the duchy of *Juliers*, and obliged the inhabitants to receive a *Spanish* garrison. He carried his indignation against *Lutherans* to so high a pitch of enthusiasm, that he wrote to the bishop of *Paderborn* to purge his see of heretics, or expect suddenly a *Spanish* army in his diocese, which would at his expence perform the episcopal duty. Once more the *German* princes met to apply effectual remedies to an evil grown altogether unsupportable: hither the cardinal *Andrea* and *Mendoza* sent their commissioner; *Delrio* and *Bodwitz* were pitched on to execute this important business; but the latter fell into the hands of a body of confederate cavalry, and was threatened with being treated as a spy: *Delrio* acquitted himself with so much dexterity, that after throwing a variety of embarrassments in the way, after procrastinating the resolutions of the assembly, and detaining the princes for months to hear encomiums on the equity and moderation of the catholic king, the congress at last broke up without coming to any determination,

termination, although all were convinced, and secretly felt the injuries sustained. As to the states they sent no deputies to attend the business of the assembly, justly supposing the time would be employed in fruitless altercation. Thus, after a decree of the *Aulic* council had passed, declaring those enemies who should longer remain in the empire, after repeated congresses were held to avenge the insults upon the imperial dignity; the *Spaniards* proceeded in their usual course, and maintained garrisons in five towns upon the *Rhine*^a.

In the winter prince *Maurice* surprised *Emmeric*, and there-
by opened a path to disturb the enemy in winter-quarters. It was partly the policy of the states to remove the seat of war into the empire, hoping thereby to engage the imperial council and the injured princes of the empire to take arms against the *Spaniards*; but they did not long maintain their post at *Emmeric*, it was retaken with little opposition by the *Spaniards*. Upon this, prince *Maurice* formed a design against *Zavenar*, in which he succeeded: as the season for opening the campaign was now approaching, the states determined to enable prince *Maurice* to act with vigour; new levies were ordered to be made: to support which expence, the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* granted a new duty upon merchandise, and a tax upon moveable effects, donations and legacies; premiums and six *per cent.* were likewise given to those who lent money to the government, and all persons exempted from taxes for a certain number of years upon subscribing a thousand livres. To these measures all the other provinces, except *Groningen*, acceded.

Preparations of the states for continuing the war.

CARDINAL *Andrea*, to counteract the vigorous measures of the states, published a declaration in the name of the infanta *Isabella*, reproaching the states with having abused the indulgence of the late king, who permitted them to trade with his *Spanish* subjects, offered them the most reasonable terms of peace, gave three archdukes for their governors, dismembered the monarchy to gratify their caprice, and was now repaid with ingratitude, and a determined resolution to continue in their rebellion. They were accused of seducing the people, by persuading them that their riches and commerce would increase by war. That this was true, might be attributed to the affection of the king for unworthy subjects, whom he hoped to reclaim by his lenity. These measures proving fruitless, the infanta and the king of *Spain* prohibited, under the penalty of imprisonment and con-

^a GROT. lib. viii. REIDAN. lib. xv. METAREN. lib. xxi.

fiscation of goods, all communication between the *United Provinces* and the kingdom of *Spain*, or the *Spanish Netherlands*. The infanta, in particular, forbid the smallest intercourse between her subjects and the *United Provinces*, withdrawing all permissions and passports which had hitherto been granted for that purpose. One month only was allowed to merchants to settle their affairs, after which the princels resolved to push the war with vigour, unless the provinces accepted the terms of peace proposed by her father, which she now again offered. A counter-declaration was published by the states, and the sole effect of the cardinal's edict was to stimulate the provinces to a more assiduous application to foreign commerce, and to give birth to that *India* company, which, in a short time, raised the republic to the highest pitch of grandeur.

Edict published by the archduke.

IMMEDIATELY after the publication of the edict passed by the states general, a fleet was ordered to be equipped to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, and the land-levies were prosecuted with great diligence. Not only the old regiments were completed, but several new corps raised; particularly a regiment composed of two battalions of a thousand men each, in *Germany*, levied at the expence of count *Ernest* of *Nassau*; two thousand *French* veterans, disbanded by the king at the late peace, and now enlisted by *La Noue*; and a thousand *Swiss*, likewise dismissed from the *French* service. When the *Spanish* ambassador complained to *La Noue*, that the *French* auxiliaries were an infraction of the late treaty between the two courts, he was answered, that his intention was to purge the provinces of certain evil humours fermented by their late civil divisions^b. Several regulations were made in the cavalry, and the number of horse was very considerably augmented. Nothing, in a word, was omitted to withstand the utmost efforts of the *Spaniards* and the archduke (A).

^b BENTIVOGLI, p. 3. l. v. METRENI. l. ii. p. 24.

LE CLERC, l. vii, p. 197. ME-

(A) Two thousand of the *English* forces were exchanged at the queen's request, for an equal number of new-raised forces, who, however, behaved with the courage and conduct of veterans, at the battle of

Newport. Among other military regulations, one, in particular, regarded false musters; a common practice among the officers. This deceit and public fraud, of the worst tendency, was made capital. Several changes

On the other hand, the cardinal was no less diligent in his endeavours to bring a numerous army into the field. His first care was to raise sufficient supplies to defray the arrears due to the army and garrisons, some of which had continued for their pay. The garrison of *Onbursf* was particularly insolent, and the cardinal had the courage to execute what no former governor ever presumed to attempt. He changed the garrison, and exemplarily punished the offenders; rewarding at the same time the garrison of *Ghent*, who in the same circumstances had conducted themselves with modesty and discretion. Next he returned to *Maeftricht*, to consult with the chief officers the operations of the campaign. The first object proposed was an attempt on the Isle of *Bommel*; of which prince *Maurice* gaining intelligence, by intercepted letters, he took measures for its security. The cardinal passed the *Rhine* on a bridge made of boats, on the 17th of April, with a resolution immediately to enter the territories of the states, but the chief officers were divided where to strike the first blow. *Mendoza* was for attacking fort *Schenk*, which might be deemed the key to the Isle of *Betarw*; others, aware of the difficulty of this enterprise, proposed investing *Nimeguen*, to which *Mendoza* raised specious objections; particularly, that the garrison could always receive supplies by means of the river and fort *Knotsemburgh*. The last scheme, supported by a majority of the officers, was embraced. It proposed crossing the *Meuse* lower, and attacking *Bommel*, the capital of the island of that name. To facilitate the attempt, *Barlotte*, a famous partizan, undertook to seize on the Isle of *Voren*, but he was baffled by the vigilance of prince *Maurice*, who not content with disappointing the enemy in this enterprise, detached a body of horse and foot to watch their motions, and disturb their march. This corps was fortunate enough to engage and defeat a party of the

Operations of the campaign.

changes took place in the method of arming the troops. Lances were laid aside, and carabines given to the horse, in their stead. This institution was first introduced by prince *Maurice* in particular regiments. Now it became general by order of the states. Several regiments were converted into light infantry, their heavy arms being exchanged for others more portable, and better calculated

for expedition (1). It is, however, a question hitherto undecided by military critics, whether the present light arms in use produce all the effects of the more clumsy weapons which formerly adorned the soldier. Certain we are, that the *Romans*, the best-disciplined troops in the world, ascribed a great part of their success to the weight of their arms.

(1) *Meteren. Bentivog.*

Le Clerc, ubi supra.

Spaniards, whereby *Mendoza's* dispatches, and the whole plan formed, were disclosed to the prince. Every means accordingly was employed to oppose the enemies crossing the river. An infinity of boats and bridges were prepared, and batteries erected upon the opposite banks, by which the *Spaniards* were greatly annoyed in their course along the banks. Under pretence, however, of besieging fort *Schenk*, which he battered furiously with his heavy cannon, *Mendoza* at last passed the *Val* with considerable loss, penetrated into the isle of *Bommel*, and regularly invested the capital; but not until *Maurice* had encamped under the walls, and raised several new works for its defence. The *Spanish* general was not deterred by difficulties. He erected batteries, and prosecuted his measures with determined courage, notwithstanding the army which covered the city was little inferior to his own. His conduct was joyfully observed by *Maurice*, who perceived the attempt would necessarily terminate in the ruin of the *Spanish* army, should it be obstinately prosecuted. He was taking all the proper measures for drawing the enemy gradually into his snares, when he received an express order from the states to give them battle the first opportunity. *Maurice* was astonished at orders so different from the usual cautious and deliberate conduct of the government; he perceived they were dictated by the frugal disposition of the deputies, who found it necessary to end the campaign at a certain time, to prevent exceeding the supplies granted by the provinces; and he determined not to obey, until he had first remonstrated to the states general. A joint letter was sent by *Maurice* and *William of Nassau*, representing the danger of giving the enemy battle at that time, when scarce any advantage could flow from victory, and a defeat would be attended with the most fatal consequences. Though he was equal in force, he was by no means superior in courage to the enemy, who fought in despair, the precipitate measures of *Mendoza* having brought them into a critical situation, from which resolution alone could extricate them. The *Dutch* forces, they said, consisted chiefly of new-raised levies and auxiliary troops, who could not be deemed equal to the veterans of *Spain*; if this army gave way, the provinces would lie open to all the ravages of war; if the enemy were defeated, the treasures of *Spain*, and populousness of the *Spanish Netherlands*, would soon set on foot another army; he was now gaining more important advantages than could even result from victory, as *Mendoza* obstinately persisted in wasting his blood and treasure against the walls of a city which he never should be able to reduce, while the confederates pre-

served their present situation; in a word, he urged, that the proper season for giving battle, depended on a variety of circumstances, which could only be determined upon the spot, and ought therefore to be referred to the discretion of the general, who either deserved their confidence, or ought to be recalled. Just, however, as this reasoning must appear, it was construed by the deputies into a desire of prolonging the war. The great influence of *Maurice* depended on his being at the head of an army; and though his zealous attachment to his country was approved, yet his ambition was not unknown. He was therefore obliged so far to comply with the sentiments of the government, as to promise he would seize the first favourable moment for giving battle^c.

MENDOZA was in the mean time playing furiously from his batteries, while his troops were miserably galled from the enemies boats, and batteries ranged along the river. He persisted in the notion he should be able to force *Maurice* to quit his situation, and the prince artfully cherished this opinion, the better to destroy the *Spanish* army. At length he determined upon a general sally from four different quarters of his intrenchments, while his artillery from the boats kept up an incessant fire. The *Dutch* forces marched out in the middle of the day, and attacked the *Spanish* intrenchments with the utmost resolution. They were received with equal gallantry, and, after a bloody conflict, drawn off before victory had declared. The action was maintained for three hours, above fifteen hundred men perished on each side, but no impression was made on *Mendoza's* quarters, nor did any important consequence result. The night following a less general, but more successful, sally was made. It was expected the enemy might be unprepared, not expecting the *Dutch* would so soon renew their efforts. The conjecture was well founded; all was in security in *Mendoza's* camp, and the utmost consternation introduced by the arrival of the confederates, whose attack succeeded beyond expectation. Several batteries were destroyed, prodigious slaughter made, and a great number of prisoners taken. After a respite of three days, the *English* and *French* auxiliaries, under Sir *Francis Vere* and *La Noue*, made another desperate sally on the *Walloon* quarter, which they forced with terrible slaughter. At last, overpowered with numbers, and badly supported by the *Dutch*, they retreated in good order. Such vigorous attacks, and the length of the siege, now protracted to the space of three

^c BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. v. p. 123.

weeks, convinced *Mendoza* of his error, and the impossibility of reducing *Bommel*; but the difficulty was to relinquish the design without exposing himself to the ridicule of his own troops, and the assaults of the enemy on his rear. The latter, however, he avoided, by means of little forts and batteries erected, with great judgment, along the river; but could not escape the former, which broke out in sedition and mutiny. Disappointed of the expected booty from the plunder of *Bommel*, the *Spanish* soldiers became clamorous for their arrears, and were, with great difficulty and large promises, appeased. All the rest of the campaign was consumed in building and attacking forts, erected to cover the winter-quarters of both armies. The *Spaniards* made an attempt on a fort raised by *Maurice* at *Herwerden*, and were repulsed with loss; on the other hand, the confederates, led by the prince in person, were equally unsuccessful in an attack on the *Spanish* fort at *Meguen*, which, though unfinished, the garrison defended with extreme valour^d.

The German princes take arms.

DURING these transactions a circumstance occurred, which, if judiciously improved, would, beyond doubt, have ruined the *Spanish* dominion in the *Netherlands*. The *German* princes, incensed that the *Spaniards* still maintained posts and garrisons in their dominions, entered into an association to expel all foreigners; and for this purpose raised an army of 25,000 foot and 4000 horse, under the conduct of the count *de Lippe*. The states general pressed the associated *Germans* to join their army; but they did not withdraw their own troops out of the districts of *Juliers*, *Berg*, *Munster*, and *Cleves*. For this reason the princes declared, that they armed in their own defence, without intending to interfere in the quarrel between the king of *Spain* and his subjects, who had both violated the privileges of the empire. Cardinal *Andrea*, to appease the *Germans*, withdrew his garrison from *Emmerick*, which he ordered immediately to be restored to the duke of *Cleves*. This, however, did not satisfy the count *de Lippe*; he invested *Rhimberg*, held by a mutinous *Spanish* garrison, who would have surrendered it had he agreed to pay their arrears. Their proposal was rejected, the assault given, and the *Germans* repulsed with great loss, and obliged to relinquish the enterprise^e. From thence the count proceeded to *Reez*, where he was not more fortunate; a sally from the town having put one of his quarters in confusion, and spread terror through the whole army. The

^d REIDAN. lib. xvi. p. 46. LE CLERC, lib. vii. p. 197.

^e BENTIVOG. p. 130.

panic was so great, and the harmony among the piñces so ill established, that in a few weeks the army disbanded, and Spain, without striking one blow, was delivered from this formidable enemy.

In the mean time, the archduke *Albert*, and his consort, *The archduke and duchess arrive in the Low Countries.* returned to the *Low Countries*, and made their public entry into *Brussels* with such ostentation and magnificence, as impressed unfavourable ideas of their characters. It is alledged by the *Dutch* writers, that the nobility were received with a cold civility, and disgusting air of superiority; that the deputies of the states paid their compliments on the knee, a servility inconsistent with the dignity of freemen; and that *Albert* and the infanta, in every respect, received sovereign honours, and those marks of abject humiliation shewn to crowned heads. These remarks are probably dictated by prejudice, since even the *Dutch* writers allow that the archduke, during his former residence, had distinguished himself for his moderation, lenity, and affability: a carriage at this time no less necessary than before. On his entering upon business, the first difficulty that occurred, was, the oath usually taken by the archdukes, to preserve the privileges of the provinces inviolable. The states hinted to them the necessity of withdrawing foreign troops, demolishing the citadels, and committing the defence of the towns to the inhabitants. Nothing could be more shocking to the archduchess, nursed in the arms of despotism, than an insinuation which tended to limit her prerogative. Her prejudices were, however, surmounted by *Albert's* moderation, who acquainted her, that she could only obtain her ends by temporising, and promises to withdraw all foreigners, as soon as the dangers of war were removed at a distance. Having adjusted this point, the archduke and duchess set out for *Louvain*, where they took the oaths prescribed; and, after making the tour of the provinces, returned to *Brussels*. Next, the state of the country was taken into consideration; and the causes of the miscarriage at *Bommel*, which was charged to the misconduct and obstinacy of *Mendoza*. This general recriminated; accusing the troops of disobedience, and the government of neglect, in furnishing money and the necessary supplies; to which he, in some measure justly, attributed the disgraces sustained. After a long hearing, *Mendoza* was acquitted, continued in his command, and the necessary measures taken to prevent future disturbances and mutinies.

^f REIDAN. lib. xvi. p. 175. GROTIUS. lib. ix. p. 395.
TEREN, lib. xxi.

^g ME-

*Discord in
the seven
provinces.*

The *United Provinces* were no less embarrassed and divided among themselves. Great clamours were raised by the deputies of the provinces, against the expences of the campaign, which had already greatly exceeded the supplies raised, without producing any public advantage. It was not considered that prince *Maurice* had done all that could be expected in defending *Bommel*, and securing all the frontier against the irruptions of the enemy. A fresh demand of money was made, and positively refused by some of the provinces, who desired the army might be sent into winter-quarters. The divisions were running high, when a remittance of 300,000 francs arrived from *France*, *Henry IV.* wisely foreseeing that the penuriousness of the provincial states would ruin the cause, and once more render the *Spaniards* absolute masters of the *Netherlands*. Notwithstanding this unexpected supply, deputies were dispatched to confer with prince *Maurice*, and represent to him the state of the revenue, which required that the troops should immediately quit the field. The prince replied, that money expended in defence of liberty, should never be grudged; that in the present case they must determine to support the war with vigour, or lose the fruits of all their blood, toil, and treasure, already bestowed. That nothing could be attributed to mismanagement, since he was ready to lay before the states a clear account of the services in which the public money had been employed; that marching so early into quarters would afford the enemy an opportunity of penetrating into the bowels of a country, the very frontiers of which they had hitherto found impregnable. He consented however, that the charge of boats, waggons, and baggage horses, should be diminished; but earnestly exhorted the deputies to reflect on the fatal consequences of entertaining a hostile army for the winter, in the heart of the provinces, and the difficulty of dislodging so powerful an enemy. He desired he might be permitted to erect three forts on the banks of the *Vaal*, to restrain the irruptions of the garrison of *St. Andrew*; but the expence amounting to 80,000 francs, he was forced to content himself with throwing up some slight works on the dyke of the Isle of *Tiel*. In a word, notwithstanding all the prince's remonstrances, and the probability that the archduke would endeavour to retrieve the character of the *Spanish* arms by some bold action, the states resolved upon a reduction of the forces, strongly suspecting that the corps were uncomplete. All the companies of foot consisting of 200 men, were reduced to 130, and those of horse

*Reduction
of the
troops.*

composed

composed of 100 men, were reduced to eighty, by which means the government saved 60,000 livres per month. A ferment was excited in the army, and this reduction would have proved the most fatal blow ever sustained by the provinces, had the enemy embraced the opportunity. The rivers were all frozen, the states were defenceless, and every thing contributed to render an irruption into the provinces successful, had *Albert* been careful to maintain discipline, catch at circumstances, and recruit his army. But all this was neglected. Prince *Maurice* having, in the month of *November*, by express order of the states, placed his troops in winter-quarters, the admiral of *Aragon* followed his example, after leaving a strong garrison in Fort St. *Andrew*. He imprudently indeed gave out, that he only waited for a frost, to invade the provinces, and thereby cautioned prince *Maurice* to take all measures in his power for their security &c.

WITH respect to naval affairs, great preparations were made towards the beginning of the year; as soon as all intercourse between the *Spanish* dominions and the provinces were prohibited, the states equipped an armament composed of sixty-three sail, under the conduct of *Peter Vander Dous*, to harass the coasts of *Spain*, and prevent all commerce between that nation and the other maritime powers. Great encouragement was likewise given to private adventurers in the *East* and *West-India* trade; insomuch that *Balthasar Monchuren*, so unfortunate the preceding year on the coast of *Africa*, now fitted out a considerable squadron to cruize in the *West Indies*, and search for the gold mines in *Guiana*. While the grand armament was preparing, a part of the *East India* fleet returned richly laden, and sufficiently compensated the former disappointment. This success gave fresh vigour to the states, and enabled them to pursue their schemes with redoubled vigour. On the 28th of *May* the fleet quitted the *Texel*, and arrived by the 11th of next month on the coast of *Portugal*. Finding he could make no impression of the coast, *Vander Dous* proceeded to the *Canaries*, and made a descent on the island called *Grand Canary*, though vigorously opposed by the *Spaniards*. Next morning the town was taken by assault, the inhabitants escaping to the mountains, and carrying with them their most valuable effects. *Vander Dous* offered to ransom the place; but the *Spaniards* refusing to give the price demanded, he laid the whole in

ashes. Hence he sailed for *Gomara*, which he plundered, proceeding with half the fleet to *America*, and sending the other half back under admiral *Geebrantsen*. This voyage proved unfortunate; the climate and fruits of *South America* produced terrible diseases among the seamen, which swept them off in great numbers, occasioned the death of *Vander Dons*, and several of his officers. After some fruitless attempts on the *Spanish* settlements, the fleet returned to *Holland*, except a squadron of seven ships which came back the following year, heavy laden with a booty of sugar and other commodities, carried off from the *West India* islands. After all, the whole advantage obtained from this formidable armament, was to draw the attention of the court of *Spain* from the affairs of the *Netherlands*, and put the king to great expence in equipping a fleet, which lay afterwards to rot in his harbours. As to the booty taken, it by no means defrayed the charges of the government. The year concluded with a negotiation for peace, carried on under the auspices of the emperor, who offered his mediation. The issue was the same with that of all preceding attempts, to reconcile parties too much inflamed to listen to reasonable conditions^b.

A: D. 1600. NEVER was the court of *Spain* more distressed for money than at present. Yet were *Philip III.* and *Albert* too haughty to descend from their dignity, and relax in the terms of peace proposed the former year. The archduke's long journey and voyage, his marriage, and the brilliancy of his court, had exhausted the supplies intended for the prosecution of the war; and *Philip's* own marriage, and the expences of equipping a powerful fleet, rendered him incapable of making the necessary remittances. Long arrears were due to the troops, who every where become clamorous. The *Spanish* forces first broke out into open mutiny. A small party took post at *Hamel* in the diocese of *Liege*; in a short time it was augmented to a corps of 2000 foot and 800 horse. Their example was followed by the *German* and *Walloon* garrisons of *Crevecoeur* and fort *St. Andrew*, and at last the revolt had almost become general. *Albert* was forced to treat with the mutineers, and assign them free quarters, and a fortified town in *Brabant*, until their arrears were discharged, paying them at the same time a sum of money sufficient to answer other exigencies. Scarce had the mutineers at *Hamel* quitted that post, when a body of *Italians* who had mutinied, seized

^b GROT. lib. viii. RALEIGH, apud Purchas, fol. iv.

upon the place, which they fortified. *Albert* was forced to appease this sedition in the same manner he had done the former. To prevent the garrisons of *St. Andrew* and *Crevecoeur* from proceeding to extremities, the archduke pretended he would send them upon an enterprize, where the booty would more than compensate the deficiencies of their pay. *Barlette* the partizan was appointed to conduct the expedition, he reviewed the troops on his arrival; but neglecting to distribute money among the soldiers, they mutinied, seized their officers, and sent them with their families prisoners to *Baldue*. It was dangerous to employ the forces that remained firm in their obedience against the mutineers. *Albert* dreaded that the contagion would spread through the whole; and yet this would have proved the most effectual measure, as there was no end to answering their insolent demands¹.

Maurice perceived that a fair opportunity now offered of attacking the *Spaniards* to advantage; but his powers were limited, and his force inconsiderable. However, that the occasion might not wholly slip without deducing any benefit, he assembled eight companies of infantry, and an equal number of cavalry, which he dispatched under *Lewis* of *Nassau*, and colonel *Edmond*, a *Scotchman*, to make an attempt on *Watchtendoc* in *Guelderland*. The enterprize was suggested by *Rhibove*; it succeeded to admiration, the town and citadel were taken after a slight resistance, and the government given to the officer who had formed the design. This success encouraged prince *Maurice* to pursue his blow. He marched secretly with a strong detachment towards *Crevecoeur*, seized the out works before the mutinous garrison was apprised of his design, and in the space of three days was master of all the fortifications, after defeating a detachment of 500 *Spanish* horse, which came to the relief of the besieged. The prince made overtures to the garrison of *St. Andrew*; but the mutineers refused to surrender the fort, unless the prince advanced a sum equal to the arrears owing by the court of *Spain*, which he had not in his power. *Maurice* then determined to apply force; he summoned the garrison, and threatened to give no quarter, if they did not immediately capitulate; but they despised his menaces, while the country round the fort was under water; and even put to death the trumpet sent with the summons. Next he hemmed in the garrison by a number of little forts and redoubts, sufficient

Prince
Maurice
reduces several im-
portant
places.

¹ LE CLERC, *ibid*.

to prevent their being supplied; at the same time keeping up so brisk a fire from certain batteries which he had erected, as forced the besieged to conceal themselves behind their ramparts. Just as they were reduced to extremity for want of fuel, and necessaries for their sick and wounded, a signal from the garrison of *Baldac* revived their courage, and gave them hopes of speedy assistance. But this glimmering of expectation soon vanished. *Velasco* who was sent, with a detachment for the relief of the besieged, made fruitless efforts to enter. He was baffled in every attempt by *Maurice*, and forced to leave the garrison to their fate. In consequence, they immediately capitulated, and to a man enlisted in the service of the states, where they behaved with great courage and fidelity.

The province of Groningen compelled to pay the taxes.

WHILE *Maurice* was pursuing the advantage afforded by the disorder of the *Spanish* army, the states, as usual, assembled to deliberate on the means of raising the supplies for the ensuing campaign. *Groningen* had for three years refused to pay the contingent stipulated; a bold exertion of power was necessary to bring the province to reason, and upon this the states resolved. *William* of *Nassau*, governor of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, was dispatched with a body of troops to the capital of the latter province, to compel the inhabitants to perform the articles of the union. He entered the city without the least disorder, disarmed the burghers, and built a citadel, leaving the provincial states to make their complaints to the states general. In this they were not wanting: deputies were immediately dispatched, with loud complaints of this violation of their privileges; but they were given to understand, that as *Groningen* was protected by the government, it must expect to bear a share of the public expence, and on the same footing of equality with the other provinces. Finding they could have no redress, the provincial states consented to pay their contingent; upon which *William* of *Nassau* proceeded to *Friseland*, where, by a just mixture of persuasion and force, he quelled a violent tumult among the peasants^k, who refused to pay the public tax. These, it must be confessed, were violent remedies in a free constitution; but at this time they were absolutely necessary, to prevent the dissolution of the whole constitution, as the other provinces refused to pay their quotas, if *Groningen* was exempted.

^k METEREN, lib. xxi.

GROT. lib. ix.

ALBERT was upon no better terms with the states of the *Spanish* provinces, who renewed their complaints against the oppression of the people with foreign soldiers, the mismanagement of the public money, the weight of taxes, and the profusion of the court. He demanded that the supplies for the next campaign might be granted, a civil list for the support of the court established, and a sum of money advanced upon the credit of the remittances expected from *Madrid*. They, on the other hand, required security that any such remittances were actually expected, and that when they arrived, they would be paid into their hands; they desired the account of the preceding year might be laid before them; and before they granted fresh supplies, irresistible proofs were required that the last were not misapplied.

SUCH was the state of affairs, when the *United Provinces* entered upon a resolution to open the campaign with vigour, and strike some blow, which should at the same time secure their own commerce, and confound the enemy. The states of *Holland* and *Zealand* argued the necessity of an attempt upon *Dunkirk*, the privateers of which place extremely molested their merchantmen. It was said, that this enterprize, though important, would not be difficult, because the army could be transported by sea, and by seizing certain forts round *Newport*, might march unmolested to *Dunkirk*. After this it was proposed, that *Newport* and *Furnese* should be attacked, by which a way to *Ostend*, defended by an *English* garrison, would be secured. Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* was present at these deliberations, and astonished at the unusual vigour of the proposals, which he was ready to attribute to the despair of the merchants of *Holland* and *Zealand*, who had suffered extremely from the enemies cruizers. Though he would not discountenance bold resolutions, he thought it his duty to represent the hazard of the attempt, and the impossibility of reducing *Dunkirk*, before the archduke would be in a condition to march with a superior army to its relief. After enlarging upon the subject, and pointing out all the inconveniencies which attended the project, he concluded with advising that *Sluys* might be invested, as an enterprize which would facilitate all their future operations, and be attended with less hazard. This, among other advantages, would, he said, enable the states to remove the seat of war into *Flanders*, the richest province belonging to the enemy, and from whence they drew their chief resources for continuing the war. The proposal, however

ever judicious, was rejected, because it presented no immediate relief to commerce; the other was preferred with all its dangers and difficulties. The transports were immediately got in readiness, and the troops, to the number of 12,000 foot and 2000 horse, conducted by prince *Maurice*, and accompanied with a large train of battering cannon, were embarked. On the 9th of *June* the fleet arrived at *Rammekins*, where, being detained by adverse winds, the prince desired leave to proceed by land through *Flanders*, which was immediately granted. In his march *Maurice* published manifestos, promising the utmost security to all the peasants who would supply the army with provision, and threatening to lay all the villages in ashes if the inhabitants absconded. In his way he seized upon the forts of *Oudenberg*, *Snacskerk*, and *Budene*, which he garrisoned with his own soldiers. Arriving at *Ostend*, he detached count *Solmes* to attack fort *Albert*, situated at the distance of half a league from the town. The garrison consisted of 500 *Spaniards*, who made so brave a defence, that, having reduced this, *Maurice* determined not to lose time in attacking all the other forts erected to restrain the *English* garrison^m.

Albert
marches to
attack
prince
Maurice.

MAURICE was scarce arrived at *Newport*, when he received intelligence from the governor he had left in fort *Oudenberg*, that the archduke was in full march to attack him, with a numerous army, already flushed with the reduction of all the forts the prince had left behind. It was hardly credited in the confederate army that *Albert* could so suddenly begin his march, considering the seditious, mutinous disposition of his troops; but when he had passed *Bruges*, when he had made himself master of the forts of *Oudenberg*, *Snacskerks*, and *Budene*, *Maurice* was disconcerted. Resolving to remove from *Newport*, where he found it impossible to chuse a situation to his liking, he detached *Ernest* of *Nassau*, with colonel *Edmond's* Scotch regiment, a battalion of *Zealanders*, four troops of horse, and four pieces of cannon, to seize on the post at *Leffingen*, through which the enemy must pass. On *Ernest's* arrival, he found the *Spaniards* in possession of the passage, upon which he determined to stand his ground until he should be supported by *Maurice*. At first the enemy mistook him for the van of prince *Maurice's* army; but finding it was only a detachment, they attacked the confederates with irresistible impetuosity; broke the cavalry, which took shelter in *Ostend*; then fell upon the infantry, which would have baffled

Prince
Ernest of
Nassau de-
feated.

all their attempts, had not the *Zealanders* quitted the field, and left the *Scotch* regiment alone to sustain the whole weight of the enemy. So obstinate was *Edmond's* resistance, that his corps was almost all cut in pieces, endeavouring to secure a regular retreat to *Ostend*, which prince *Ernest* effected. In this action nine hundred men perished, and the consternation among the *Dutch* deputies at *Ostend* was equal to what might have been expected had *Maurice* and the whole army been defeated. Next day, the 2d of *July*, the archduke held a council of war, to deliberate whether he should wait for the detachment of three thousand men under *Velasco*, or immediately march, and attack the confederate army. *Zapena*, an experienced officer, was of the former opinion. *Barlotte*, the partizan, of the latter; and both offered specious arguments in support of their sentiments. *Albert* seemed inclined to follow the opinion of *Zapena*, but an accident determined him in favour of *Barlotte*. Some of the out-guards had spied the *Dutch* fleet stirring from *Ostend*, whence it was concluded that *Maurice* had no intention of re-imbarking his army; it was therefore thought advisable to attack him, while the panic of *Ernest's* defeat was fresh in the minds of the soldiers. Agreeable to this resolution, orders were immediately issued for the army to march with all possible expedition; the troops that had mutinied, desiring to lead the van, in order to distinguish their courage and fidelity. *Maurice* was beginning his march to *Ostend*, when the advanced guards of the enemy were descried. Immediately he drew up in order of battle, ordering the rear-guard to halt, until the transports with the baggage and artillery were all sailed for *Ostend*; in order to shew the troops that they must either conquer or die, as there was no possibility of escaping. All the eminences were planted with artillery, the charge of which was given to the sailors, who served with great courage and alacrity. Scarce was the army ranged, when certain soldiers, who had escaped from the late defeat, brought the first intelligence of *Ernest's* misfortune. Prince *Maurice* was greatly chagrined, but dissembled his sentiments, and forbade the soldiers, on pain of death, to suffer a syllable to transpire; sent them, for the greater security, on board some boats which were setting off for *Ostend*. It is said, that he immediately ordered one of them to be put to death for having communicated the secret. Never was assembled a greater number of volunteers of distinction, than at this time served under *Maurice*, to learn the art of war from a general so renowned. They consisted of *English*, *French*, and *Ger-*

man nobility, who formed a kind of body-guard to the prince, and determined to share his fortune. *Lewis* of *Nassau* put himself at the head of the van-guard, drawn up in such a manner that the second and third lines might relieve the first, without confusion; a manœuvre never effectually practised, except at the battle of *Newport*. The *English*, commanded by Sir *Francis Vere*, composed the chief part of the van; the rear was led by count *Solmes*, and consisted of the provincial troops, the *Swiss*, and *French* auxiliaries. As to the rear-guard, it was formed of *German* soldiers, under the conduct of *Oliver de Tempel*, a general officer of reputation.

*Battle of
Newport.*

IN this order *Maurice* firmly expected the enemy, whose disposition was nearly similar, each having a body of cavalry in front, who began the charge, after the artillery had been briskly served for near three hours; during which time each expected the other would advance to the attack. But the prince was determined not to fatigue his troops with marching over sultry sand, and the archduke was advised by *Zapena* to defer the engagement to the next day, when the army would be refreshed, and other circumstances possibly more favourable than at present. He observed that the sun was now directly in the eyes of the *Spaniards*, that a strong westerly wind blew clouds of sand, and would drive the whole smoke of the artillery and musketry in the faces of the soldiers, which would prevent their distinguishing the enemy, and greatly disturb their operations; that the event of an attack upon the confederates, rendered desperate by their situation, was extremely doubtful; that victory would more certainly result from deferring battle, and cooping them up in a post where they must soon perish or surrender, having no retreat, and being destitute of provision and water. But the soldiers, flushed with the advantage gained over *Ernest* the preceding day, loudly demanded battle, and complained of being deprived of their plunder, which they believed certain. They repeated a saying, usual in the wars against the *Moriscos*: *The more Moors, the more glorious the victory.*

PRINCE *Maurice's* cannon was so well served, and the ships kept up so continual a fire on the enemy, during high water, as forced them to remove to a greater distance from the shore, upon which the fleet kept on its course to *Ostend*. Both vans engaged with the utmost intrepidity, and sustained the fight with astonishing obstinacy. *Albert* directed his chief strength against the *English*, who baffled all his efforts, until Sir *Francis Vere* received a wound, which ob-
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liged him, for a while, to quit the field. They were now supported by a body of *French* auxiliaries, and the battle became more general, the confederates right wing being deeply engaged with the left of the *Spaniards*. Here prodigious havoc was made among the enemy, who repeatedly returned to the charge, after they were broken and repulsed by the incessant fire kept up from the artillery and musketry. Upon the left the confederates frequently gave way; but they were constantly rallied, brought back, and supported with fresh troops kept in reserve. At last both wings of the enemy were united, and the center, composed of the best *Italian* and *Spanish* infantry, alone stood firm, repelling all the efforts of *Maurice*, who vigorously attacked with the cavalry mixed with infantry. After the engagement had continued for three hours, and both sides seemed rather exhausted, and spent with fatigue, than satiated with blood, four pieces of cannon were so happily pointed against this impregnable body of *Spaniards*, as put the whole in confusion, and obliged victory at length to declare in favour of the confederates. The fire of the artillery was seconded with a general attack of the cavalry, led on by *Maurice* in person, and pushed with irresistible impetuosity. As soon as the enemy were perceived to stagger, the *Dutch* horse cried out, *Victory*: the word instantaneously spread through the whole army, the center of the infantry advanced, and fell on with fury; the archduke received a slight wound, and his troops were wholly disordered, dispersed, and routed. Five thousand men, besides officers, were slain, and taken prisoners; among the latter were *Mendoza* and *Zapena*: and thus ended a battle brought on by the imprudence of the states, won by the courage and skill of *Maurice*, together with the blunders committed by *Albert*; with the loss of fifteen hundred men killed, and an equal number wounded, on the side of the confederates (A). Never had the *United Provinces* expe-

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rienced

(A) Various are the accounts of the battle of *Newport*. In circumstances no two historians agree. *Grotius* relates that the loss of the *Spaniards* did not exceed 3000 men; *Bentivoglio* diminishes the number one third, but allows that the victory was complete. Sir *William Temple* ascribes the defeat of the *Spa-*

niards to the obstinate courage of the *English*; and all the *Dutch* writers acknowledge their bravery, but deny the consequences drawn by the *English* writer. *Reidanus* is severe in his animadversions upon both parties. The *Dutch* are blamed for having reduced themselves to the necessity of fighting or perishing;

rienced an event more important, their very existence depending on the fate of *Maurice* and his army. Nothing could exceed the anxiety of the *Dutch* deputies shut up in *Ostend* during the battle, except their joy on receiving the news of the victory, and the congratulations of the conqueror, who ascribed all his good fortune to the goodness of divine providence, and the courage of his troops, claiming to himself no part of the merit.

Prince
Maurice
gains a
complete
victory.

WHEN the pursuit of the flying enemy was over, *Maurice* alighted from his horse, and at the head of the troops kneeled on the ground with great devotion, returning thanks to God in a loud and fervent prayer, for the signal victory with which the Almighty was pleased to bless the confederate arms. His example was followed by the army, and next day was appointed for public thanksgivings at *Ostend*, where he suffered the troops to refresh themselves, while he was deliberating with the deputies and his officers the future plan of operations. Here violent contests among the soldiers arose about the prisoners, whom some were for putting to death, in revenge of the cruelties exercised on their comrades, after the defeat of *Ernest*; and others for saving, in order to procure their ransom. However, *Maurice's* authority quelled the tumult, and his generosity diffused a spirit of humanity through the whole army. Every man was touched with the tenderness of his behaviour to *Mendoza* and *Zapena*, who, to the mortification of being prisoners, had the additional affliction of being mortally wounded. Notwithstanding the utmost care, *Zapena* died in a few days, filled with sentiments of the deepest gratitude and veneration for the character of *Maurice*, whose conduct more resembled that of a father, than of the conqueror of an inveterate enemyⁿ.

As for *Albert*, he set out the day after the battle to *Ghent*, to consult with the archduchess upon further measures; and was received with such affection and intrepidity of conduct by that princess, as inspired new hopes and fresh courage. She had heard before his arrival a variety of reports, which,

ⁿ GROT. lib. ix. p. 398.

rishing; and the *Spaniards* for not avoiding battle, when, without striking a blow, they might have reduced the enemy. We are however of a different opinion, as *Maurice* might certain-

ly receive supplies by the shipping, which did not quit the coast until the engagement began. *Meteren*, lib. 23. *Bentivog*. p. 148. *Grot*. p. 399. *Temp*. p. 74. *Reid*. lib. 17.

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in the usual manner, exaggerated the loss, and even asserted that *Albert* was killed; but she maintained her constancy, and behaved in such a manner, as secured the esteem and admiration of her subjects. Thence the archduke returned to *Bruges*, where he collected together the scattered remains of his army, which he joined to *Velasco's* corps, with such expedition, that he reinforced the garrison of *Newport*, and of the forts he had taken round *Ostend*, before the confederates had left that city. *Maurice* incurred censure for having spent three days in this place; for not having pursued the enemy further; and for delaying a moment to lay siege to *Newport*; but he vindicated himself, by alledging the fatigue his troops had undergone, and their reluctance to enter upon any new enterprise, before they had recovered their exhausted strength and spirits. On the 16th of *July*, he completely invested *Newport*, the garrison of which, amounting to three thousand men, made vigorous sallies, and so obstinate a resistance, that the prince was forced to abandon the design, and embark his army for *Ostend*. From hence he made divers irruptions into the enemy's territories, but they were rendered fruitless by the powerful army assembled by *Albert*; and as the states were not in humour to enter upon fresh undertakings, he distributed the forces in winter-quarters. By this means *Flanders* escaped the impending storm, at a time when all men imagined the conquest of this province would be the necessary consequence of the victory at *Newport*°.

WHEN the operations in the field ceased, overtures of *Negotiations* for a peace were renewed. Deputies were sent by the archduke to confer with the states general, at *Bergen-op-zoom*. Here they were met by deputies from the states, and both sides readily agreed that an accommodation was necessary, and essential to the good of the *Netherlands*; but they differed as widely as ever about the conditions. It was acknowledged by the deputies of the *United Provinces*, that nothing could be more agreeable to their wishes than to see an end put to a ruinous and destructive war; but this was not to be expected while foreign troops resided in the country, and possessed all the fortresses. They solicited the assistance of the *Spanish* provinces in expelling foreigners, and restoring the privileges of the *Netherlands*; assuring them that the difference of religion would occasion none in the affection they owed to each other as countrymen, provided the liberty of the

° METEREN, lib. xxii.

whole could be secured. They further urged, that so dependent was the archduke on the court of *Spain*, and several of the provinces on the archduke, that no treaty with either could be binding or safe, while they were reined in by citadels, and under the lash of a powerful army. To this the other deputies replied, that they were sent to conclude peace with their countrymen, and not to enter upon revilings against their sovereign; that it could not be expected the archduke would leave himself defenceless, while the *United Provinces* remained completely armed, and ready to seize the advantage which his credulity might offer. They concluded with solemn assurances that the prince would ratify whatever conditions were settled among the deputies. Neither side would consent to be disarmed, and thus the conferences ended; upon which the *Spanish* provinces applied their whole attention to the means of supporting the war for another campaign. While they were deliberating upon these measures, letters arrived from *Philip III.* which equally disgusted the states of the *Spanish* provinces, and the archduke. They were addressed in the stile of *Philip II.* before the dismemberment of the *Netherlands* from the *Spanish* monarchy, and the phrase, *To our estates of the provinces*, retained *P.* The ambassador, however, removed the blame on the secretary, who had inadvertently copied the phrase from former dispatches, and thus the minds of the people and prince were quieted.

THE first operations concerted by the states of the *Spanish* provinces were against the trade of the enemy. A fleet was equipped at *Dunkirk*, under admiral *Wakena*, to destroy the herring-fisheries of *Holland* and *Zealand*; upon the success of which depended, in a great measure, the strength and opulence of those provinces. The fishing-busses were protected by three men of war; but *Wakena* attacked the convoy with such desperate fury, that after sinking one of the men of war, and obliging the others to sheer off, he fell upon the busses, which he sunk, burned, and destroyed. The *Dutch* immediately sent a squadron in quest of the *Flemish* admiral; but he found means to elude the enemy, and bring his fleet safe into *Dantzick*, and the ports of *Galicia*. This loss, however, was compensated to the *Hollanders*, by the arrival of the richest ships ever returned from the *Indies*, upon which the proprietors shared four hundred *per cent.* upon their capital, and were encouraged to launch out

P Id. *ibid.* LE CLERC, p. 212. lib. vii. GROT. p. 401.

deeper

deeper in this profitable commerce. As to the Squadron sent by the streights of *Magellan*, it came back disappointed, shattered, and sickly, after having weathered terrible storms, and sustained incredible hardships ⁹. (B)

DURING the winter a variety of schemes were set on foot, and enterprises formed for seizing upon cities, towns, and fortresses. The most important was a design projected by one *Francis de Province*, to deliver *Gertruydenburg* to the *Spaniards*; which being happily discovered, the traitor was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. About this time, *Mendoza* and other prisoners of distinction obtained their liberty, on condition that all the soldiers of the *United Provinces*, confined in the prisons, or on board the *Spanish* gallies, should be released; that they paid down the sum of 23,000 livres, and gave security for the payment of 75,000 more, at a time appointed. *Le Clerc*, however, alledges, that the prisoners on neither side were dismissed before the following year, because *Philip* neglected to ratify the articles of exchange.

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As the spring approached, the *United Provinces* pushed more vigorously their preparations to act offensively the ensuing campaign, without which it was obvious the victory at *Newport* must prove fruitless. They received fresh remittances from *France*, *Henry* taking this opportunity of clearing off the old debts, to enable the states to withstand the power of *Spain*; and they considerably increased the revenue, by new duties upon all imported merchandise. Money

⁹ GROT. lib. x. METEREN, lib. xxiii.

(B) We must not omit the following incident, which merits a place among the transactions of the year. The countess of *Newenar*, first married to count *Hern*, who was beheaded by the duke of *Alva*; and afterwards to the count of *Newenar*, bequeathed to prince *Maurice*, at her death, the counties of *Meurs* and *Horn*, with their dependences. Upon the former the duke of *Cleves* seized, as a fief of his principality. To be

revenged, *Maurice* sent one *Cloet*, an officer of a bold and enterprising genius, to seize up-*Cracon*, a fortress of *Meurs*, which he executed with success, after having defeated the governor of *Staten*, with a detachment of 400 horse and 500 foot. By this means the whole county of *Meurs* was preserved in the prince's obedience, and the ambition of the D. of *Cleves* extinguished, by one vigorous blow judiciously aimed (1).

(1) *Reidan*, lib. 17. *Le Clerc*, lib. 7.

A party of the enemy defeated, and Rhimberg taken by prince Maurice. was likewise borrowed from the *India* traders, so successful in the late voyage to the *Molucca Islands*, and a variety of schemes proposed, and adopted, for raising the necessary supplies. Prince *Maurice* had given orders for the army to assemble in the neighbourhood of *Gravenswaert*, and his cavalry, in marching thither, encountered a body of the enemies horse, under count *Adolphus de Berg*, whom they defeated with considerable slaughter. This accidental advantage was deemed a happy omen; the troops assembled with alacrity, crossed the *Rhine* the 9th of *June*, and appeared three days after before *Rhimberg*, garrisoned by 1200 men, under the conduct of *Bernard d'Avila*. The prince began his operations by attacking a fort situated in a small island in the *Rhine*, to prevent his being exposed to the insults of the enemy. After forming this post, he made it the head of his trenches, at which the soldiers worked with great diligence.

Ostend besieged by the archduke.

A L B E R T was not in a condition to attempt raising the siege; but he ordered count *Herman de Berg*, governor of *Spanish Guelderland*, to endeavour throwing in supplies; and he projected making an effectual diversion, by laying siege in person to *Ostend*. The prince was acquainted with his intentions, but continued to prosecute his operations, in which he encountered a variety of difficulties from the vigorous sallies of the garrison. By the 14th of the month, in despite of all obstruction, he pushed his works to the rampart of the counterscarp, which he undermined, and blew up with great success. Just as he effected a lodgment, he was deprived of eight companies of *English* troops, detached, by order of the states, to join Sir *Francis Vere*, sent with a strong corps to annoy the archduke's army before *Ostend*. This diminution of his strength did not discourage *Maurice*; he plied the garrison with red-hot bullets, effected a breach by another successful mine, and was preparing to give the assault, when the garrison capitulated upon honourable conditions. The reduction of *Rhimberg* was of the utmost consequence, because it covered the province of *Overyssel*, and now prevented the enemy from levying contributions towards that quarter. In this manner it was, that a town, sequestered in the hands of the elector of *Cologne*, and committed by him to the *Spaniards*, whom he favoured, fell at last into the hands of the states general.

• *LE CLERC*, lib. vii. *BENTIVOGLIO*. p. 3. lib. vi.

AT

AT *Ostend*, *Albert* made the most vigorous efforts. The affections of his subjects had enabled him to raise such an army as it was impossible for *Maurice* to attack with any probability of success. Yet after months were spent in the siege little progress was made. Sir *Francis Vere* threw himself into the town, and the garrison behaved with such intrepidity as astonished, but did not discourage, the archduke. An infinity of batteries were raised, and assaults made without number. Rivers of blood were spilt, but neither side was dispirited, because they received constant supplies of men and provision; the army from the country around, and the garrison by the sea, which was constantly kept open. The obstinacy of *Albert*, in prosecuting this siege, afforded the *United Provinces* all the advantages they could desire. *Maurice* was left master of the field, while the treasures and forces of *Spain*, and the *Flemish* provinces, were exhausted before a place deemed impregnable, because it could always be relieved. He accordingly invested *Bolduc* with an army of 7000 foot and 3000 horse. The place was garrisoned only by ten companies of infantry and an equal number of cavalry; but such was the spirit of the burghers, animated by the clergy, that they resolved to suffer all extremities rather than submit to heretics. The trenches were opened on the 1st of *November*, and the siege vigorously pushed until a strong reinforcement entered the town on the 27th; the prince's army being insufficient to defend lines of so great extent. This, together with a report that the archduke was marching with powerful forces to the relief of the garrison, and the severity of the season, obliged *Maurice* to relinquish the enterprise, and send his troops into winter-quarters.

ALL this time the siege of *Ostend* went on without intermission. Neither the inclemency of the season, the murmurs of the troops, or the intrepid gallantry of the garrison, could oblige the archduke to renounce an attempt upon which he had set his affections. Both the army without, and the garrison within, suffered extremely by sickness and fatigue. The *English*, in particular, who were constantly in action, and unseasoned to the climate, were greatly diminished; insomuch that the besieged, who at first amounted to 7000 men, were, in the space of three months, reduced to 3000. At the same time the outworks were greatly damaged by the enemy, and unusual inundations of the sea, to repair and defend which required an exceeding exertion of vigour and diligence. Dykes, surrounded by fascines, were erected to oppose the fury of the waves, and had scarce

scarce been finished, when the archduke ordered them to be attacked and set on fire, with so much success, that they burned for three days, to the great terror of the garrison. The most vigorous sallies were made, and the utmost efforts used, to extinguish the flames, without success. At last, when the besieged were quite spent with fatigue, Sir *Francis Vere* received intelligence from a prisoner, that the archduke had appointed the next day for a general assault with all his forces. Alarmed at this intimation, the truth of which he could not doubt, because the soldier was so particular as to give a plan of the disposition of the attack; he determined to elude the danger, by setting on foot a capitulation, which might protract the time until his garrison was refreshed, and the place reinforced. His stratagem succeeded; he received a succour of four companies of foot, and accomplished all his other purposes, before his design was suspected. His conduct was blamed, as disingenuous and unworthy of a soldier; it certainly, however, protracted the fate of *Ostend*, which he afterwards defended with such astonishing spirit and resolution.

IRRITATED at having been the dupe of the *English* governor, *Albert* resolved upon revenge; and appointed the 17th of *January* for storming a wide breach which his batteries effected. The attack was made with the utmost vigour, under *Mexia*, an experienced *Spanish* officer. It was supported for three hours with unremitting courage, and at last repelled by the invincible intrepidity of the besieged, after the *Spaniards* had lost 1000 men. After this unprosperous assault, the archduke was advised to raise the siege, which the severity of the season rendered intolerable to the troops; but he now thought his own reputation and the honour of the *Spanish* arms too deeply interested to listen to any propositions. He ordered barracks to be erected for the accommodation of the soldiers, committed the direction of the siege to don *Juan de Rivas*, and set out for *Ghent*, to concert the means of pushing his operations with still more vigour. The states general embraced this occasion to exchange the garrison of *Ostend*, which was worn out and emaciated with perpetual fatigue and watching. As the enemy had considerably relaxed in their diligence, and the communication with the sea was preserved open, the scheme was executed without difficulty. A fresh garrison, supplied with every necessary, accordingly took charge of the town, under the conduct of colonel *Dorp*, colonel *Edmonds*, a *Scotchman*, and *Hertain*, a *Frenchman*. Sir *Francis Vere*,
with

with the former garrison, joined the army under prince *Maurice*.

O S T E N D was certainly not worth a moiety of the treasures expended in that siege and defence. The garrison cost the states near 200,000 livres *per* month; how much more must the archduke have lavished away in useless works, ammunition, provision, barracks, and the other expences of a numerous army? The *Spaniards* had an idea, that, by gaining possession of *Ostend*, they could shut up all the ports in *Zealand*, and wholly destroy the commerce of the province: that indeed would have been a considerable object; but experience proved that the trade of *Zealand* was independent of *Ostend*. It was the court of *Spain*, and not the *Ten Provinces*, that pushed this siege; the latter perceived that they lay exposed to the insults of the enemy, while the whole force of the *Netherlands* was employed upon a single object; they therefore positively refused the sum demanded by the archduke, and insisted on his supplying the mutinied troops out of the money arrived from *Spain*, which he now destined for prosecuting the siege of *Ostend*. But the army was augmented early in the summer by 8000 *Italians*, under the marquis *Spinola*, to whom, in the end, the prosecution of the siege was committed. The *United Provinces* formed a scheme for preventing the junction of *Spinola* and the *Spanish* army, but it vanished in smoke. It was therefore proposed that *Maurice* with his army should make the tour of *Brabant*, enter *Flanders* on that side, and march to the relief of *Ostend*. *Maurice* represented the difficulty of marching a large army through an enemy's country, filled with forts and garrisons, and narrowly watched by an army; but his opinion was over-ruled. He was ordered to begin his march, and he accordingly passed the *Meuse* with all his forces, attended with 2000 waggons laden with provisions. On his entering the territory of *Liege*, he obliged the inhabitants to furnish the army with every kind of subsistence, under pain of military execution. In *Brabant* he published an edict, sent him by the states general, inviting the provinces subject to the archduke, to join with him in restoring the privileges of the *Netherlands*, and throwing off the oppressive yoke of the *Spaniards*; but this publication producing no effect, the army advanced to *Tillemont*, where *Mendoza* was posted with a body of 14,000 horse and foot. He had taken possession of a pass through which the prince must necessarily march, and must be forced before the army could proceed. *Maurice* attacked his advanced guard, drew up before him in order of battle, but could not bring the *Spaniard*, grown

**Maurice
reduces
Grave.**

more cautious by his imprisonment, to an engagement. Upon this a council of war was called; and here it was unanimously determined, that pursuing the rout marked out by the states would be impracticable, and that investing *Grave* was a measure more safe and important. This enterprise was accordingly undertaken with great spirit and alacrity. Nature and art had contrived to render this one of the strongest bulwarks in the *Netherlands*; it was garrisoned by a body of veterans, under *Gonzales*, a *Spanish* officer of merit, and supplied with all the requisites of a vigorous defence. *Maurice* began his operations with attacking a half-moon, on the side of the river, of which he gained possession in a few days. He opened trenches on the opposite side, pushed his attacks by sap, merely to save the destruction of his men, and was opposed by the most vigorous sallies, in one of which Sir *Francis Vere*, who commanded on the right, was wounded. *Mendoza* approached within half a league of the prince's quarter, with intention to force succours into the town, or raise the siege by a battle; but he found the intrenchments so judiciously formed, that he despaired of succeeding in the latter, and applied his whole attention to the former. His attempts were baffled, he was reduced to extremities in his camp, and forced to retire to *Venlo*, leaving the garrison of *Grave* to make the best defence in their power. In consequence, after sustaining a siege of ten weeks, *Gonzales* surrendered upon honourable conditions*.

**Revolt of
the Italian
troops.**

It was soon after the reduction of *Grave*, that the *Italian* auxiliaries mutinied, and formed one of the most dangerous conspiracies, which had yet appeared in the *Spanish* army. At first they endeavoured seizing upon *Diest*; but being disappointed, they marched to *Gravendork*, and thence to *Hoogstrade*, so near *Breda*, that they could easily be protected, should the archduke offer to reduce them by violent measures. After receiving assurances of prince *Maurice's* favour, they began with levying contributions in *Brabant*. At the same time the garrisons of *Antwerp* and *Weert* raised great clamours for their pay, and at last openly mutinied. The latter were appeased by the advancement of part of their arrears; but it was not easy to satisfy the large demands made by the former, of arrears upwards of twelve months standing. Money indeed was so scarce, that *Mendoza* quitted the command, and set out for *Spain*, where he was very coldly received. In this situation the archduke re-

* BENTIVOG. lib. vii. p. 3. p. 166.

solved to try the effects of severity ; he had often, to no purpose, used gentle methods. A manifesto was published, declaring the mutineers at *Hoogstrade* proscribed, their effects confiscated, and themselves guilty of high treason, for which a reward of 100 crowns was offered for the head of a subaltern officer ; 200 for that of a field officer ; and ten for the head of each private soldier. Immediately the mutineers published a well-drawn apology, in which was refuted every assertion of the archduke, and that duke was taxed with profusion and luxury at his court, while the army was perishing with cold and hunger. Not satisfied with mere words, they made a furious irruption into *Liege* and *Brabant*, levying heavy contributions, and punishing with military execution whoever refused to comply with their demands. Such was the terror they inspired, that the pope's nuntio interceded, promised to procure their pardon if they would submit, and likewise offered them a considerable sum of money. The states of the *Ten Provinces* assembled to deliberate the means of advancing their whole pay ; but this the archduke, resolved to try the effects of rigour, opposed. The incursions of the mutineers in *Brabant* were supported by others made by the confederate soldiers, no less ruinous of the country. It is remarkable that the laws of war were strictly observed by the mutineers, who formed themselves into a kind of military establishment, under certain laws, which they rigidly observed. Certain officers of their cavalry having been won over by the archduke's promises, were seized, put to the torture, and hanged by the heels. They had not only their officers, their council, and their general ; but a secretary, a seal, arms, and motto. *Albert* had given *Frederic de Berg* orders to march with 7000 men against the mutineers, who had now assumed the name of *The Squadron*. *Maurice* gave them notice of the approach of the enemy, and desired, if they should want his protection, to advance nearer his camp ; but *Frederic de Berg* made so much haste that he surrounded them in *Hoogstrade*, and would have obliged them to surrender at discretion, had not *Maurice* seasonably arrived to their relief, and obliged *Berg* to retire¹.

SUCH was the situation of affairs at the close of the year, during which the siege of *Ostend* was carried on with the same vigour as the preceding year, and with as little success, though it now became apparent that the garrison must at length surrender, for want of room, which daily di-

*Continuation of the
siege of
Ostend.*

¹ GROT. lib. xi. METELEN, lib. xxiv.

minished by inches. The works were considerably damaged, many of them were taken by the enemy, but constantly supplied by others erected in their stead. By this means the garrison continually lost ground, and they were at last cooped up in a very narrow space; though they still maintained their spirits, as they received every kind of supplies and refreshments from the harbour.

*Progress
of com-
merce.*

To conclude the transactions of the year, the returns from the *East Indies* were no less considerable than the former year. Three ships, loaded with spices, arrived, and brought with them ambassadors to prince *Maurice*, from the king of *Achem*, who had no idea of a republic. These successes, and the growing commerce of *England* and *France* to the same quarter, inspired the first idea of a company, which has since proved the strength and bulwark of the *United Provinces*, and the most opulent mercantile body in the universe. For the farther particulars of this flourishing company, the reader may consult the explicit account already given in the tenth volume of this work. We shall only observe, that the return of the *Indian* ambassador inspired the *Eastern* nations with sentiments of great respect for the *Dutch*, whom they now regarded as equal in power to the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*. The island of *Ternate*, one of the *Moluccas*, declared in their favour, and was supported by the *Hollanders* in a war against an inveterate enemy, the king of *Tidore*. In a word, the sum paid by the company for their charter, the vast exportation of home manufactures, the prodigious wealth drawn into the provinces by the sale of *India* commodities, the astonishing increase of the marine, and the immense revenues arising from even slight duties upon so immense a trade, raised the *United Provinces* to a degree of opulence and grandeur, amidst all the horrors of a civil war, which will hardly be credited by posterity. Hence they were enabled to prosecute their military operations, without detriment to commerce; and to foil the attempts of *Philip* and *Albert* to destroy their liberties, while they were duping every other nation in trade, and engrossing to themselves the commerce of *Asia*, of the *Levant*, the *Baltic*, and a great part of that of *America* ^u.

^u Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. x. LE CLERC, lib. vii. p. 221.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the death of queen Elizabeth, and the transactions which followed, to the conclusion of the truce with Spain and the archduke Albert, in the year 1609.

THIS year was ushered in by the death of queen Elizabeth, the strenuous protectress of *Holland* against the usurpation of *Spain*. In this, it must be confessed, she was wholly actuated by self-interest; but still the assistance of men and money afforded to the provinces, laid the foundation of their independency, and often met with unmerited returns. Some writers suppose, and not improbably, that this event was no way disagreeable to the states general. The spirit of *Elizabeth* was too violent, and the superiority she assumed so disgusting, that necessity alone forced them to comply with her humour. The *Hollanders* had now thrown off that humility which characterised them, when the protection of the *English* queen was first implored; wealth, power, and the success of their arms, inspired a haughtiness which could not suit with the spirit of *Elizabeth*. From the character of *James I.* they hoped to find in him an ally equally powerful, but less troublesome and imperious. To secure the interest of this prince, a solemn embassy was sent to congratulate him on his accession to the throne of *England*. The ambassadors, after demonstrating the necessity they were under of continuing the war against *Spain* and the archduke, besought his majesty to continue the *English* auxiliaries in the pay of the states, and suffer them to be recruited; that he would enter into a league with other powers of *Europe*, to oppose the aspiring views of *Spain* after universal monarchy; adding, that her late majesty having desired they would equip a squadron of large men of war to join an armament she intended against *Spain*, they had accordingly got ready nine ships and two frigates, which were lying in the *Downs* for his majesty's orders. To this *James* answered in general terms, expressing his intention to live upon terms of friendship with the states general, but his irresolution as to the measures which should be formed for the good of his kingdoms; he was but just come to the crown, and they must excuse him if he declined involving himself in a war so early. * By this the ambassadors easily perceived that they

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Death of
Elizabeth
queen of
England.

The states
send am-
bassadors
to James I.

were

were disappointed in their views, and their situation nothing improved by the change of princes in *England*^a.

Maurice
defeats a
body of
Spaniards.

THE court of *Spain* was entering upon the most vigorous resolutions to support the archduke, as they now entertained certain expectations that he would have no issue by *Isabella*, and of consequence the *Netherlands* must again revert to the crown of *Spain*. While mutual preparations were making, the governor of *Bolduc*, by a stratagem, cut off five troops of confederate cavalry, most of whom he made prisoners. Upon this *Maurice* determined to lay siege to the place; and though he could not expect to reduce it without artillery, with which the depth of the roads had prevented his furnishing himself, yet to check the insolence of the garrison, and stop their incursions into the territories of the states, was an object of considerable importance. Thither *Albert* marched with all expedition; but on his arrival found that *Maurice* had not seriously determined on the siege, because he had neglected to occupy all the posts necessary for that purpose. To profit by the situation of the confederate army, the archduke detached, in the middle of the night, the marquis *de Bella*, with a select body of troops, to seize and fortify a post which would greatly straiten the enemies quarters. *Maurice* had intelligence of the motion, and prepared to frustrate the design. He set out at the head of 3000 *English*, *Scotch*, and *French*, with whom he came upon the marquis, as he was preparing to intrench himself, and attacked with such irresistible impetuosity, as first put the enemy in confusion, and soon obtained a complete victory, and possession of the important post disputed. It was this activity and penetration which rendered the prince on every occasion superior to his enemies, who possessed all his prudence and experience without that intuitive talent so essential to the general. After this, the prince abandoned all the forts and works he had erected, and remained for two days encamped in the open country, at a short distance from the enemy, to provoke them to an engagement. But *Albert* had now so little inclination to try the fortune of a battle, that he retired, and, under pretence of the severity of the cold, put his troops in winter-quarters^b. Such were the operations of the campaign, after the most vigorous resolutions were taken on both sides, of pushing their operations with uncommon diligence and perseverance.

^a LE CLERC, lib. viii. METEREN, lib. xxv.
GROT. lib. xii.

^b Id. ibid.

As to the siege of *Ostend*, it proceeded but slowly ; both the general without, and the governor within, had been changed, but no considerable advantage resulted to either party ; *Rivas* commanded the army, and practised every expedient to approve himself worthy of the trust, but he was repeatedly baffled by the diligence of *Vander Noot*, the governor. At last he succeeded in reducing three out-forts, which he joined to the quarter commanded by fort *Albert*, by means of a great platform, mounted with heavy cannon, and surrounded with gabions full of earth. The garrison erected a battery, to frustrate the effects of this platform, and threw bombs so successfully, as destroyed the whole attempt, and cost the enemy infinite labour and expence. They seconded the fire of their battery by a vigorous sally, in which 700 *Spaniards* were killed, and an equal number made prisoners. Disappointed in this design, *Rivas* applied his mind to cutting off the communication between the garrison and the sea. *Pompey Torgou*, the best engineer in the service, contrived a kind of floating battery, which would prevent the entrance of ships, provided it could be secured from the fury of the waves, by dykes and other defences. To raise these, above half the army was assiduously employed for several days, and when the work was almost perfected, *Rivas* had the mortification to see the whole destroyed by a storm of wind, which drove the sea with great violence against the dyke, and an incessant shower of bullets poured out from the heavy artillery of the garrison. Upon the whole, though no officer ever laboured with more diligence than *Rivas*, he made little progress, which so chagrined the archduke, that he resolved to commit the conduct of the whole to the marquis *Spinola*. Before the marquis would accept the honour intended, he desired leave to examine the state of the siege, for which purpose he sent experienced officers to view the works. Some of these dissuaded him from hazarding his reputation in an undertaking which must necessarily prove unsuccessful, from the impossibility of cutting off the communication of the garrison with the sea. Others were of a contrary opinion ; they believed the town must infallibly surrender in time, and that perseverance would surmount every difficulty. The love of glory spurred on the mind of *Spinola* to embrace this last opinion. Success, he knew, would raise his reputation to the highest pinnacle of military fame ; and should he fail, he hoped it would be imputed to the impossibility of succeeding.

In the month of *October* he took charge of the army, and soon distinguished his capacity. Before the spring of the

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succeeding

A. D. 1604. succeeding year he advanced his works so far, that the states general plainly perceived that *Ostend* could only be saved by hazarding a battle, or at least making such a diversion, as would probably oblige the archduke to withdraw his army. The latter proposal was thought the least hazardous; and upon this the states resolved, fixing for that purpose upon the siege of *Sluyce*, a place so important, as would certainly engage the archduke's attention. The army, amounting to 15,000 foot, and 2500 horse, embarked immediately for *Zealand*, where they were met by prince *Maurice*, attended by *William Nassau* governor of *Friseland*, *Frederic Henry Nassau* his brother, general of the horse, three other princes of the house of *Orange*, the prince of *Anhalt*, the deputies of the states general, and the council of state. Next day the fleet set sail for *Flanders*, and the troops debarked on the banks of the canal *Swartagate*, after they had taken two small forts on the isle of *Cadfant*. It is imagined, that if *Maurice* had proceeded directly to *Sluyce*, according to the advice of the deputies, he might have taken the place unprepared, and obliged the enemy to have raised the siege of *Ostend*, by cutting off all their convoys of provision. On the contrary, he rejected the proposal, as attended with a thousand difficulties, which could only be foreseen by those who were experienced in the art of war; but the reasons he offered, were such as confirmed the suspicions of the deputies, that he was not desirous of finishing a war, upon the continuance of which depended his own great authority, and the elevation of the house of *Nassau*. We shall see how these jealousies gave birth to a strong faction, which has ever since been the chief barrier of the republic, against the aspiring ambition of the princes of *Orange*.

MAURICE proceeded with reducing all the outposts which could obstruct the siege of *Sluyce*. He took *Isendyck*, defeated a body of twelve companies of *German* foot posted at *Ardembourg*, and took possession of *Middlebourg* in *Flanders*, which the enemy evacuated at his approach. Whether he ought not to have proceeded directly to *Sluyce*, is what cannot be determined at this distance of time, through all the mists of prejudice and passion which obscure this whole transaction, and by rendering it equivocal, tarnish the lustre of the prince's character. *Albert* had no sooner intelligence of the motions of *Maurice*,

* BENTIVOG. p. iii. lib. vii. METEREN. ubi supra.

than

than he detached *Velasco* general of the horse, since *Mendoza's* departure, to take post at *Damare*, a strong situation between *Bruges* and *Sluyce*. Here he was by every possible means to oppose the progress of the enemy. *Maurice* determined to dislodge him, and with that intention detached a numerous body of cavalry, under generals *Ghend* and *Bax*. The *Dutch* met with almost unsurmountable obstacles, by reason of the difficulty of the roads, and the resistance made by *Velasco*. *Bax* was wounded, and his troops on the brink of being defeated, when the infantry seasonably arrived, renewed the engagement, forced the post, and defeated the *Spaniards* with great slaughter. Upon this success the prince invested *Sluyce*, evacuating all the posts which commanded the town, and taking the best measures for preventing the garrison from receiving succours, until his lines were completed. *Serrano*, a *Spanish* officer of reputation, commanded in the town; but he was badly provided with necessaries, and supported only by a slender garrison, of which he gave the archduke immediate notice. Supplies of men and provision were frequently thrown in before *Maurice* had finished his lines: one indeed would have imagined, that he purposely suffered the garrison to be reinforced, in order to try the strength of his own capacity, in reducing a town which had every advantage that nature and art could communicate. At last he had so completely invested it, that the archduke placed all his hopes of the safety of *Sluyce* in the marquis *Spinola*, who was far advanced in the siege of *Ostend*, and had gained more ground in a few weeks, than the former generals had done for the two preceding years. *Spinola* however had too much discernment to undertake dislodging prince *Maurice*, which was necessary for the relief of the garrison. He found his lines too strong, and drawn too judiciously to be forced. After viewing the posts, and finding them impregnable, he marched with all expedition to *Damare*, where he attacked a detachment commanded by *William of Nassau*, who received him gallantly, and sustained the shock of the whole *Spanish* army, until he was supported by prince *Maurice*, which obliged *Spinola* to retreat, after having lost above a thousand men. Next day, the garrison, reduced to the last extremity for want of provision, capitulated on honourable conditions, taken by marched out with their arms and baggage, but so emaciated and exhausted, as to excite the compassion of their prince enemies. The garrison of *Sluyce*, when it surrendered, amounted

amounted to four thousand men, so weakened with disease and hunger, that several hundreds dropt down dead in the short march to *Damare*^f.

THE success of *Maurice* greatly chagrined *Spinola*. That prince had in the space of three months reduced the strongest fortresses in the *Netherlands*; whereas the *Spaniards* had spent three years before *Ostend*, and it was still a matter of doubt with some men whether they could succeed.

SPINOLA returning to the siege, soon demonstrated the possibility of reducing the strongest situations. He blew up mines every where, he made violent assaults, and hemmed the besieged within so narrow a circle, as determined the fate of *Ostend*. Several governors since *Noet's* departure had been killed, and a multitude of inferior officers were either slain or grievously wounded. Almost every shot from the enemies batteries now did execution, as the balls fell within a small compass wholly occupied by the troops. At last a strong wind from the south-west, at high water, gave the finishing blow to the works of the besieged, which being newly erected in the room of others that were demolished, could not withstand the fury of the waves. They were all overturned, and it was afterwards in vain for the garrison to resist; however they refused to surrender, before the sentiments of the states and prince *Maurice* were known. A council was immediately called at *Sluyce*, to deliberate whether the relief of the garrison was to be attempted, or the place immediately surrendered. The latter opinion prevailed, and orders were accordingly dispatched to the governor. The capitulation, in which the garrison and inhabitants obtained the most honourable terms, was signed the 20th day of *September*, above three years after the town had been first invested; and it had cost the lives of an hundred thousand brave soldiers. By means of this fortress, the states general employed the whole strength of *Spain* for three campaigns, and prevented the archduke from entering with a superior army into the *United Provinces*, while it left *Maurice* at liberty to reduce *Rimbach*, *Grave*, and *Sluyce*. Curiosity drew the archduke and duchess to see the remains of a place which had so long and gloriously resisted the whole force of their arms; but scarce the vestiges of what it had been, could now be traced; all was a heap of ruins, and those fine works, upon which such vast sums had

Ostend
taken by
Spinola.

^f BENTIVOG. tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 177.

been

been lavished, were reduced to rubbish and a mere chaos. As for *Spinola*, he was loaded with honours, and equally caressed as if he had terminated the war. He went to the court of *Madrid*, to solicit supplies for the ensuing year, was graciously received by the king, and promised all he required. He gave *Philip* a clear detail of the state of the *Netherlands*, and the necessity of carrying the war into the enemy's country. By crossing the *Rhine*, and finishing their operations on that side, they might easily penetrate into the provinces, which they would find impracticable on the side of *Zealand*, where canals, rivers, and dykes, rendered the *Hollanders* inaccessible. He represented, in the most lively colours, the disorders consequent on the mutiny of the troops, which proved the greatest obstruction to the service; and demonstrated, that the disease was incurable, unless they were paid more regularly; for loyalty and fidelity did not require that soldiers should fight upon trust, and starve in the cause of their country. He proved that the damages sustained from the depredations of the mutineers, cost the government more than if they were scrupulously paid, and that the mismanagement of the revenue was the whole source of the evil. The king and council were fully convinced with his reasoning, and they entered immediately on the necessary measures to send *Spinola* back, with full power to remedy all the disorders of which he complained. On his departure he was declared marshal-general of the camp, and commander in chief of the *Spanish* and *Italian* forces. He had authority to dispose of the king's revenues and troops in the provinces, in what manner he thought proper. He was created a knight of the golden fleece, and loaded with honours and preferments, which equally shewed the discernment of *Philip* and the merit of *Spinola*.*

A. D.
1605.

DURING the absence of the marquis *de Spinola*, terrible disturbances happened among the *Spanish* troops, who were all on the wing of revolting. Several of the mutineers had already entered into the service of the states; others were plundering the ten provinces, and some had the insolence to demand the strongest fortresses of the *Netherlands*, as security for the payment of their arrears. *Albert's* situation was truly deplorable; the scarcity of money rendered him incapable of satisfying the troops, and his lost authority prevented his protecting his subjects from their violences. He became, through no fault of his own,

* Id. *ibid.* METEREN. lib. xxv. LE CLERC, lib. viii.

equally obnoxious to the inhabitants and the soldiers, while the states at the same time refused the supplies necessary for the maintenance of the court, until their demands were answered, and assurances given that the foreign troops should be withdrawn. *Spinola* fortunately arrived in time to stop the progress of an evil, which must soon have worked the ruin of the provinces. He began with immediately paying off the troops, and bringing them back to their duty, with redressing the grievances of the people, and giving all possible satisfaction to the states. Then he set on foot his levies, which were prosecuted with such diligence in *Germany*, *Italy*, and the provinces, that the states general of the *United Provinces* became soon sensible of the necessity of opposing this vigilant officer with all their prudence and fortitude.

*Motions of
prince
Maurice
and Spi-
nola.*

MAURICE had orders to augment the troops, and levy a body of horse in *Germany*. The king of *France* promised succours in a secret manner, and advised the states to enable the prince to enter early upon action, and stop the designs of *Spinola*. But with the utmost endeavours *Maurice* had his army complete a month before their expectation. In the month of *May* he made a bold attempt on *Antwerp*, which proved fruitless, though it was planned with the utmost prudence, and conducted with all imaginable resolution. The shipwreck of the vessels employed in the enterprize ruined the whole, and afforded the *Spaniards* an opportunity of making a great number of prisoners. It was further intended by this expedition, to attack *Spinola* at his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, before his whole strength was collected; but both enterprizes failed through a variety of cross accidents. The prince having provided all the forts on the *Scheld* with every necessary, resolved to remove the seat of war into *Flanders*, to prevent *Spinola's* design of penetrating into the *United Provinces*; and the *Italian* general throwing a bridge over the river, enabled his troops to turn themselves on every side, and commence hostilities in whatever quarter was found most convenient. *Maurice* was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Isendyck*, and *Spinola* imagining his design was to attack *Sasle Gand*, or *Bruges*; removed to a situation where he could watch the motions of the confederates, without any danger of being attacked, his camp being surrounded with fens and marshes ^b.

^b GROT. lib. xiv. METEREN, *ibid*.

WHILE the two principal armies were attentively observing each other, the archduke detached the count *de Bugnoi* with a body of 8000 men, to seize upon certain passages of the *Rhine*. This officer, after defeating several small parties of the enemy, reduced *Keisers-waert*, into which the coadjutor of *Cologne* put a garrison, thereby infringing the neutrality with respect to the *United Provinces*. The motions of count *Bugnoi* put *Maurice* in fear that an attempt would be made on *Reinbach*; to prevent which, he detached his brother *Henry*, and *Ernest* of *Nassau*, to put this important place in a state of defence. They encamped on the *Rhine*, threw a bridge over the river, and chose such a situation as should enable them to succour *Wesel*, *Reez*, *Emmerick*, or *Rhimberg*. *Wesel* armed the burghers in its own defence. The inhabitants of *Liguen*, *Oldenzeel*, *Grol*, and *Bravoort*, demanded supplies of them, and provisions from the deputies who attended prince *Henry*, which they promised, and neglected, not imagining that *Spinola* would penetrate so far. In this they were deceived; the marquis perceiving he could do nothing in *Flanders*; left the reduction of that province to count *Frederic de Bergh*, and suddenly arrived with 5000 men on the banks of the *Rhine*, halting at *Boorort*. This river he crossed on the 24th of *July*, having received intelligence that the provinces of *Friseland* and *Overyssel* were defended only by a small body of forces. To secure his retreat, he ordered the count *de Bugnoi* to build forts in certain posts; and to conceal his design, it was debated in the archduke's cabinet-council, whether *Grave*, *Sluyce*, *Breda*, or *Bergen-op-zoom*, should be invested. Informed of the fluctuations in the enemy's councils, the states little imagined the *United Provinces* were in danger, and had accordingly neglected the precautions necessary to their security.

As soon as the forts at *Keisers-waert* were finished, *Spinola* laid his plan of operations before the council, which met with universal approbation. He could not avoid traversing the dominions of the duke of *Cleves*, and of other neutral princes; but he determined that his army should maintain such strict discipline, as should afford no just cause of complaint; he sent the count *de Serle* to assure the magistrates of the towns, that no violence should be offered to the privileges of the inhabitants; leaving the count *de Bugnoi* with a strong detachment, to proceed with the rest of the army through *Cleves* and *Westphalia*, and maintaining such regularity and order, as even forces praise

Spinola's conquests.

from the *Dutch* writers. Having penetrated into *Overyffel*, he first presented himself before *Oldenzeel*, at a little distance from *Linguen*, which was the principal object of his attention. In one day he reduced the former town, which was poorly fortified, ill provided, and weakly garrisoned. At the same time *Trivulzio* was detached to occupy all the posts around *Linguen*, and take the proper measures for forming the siege. The garrison of *Linguen* consisted of five hundred *German* soldiers, under the conduct of *Cobbin*, who had just begun to repair the fortifications, suffered from penurious motives to fall into ruins. The states had even neglected to lay in the necessary stores, because they hoped prince *Maurice* could return soon enough from *Flanders*, to frustrate all the schemes laid by *Spinola*; but they suffered the just punishment of that frugality which had more than once endangered the supply of the provinces. The town was invested, and the approaches were so vigorously carried on, that *Cobbin* capitulated ten days after the trenches were opened. It was perhaps an error in *Spinola*, to check the ardour of his troops, and the rapidity of conquest, by losing time in repairing the fortifications of *Linguen*; but his design was to secure a retreat, and maintain a footing in the province, should he be forced to retire on the arrival of *Maurice*. He knew that a strong garrison would be able to employ the prince's strength, while the *Spanish* forces might leisurely quit *Overyffel*, and carry their conquests into another province¹.

PRINCE *Maurice* was no sooner acquainted with the intention of the *Italian* general, than he issued the necessary orders for preserving his conquests in *Flanders*, and proceeded with his army to oppose the enemy in *Overyffel*. His first design was to relieve *Linguen*; but the garrison having surrendered before his arrival, he made dispositions for covering all the other towns that lay exposed. *William* of *Nassau*, governor of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, likewise begun his march for the provinces, to remove the apprehensions of the people, and secure their fidelity to the states, in which he proved successful. The great object was to prevent *Spinola* from crossing the *Yssel*; to effect which, *Maurice* strictly watched his motions. After he was joined by *William*, the army amounted to nine thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, and was considerably augmented by a number of *Spanish* mutineers,

¹ LE CLERC, lib. viii. METEREN, lib. xxvii.

who

who now wholly deserted that service, and proved extremely faithful to the states general. *Villar*, the chief officer among the deserters, attacked and defeated a detachment commanded by the baron *de la Chaus*, who was killed in the engagement. The vigilance of *Maurice*, and the advanced season, obliged *Spinola* to retire, after he had left strong garrisons in *Linguen* and *Oldenzeel*. He cantoned his troops round *Malheim*, at such distances as furnished the prince with the idea of surprising the Spaniards. A scheme for this purpose was drawn out; and had the execution been equal to the design projected, the Spaniards would have sustained an irretrievable blow. Prince *Frederic* and general *Bax* were appointed to conduct this difficult and important enterprize, which failed through some misunderstanding. The attack was made by the cavalry, who were astonished to find the enemy drawn up, when they expected to have caught them unprepared; however, the onset was pushed with such impetuosity, as would have produced the desired effect, had not *Spinola* arrived with fresh forces, renewed the engagement, and after an obstinate conflict turned the fortune of the day, when a body of *Dutch* infantry appeared in support of their countrymen. The action was now a second time renewed with redoubled fury, and the combatants were continually augmented, with troops powering in from all quarters. In the end, the Spaniards would have obtained a complete victory, had not two battalions of *French*, commanded by the count *de Chatiller*, secured a retreat to the *Dutch*, by keeping up a brisk unremitting fire on the enemy's flank, extended towards the river.

Such was the issue of a manœuvre upon which *Maurice* placed great dependance, as it was planned with so much prudence, as seemed to insure success. The loss was considerable on both sides, but writers are divided with respect to the number. *Bentivoglio* alledges that *Spinola* left 300 dead in the field; but that the loss of the *Dutch* exceeded 500 men, besides *Emmerville*, the best officer among the *French* auxiliaries^k. *Meteren*, on the contrary, affirms that *Maurice* had 200 men killed, and the enemy near three times that number; whereas *Grotius* reckons the loss pretty equal, but the victory clearly in favour of *Spinola*, the *Dutch* being not only disappointed in the in-

^k BENTIVOG. p. iii. lib. vii. p. 187. METEREN. lib. xxvii. p. 574. GROTIUS. lib. xiv. p. 470.

tention

tention of the attack, but forced to leave the field of battle. Upon the whole, prince *Henry Frederic* is blamed universally by all historians, for delaying the attack, and giving the enemy time to recover their surprize, draw up their forces, and acquaint *Spinola* with their situation. What beyond doubt determines the event of this engagement so much disputed, is, that the enemy immediately afterwards laid siege to *Wachtendock*, and reduced this strong fortress, without the prince's having it in his power to relieve the garrison. While this siege employed the count *de Bugnoi*, to keep up the credit of his arms, *Maurice* made an attempt on *Gueldres*, which proved unsuccessful, and rather contributed to augment the disgrace he endeavoured to avoid. These misfortunes, however unjustly, affected the reputation of this great commander, who was often under the necessity of acting agreeable to the instructions of the states, contrary to his own sentiments; frequently he entrusted the execution of delicate enterprises to his officers, and was always curbed by a faction which now arrived at great strength, and openly professed themselves enemies to the aspiring ambition of this prince, and the growth of the house of *Orange*. With this *Maurice* ended a campaign, which on the whole proved honourable to *Spinola*, though it detracted nothing from the great merit of prince *Maurice*.

Naval
affairs.

WE shall conclude the transactions of the year, with observing the rapid progress of the infant *India* company, which not only received the joyful news of vast conquests made in *Asia*, of several rich captures of *Portuguese Indiamen*, but of the safe arrival of thirteen large ships, loaded with spices, and the most valuable merchandise of *India*. About the same time, a *Dutch* squadron equipped for that purpose, had the good fortune to fall in with a fleet of transports, which was carrying a battalion of *Spanish* forces to recruit *Spinola's* army. The transports were chiefly *English*, except a few *Hamburgers*: they hoisted the *English* flag; notwithstanding which the *Dutch* admiral attacked them with great fury, sunk some, took others, and pursued the rest to *Dover*, where he fired warmly upon them within reach of the *English* cannon. Five companies of soldiers were taken or destroyed, the seven remaining companies were blocked up for several weeks, and *James* was forced to put up with this violation of the neutrality he declared, contenting himself with fruitless, disregarded remonstrances. His cautious, timid disposition, could not long escape the discernment of

of the *Dutch* (A), and they seemed willing to revenge upon him the haughty usage they were compelled to bear from the spirited *Elizabeth*. This year was likewise successful in cruizes upon the *Dunkirk* privateers, many of which were taken, and their crews immediately hanged; with which they were so terrified, as to keep close in port, and suffer the *Dutch* commerce to proceed unmolested.

THE year was ushered in with demands from the council of state of the *United Provinces*, for supplies to support the expences of the ensuing campaign. It appeared that the public charges were considerably augmented, without the armies being proportionably increased. Twelve hundred thousand florins were assigned for the extraordinary expences of the land-forces; besides which, the council proposed that the provinces should liquidate all the sums due since the year 1599, which amounted to twelve millions of florins. The former demand was readily granted; but all the provinces exclaimed violently against an exaction, which would entirely impoverish the people, though it was no more than they had subscribed for the public service, and which, if performed, would have enabled prince *Maurice* to ruin *Spinola*, and terminate the war in a single campaign. Still however a faction exclaimed against the prince, and attributed the prolongation of the war to his ambition and avarice; although it was demonstrable, that, unable to keep the field, he was forced to act defensively, and was even too weak to succour *Rhimberg*, when besieged in the month of *August*.

SPINOLA's circumstances were altogether different. That general set out, when the campaign was finished, to *Brussels*, to concert the plan of future operations with the archduke, and was so fortunate as to have all his proposals approved; but the concurrence of the court of *Spain* was necessary for the carrying them into execution, and it was presumed the lively representations of *Spinola* would greatly influence his catholic majesty. Accordingly he set out for *Madrid*, and was received by the king with the ut-

A. D
1606.

*Difficulties
about raising the
supplies in
Holland.*

*Spinola
obtains
promises
from the
king of
Spain of
the necessary
supplies.*

(A) It must however be confessed, that the states general had reason to resent the conduct of king *James*, who, according to their writers, took every opportunity of favouring the archduke and the *Spaniards*. He had not only withdrawn the *English* forces, but suffered

them to be employed in the *Spanish* service, and recruited in *England*. Besides, the transports on this occasion were almost all *English*, which could not fail of being deemed a violation of the neutrality he professed,

most

most cordiality. His proposals were immediately applauded, but the difficulty was to raise the sufficient supplies. Three hundred thousand doubloons a month, besides the revenues of *Flanders*, were demanded for the vigorous prosecution of the war, which was a sum too vast even for the *Spanish* monarchy, assisted with the treasures of *Mexico* and *Peru*, but already drained by continual wars of near forty years standing. The best measures possible were however taken to answer *Spinola's* expectation, and with such alacrity did the whole court embrace the scheme presented, that an advanced sum of money was immediately remitted to *Brussels*, to make fresh levies. But the plan of operations was in some respects disconcerted by the tediousness of the negotiations at *Madrid*, and a fever which *Spinola* afterwards contracted, that prevented his return to the *Netherlands*, until the summer-season was pretty far advanced.

THIS delay probably saved the *United Provinces*. The states spent the whole winter in deliberating the means of supporting the expences of the campaign, and the troops that would be necessary. In the spring the levies were not begun, and even then made under a variety of disappointments. The *French* king, embroiled with the duke de *Bouillon*, forbid troops to be raised in his country, and a war kindled in the territory of *Brunswick* obstructed the levies made in *Germany*; above all, the narrow parsimony, and unseasonable frugality of the *Dutch*, had almost ruined their affairs. At last the business of recruiting was undertaken, and *Henry* permitted a small body of *French* to pass into the *Netherlands*, before the end of the campaign¹.

He takes
the field,
and enters
the pro-
vinces.

SPINOLA did not hesitate about seizing the advantage gained by his superiority. He had two armies in the field; one composed of 12,000 foot and 2000 horse; he led in person; the other, amounting to 10,000 infantry, and 1200 cavalry, was under the direction of the count de *Bugusi*. Both were provided with every necessary, and constantly attended by 2000 waggons loaded with provision. Advancing to the country of *Twente*, *Spinola* ordered the count de *Bugui* to pass the *Vaal*, and enter the enemy's country; but in this he was frustrated by the vigilance of *Maurice*, who raised such a variety of obstructions, as it was impossible to surmount. Baffled in his principal design, *Spinola* resolved not to lose the whole

¹ LE CLERC, lib. viii. METEREN, lib. xxviii.

fruits of his superiority, and accordingly invested *Grol*, which obliged *Maurice* to march to the relief of the garrison. He met with numberless difficulties in succouring the place; but was on the point of succeeding, and had wrote to the governor an assurance of speedy assistance, when the letter being intercepted by *Spinola*, and the siege vigorously pushed, compelled the garrison to surrender in despair. This obliged the prince to retire, and so animated the *Spanish* troops, that *Spinola* undertook the siege of *Rhimberg*. The prince *de Soubise*, and several volunteers of distinction, immediately threw themselves into the town, with a view of displaying their courage; the defence was obstinate, but colonel *Utenhove* was at length under the necessity of capitulating. *Maurice* in vain practised every method to save *Rhimberg*; he would even have ventured a battle, had the states approved of so desperate a remedy; but all was in vain, the activity of *Spinola* rendered his utmost endeavours fruitless.

SCARCE had the *Spanish* general compleated the reduction of this strong town, when the troops mutinied. At first he endeavoured to prevail on them by arguments to return to their duty, and finding reason useless, he employed force. This augmented the evil, and more enflamed the passions of the mutineers, who thought themselves hardly enough used in being deprived of their pay. They even encreased to 2000 horse and foot, retreating towards *Breda*, where they could insure quarters. *Maurice* took advantage of the spirit of rebellion, and the sickness that prevailed in the *Spanish* army. He marched towards *Overyffel*, with intention to recover the late losses sustained by the provinces. He begun with *Lochem*, which he reduced in three days, and then proceeded to *Grol*; but he had scarce formed the siege of this place, when he foresaw numberless difficulties in the prosecution. Still however he pursued his design, in expectation that the confusion in *Spinola's* army would prevent his giving him any annoyance. Owing to this confidence, he neglected pursuing his course with the usual precaution. *Spinola's* intelligence was good; he assembled eight thousand infantry, and 1200 horse, and set out with the utmost secrecy and expedition to attack the prince's quarters, while the garrison, informed of his intention, kept up a brisk fire on the besiegers. *Maurice* however had advice of *Spinola's* march; he consulted the deputies what should be done, and had their consent to hazard a battle, if necessary. But he did not chuse to risque the safety of the provinces

*His troops
mutiny.*

provinces on the issue of an engagement ; though the *French* auxiliaries, and even the *Dutch* troops, loudly demanded battle. In this he certainly acted with prudence, though it afforded a handle to his enemies, to censure his courage, and at the same time his desire to prolong the war. *Maurice* had too much fortitude and true magnanimity to enter upon dangerous measures for mere popular applause. He had already exhibited too many proofs of courage, to be justly taxed with cowardice, and he left his general conduct to speak for his fidelity. In a word, he resolved to retire, and executed his purpose in so masterly a manner, that *Spinola* did not think proper to pursue, and contented himself with reinforcing the garrison ^m.

*He re-
lieves
Grol.*

AFTER *Spinola* had accomplished the relief of *Grol*, he returned to *Brussels*, to remedy the disorders which threatened destruction to the archduke's affairs. Every method was tried to appease the mutineers, and in some measure with success. Such was the confidence they reposed in *Spinola*, that they returned, upon his promise that their arrears would soon be advanced ; but the remittances from *Spain* falling short of expectation, he failed in his engagements, and yet still had the good fortune to retain the affections of the soldiers, who shifted the blame from him, upon the shoulders of the archduke. In fact, *Spinola* and his friends had advanced large sums to the crown of *Spain*, of which they began now to dread the loss, together with the blighting of those laurels acquired in the two last campaigns. But the difficulty consisted in extricating himself. To throw up his command, would but lessen all his prospects of being reimbursed, and to continue his commission, would be hazarding the reputation he had gained with so much toil and labour. In these circumstances his only hope was, that the *United Provinces* would not take advantage of the situation of the *Spanish* army ; but would, from their usual principle of frugality, involve *Maurice* in the same difficulties that attended him from the necessities of the court of *Spain*. Such was the situation of affairs at the close of the campaign. We shall see how the efforts of the provinces succeeded on the ocean ⁿ.

*Naval af-
fairs.*

THE states general perceiving that little progress was made in the land-operations, thought the most effectual method

^m BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. vii. p. 107. ⁿ LE CLERC, *ibid.* GROT. lib. xiv.

of distressing *Spain*, and of concluding the war at a small expence, would be to harraßs the *Spanish* shipping, and destroy the commerce of that kingdom. In pursuing this design, not only the expences of a fleet would probably be reimbursed by captures, but the *Dutch* trade greatly promoted; and new colonies erected on the ruins of the *Portuguese* establishments. One grand fleet was accordingly equipped to cruize on the *Spanish* coast, to watch the arrival of the plate flota, and protect the commerce of the provinces. This armament was preparing, when advice was received that a *Dutch* squadron of seven ships had fallen in with eight galleons from *Peru*. The *Spaniards* attacked the *Dutch* with great vigour, but met with so warm a reception, that two of the galleons were burnt, and the rest so roughly handled, that three foundered at sea and were lost. This misfortune was severely felt by the king of *Spain*, though it produced no immediate advantage to the *Hollanders*. It raised his indignation to such a height, that he fitted out a squadron to intercept the *Dutch*, met them in their return, took the whole fleet, and sent orders to the admiral to treat the prisoners in the same manner as the *Dutch* had used the *Dunkirk* pirates; upon which the crews were immediately hanged. To revenge this cruelty, the states gave orders to admiral *Hautain*, who commanded their grand fleet, to attack the *Caracca* flota in the river *Tagus*, and burn and destroy the whole without mercy; but he was frustrated in this attempt, and forced to satisfy himself with some unsuccessful descents on the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*. As he was ready to quit his station, eight galleons homeward bound were discovered. *Hautain* immediately gave chase, and drove two of the galleons on the rocks, where they perished; the rest entered the *Tagus* and escaped. Soon after he was overtaken in a terrible storm, in which the whole fleet was dispersed, and several ships lost. His squadron was now reduced to thirteen sail, including frigates and brigantines, when the flota of don *Faisardo*, composed of nine men of war, and eighteen galleons, was descried. The immensity of the booty in view determined the *Dutch* admiral to attack the enemy, though greatly inferior in strength. He endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, and was disappointed. Vice-admiral *Classen* was separated in this tack from the rest of the *Dutch* fleet, attacked by five ships of the enemy, and engaged with the utmost fury. He defended himself for several hours with great intrepidity; but his mainmast being shot away, and his ship

ship, otherwise greatly shattered, he resolved to blow himself and crew into the air, rather than strike to an enemy who had lately so cruelly treated his countrymen. This he executed with admirable constancy, and perished with 150 brave soldiers and skilful mariners. The engagement was warm between *Hautain* and the *Spanish* admiral, but night separated the combatants, and prevented the destruction of both parties, who were each resolved to die or conquer°. Such were the transactions of this year, towards the close of which the richest *India* fleet ever seen from *India* arrived, with the agreeable news of further advantages gained in *Asia*, and the prosperous situation of the company's affairs.

*The court
of Spain
begins to
talk of
peace.*

THE infinite losses sustained by the *Spaniards*, by sea and land, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *America*; the immense expences of the war; the little probability of reducing the provinces; the exhausted state of the treasury; the vast debts contracted by the crown; and the mutinous disposition of the troops, all suggested the first idea of the necessity of a truce with the obstinate *Hollanders*. It was now seriously deliberated in council, and the motion supported by the persons most attached to the interests of their king and country. The *Portuguese*, who were the greatest sufferers in their *East India* traffic, made strong remonstrances to *Philip III.* on the damages sustained from a ruinous war, in which they were no way concerned. They had lost an infinity of rich ships, were deprived of their best establishments in the *Indies*, stripped of their commerce, and in the open way to destruction, if a speedy issue was not put to the disturbances in the *Low Countries*, which had already cost *Spain* and *Portugal* above double the intrinsic value of the *Seven Provinces*. They asserted, that the difficulty of the war would every year encrease, with the inability of *Spain* to support it; that the enemy were growing rich and powerful upon the ruins of their trade and navigation, and would every year prove more formidable. They added, that the natural situation of the provinces, surrounded by deep rivers and the ocean, rendered them impregnable; and if *Spain* could not succeed through the spirited conduct of such generals as the duke of *Parma* and the marquis *Spinola*, while she exerted her utmost force, how could she expect a fortunate issue under any other generals, when her strength was spent and exhausted? *Philip*, wholly occupied with the pursuit of pleasure, was naturally pacific, and had prosecuted the war by the advice of his council, rather than from inclination.

° GROT. lib. xv.

His ministers insinuated to him that the *French* king was labouring to unite the provinces to his own crown, in order to extend his dominion over the *Netherlands*. It was, beyond doubt, less disadvantageous and dishonourable to *Spain*, to suffer the provinces to enjoy their liberty, and become a free state, than to fall into the hands of a powerful and ambitious rival, who was mounting by large strides to an equality with the house of *Austria*. The success of the infant *India* company, afterwards established upon a larger basis, made the king apprehensive, not only of the loss of his colonies in the *East*, but of that vast empire he possessed in the *West Indies*. It was at the same time whispered, that the *Dutch* would afford the *Moors* shipping to transport vast armies into *Spain*; and indeed it is astonishing that the provinces, amidst all their distresses, never attempted making this diversion. These considerations, joined to the inclinations of the archduke and *Isabella*, quite wearied out with the perpetual complaints of their subjects, determined *Spain* to make overtures for a truce. Even *Spinola*, for the reasons we have before mentioned, was of opinion that it was better to enjoy the *Ten Provinces* in security and peace, than risque the whole *Netherlands*, and ruin *Spain*, in the fruitless attempt to conquer rebel subjects, who had too long tasted the sweets of liberty, ever again to bear with ease the shackles of monarchy and absolute dominion. He said, that if to their growing empire in *Asia*, they should add establishments in *America*, *Spain* would be reduced to its primitive poverty^p.

THESE sentiments of the *Spanish* court transpired before any formal proposals had been made. In *Holland* some acknowledged, that the report of pacific designs was industriously propagated, only to lull the provinces into security, and catch them napping and unprepared. Numbers of people pretended to discredit the rumour, because they lived, and had raised fortunes, by the war. Others found out, that a peace would dissolve the union of *Utrecht*, and bring the trade of *Holland* and *Zealand* back again to *Antwerp*. On the other hand, the provinces most exposed wished for an equitable peace, and all moderate persons desired to see the public tranquillity re-established on such a footing as should secure the liberty of the provinces. These were the general sentiments of both parties, when the commissioners *Walrave* and *Wittenborst* arrived, from the archduke, at the *Hague*, to make some proposals touching a congress. Prince *Maurice*

^p BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. viii. p. 204.

was then in *Overyffel*; and the deputies to whom the ambassadors addressed themselves, gave such discouragement, that they returned to *Brussels*, without having publicly communicated their instructions. They were again sent to the *Hague*, in the month of *December*, with orders to acquaint the states, that they had instructions from the archduke to assure them of the sincerity of his pacific views, and readiness to grant any reasonable terms, and to demand such conditions as the *United Provinces* were determined to accept. They were further impowered to offer the states either a peace or truce, and the choice of time and place for fixing a congress, where the articles might be adjusted. To these assurances and demands the states general refused to give an answer, because the ambassadors had brought no letters expressly addressed to the states. This difficulty was not foreseen; but, to remove it, one of the ambassadors set out for *Brussels*, obtained the letter required, and returned to the *Hague*. Now the ambassador demanded a public audience of the states general, and obtained it on the 3d of *January*. They read publicly the archduke's letter, professing his hearty desire to heal up those wounds which had so long afflicted the *Netherlands*; they commented upon the letter, set forth the uncertain event of war, the misery of the people, the duty of conciliating fellow-subjects unhappily divided by civil discord; with a variety of other topics; to which the states general answered: That while the archduke formed any right to the *United Provinces*, it was impossible they could ever consent to a treaty; that all the world allowed they were born a free people (A), and their highnesses could never make out their pretensions to dominion over them but by force; that it was incumbent on the states to recover what had been insidiously and oppressively wrested from them; that they could not consent in conscience, in honour, or safety, to treat with princes who formed pretensions on their undoubted liberties, until such pretensions were solemnly abjured; as for the rest, they de-

A. D.
1607.
The archduke sends deputies to the Hague, and treats with the Dutch as a free people.

(A) This assertion would seem to allude to the solemn declaration, published in 1581, by the states assembled at the *Hague*, whereby they deprived *Philip II.* of all right, dominion, and sovereignty over the *United Provinces*, which they henceforward declared to be a

free state; because his majesty had first dissolved the original contract, by divers infractions and violations of the engagements subsisting between him and his subjects. *Vid. Wiquet. demost. 4. lib. 1. hist. des Provinces Unies.*

clared they would be no ways necessary to the evil consequences which might ensue, since their resolutions were all formed in self-defence, and founded on justice and the natural rights of mankind, all of which dictated, that subjects might lawfully oppose the ambitious encroachments of their sovereigns, and draw their swords against princes in defence of liberty⁹. With this answer the ambassadors returned, promising that they would soon acquaint the states with the archduke's sentiments.

It must be acknowledged that the general sentiments of the *United Provinces* were averse to peace; that the states treated the archduke cavalierly, and raised all possible obstructions in the way of a negotiation; but such were the circumstances of the courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels*, that they now waved punctilio, and were contented to effect at least a suspension of hostilities, upon any tolerable conditions. With this view *John Neyen*, an ecclesiastic, extremely conversant in politics, insinuating in his address, able, penetrating, subtle, and eloquent, was again dispatched to the *Hague*. *Neyen* was acquainted personally with the principal men in *Holland*; he had a great number of friends in that country, and, though a catholic, was exceedingly beloved by the reformed, because he had the art to make his opinions seem moderate. On his arrival he found the states immoveably fixed in their resolution to listen to no terms, unless they were treated and addressed as a free people. To this the archduke had strong objections; because it was in fact acknowledging that he had hitherto maintained an unjust war; that he was in no condition to continue it; and that he had really no just pretensions to the sovereignty of the *United Provinces*. He apprehended that such a concession would be injurious to *Philip's* and his own reputation; and he was sensible of the danger of rewarding rebellion with liberty. However, necessity overcame his scruples, and he determined to grant the demands of the states general, hoping that if the negotiation should turn out to his advantage, the event would plead his apology, and excuse the means he had practised of restoring peace to his subjects; but he first gave instructions to *Neyen* to endeavour to procure some mitigation of this hard preliminary condition. *Neyen* expatiated to the states on the archduke's pious intentions to spare the effusion of christian blood, and of treating with the provinces upon the most equitable footing; he eloquently explained the mutual obligations of sovereigns and

⁹ BAUDIVS de JUDICIIS, lib. i. p. 4.

subjects, and enumerated with admirable address all the arguments in favour of indefeasible right, a topic since that time so hackneyed in other countries; he launched out upon the blessings of peace, and the advantages which the commerce of the *United Provinces*, in particular, would deduce from the establishment of public tranquillity; but he artfully avoided touching upon the liberty of the states general, and the preliminary demanded. Finding all his arguments to induce them to relax in this particular fruitless, he returned to *Brussels*, and was in a few days sent back with full powers to negotiate with the *United Provinces*, as a free state, over which neither the catholic king or the archduke had any just claim to sovereignty. He was directed to conclude either a truce or perpetual peace, according as he found the states general disposed; to offer them the choice of their own deputies, and the time and place for fixing the congress; and, to facilitate the treaty, to demand a suspension of arms for the space of eight months, during which no hostilities of any kind should be permitted; provided, however, that the proposals should in eight days be accepted. These overtures were contained in a writing, signed by the archduke on the 13th day of *March* 1607, and accepted by a similar writing signed by the states on the 24th of *April*. At the same time, an order to suspend hostilities was reciprocally sent to all the governors of towns, generals, and commanders in either service. The articles of truce were exchanged at *Lillo*; and the archduke left the farther explication of the agreement of suspension to his envoy *Neyen*, who desired leave to repair for this purpose to the *Hague*. As *Neyen* received no immediate answer to his request, he construed the silence of the states into consent, set out for the *Hague*, and on the first day of *June* published an edict, whereby he declared that the suspension took place at sea as well as land, limiting it however to the *Northern* ocean and the *British* channel. In this edict the frontiers were adjusted, and several other particulars, which had before been omitted. Foreign ministers, particularly the *French* ambassador at the *Hague*, were made acquainted with the determination of the states, and invited to send plenipotentiaries to assist at the congress. In consequence, the *French* king sent the president *Jeannin*, and the sieurs *Reissi* and *Busenval* to *Holland*, where, on their first arrival, they gently expostulated with the states, for having come to a resolution so important to the tranquillity of *Europe*, without having previously acquainted their master with their intention, and received the advice of so constant and necessary

cessary an ally'. *James*, king of *England*, likewise promised that his ambassadors, *Spencer* and *Winwood*, should attend the congress.

Now the chief difficulty that remained, regarded the manner of opening the negotiation. The deputies of the states foresaw the great revolution in affairs which so sudden a change from war to peace would produce, especially should prince *Maurice* disapprove of the treaty. The reputation acquired by the prince, in the long course of his services, rendered him very powerful and very popular. His reputation was a vast structure raised on the firm foundation laid by his father; a building erected by courage, virtue, and public spirit, on the basis of patriotism. *Maurice* was not only at the head of the army, but he held the stadtholdership of four out of the seven provinces, and the rest were under his direction, as his two cousins were governors. Several of the states became jealous of his authority and ambition; they united into a faction, pretended to fear that *Maurice's* popularity would aspire at absolute dominion, and gave themselves up to the direction of *Barneveldt*, pensioner of *Holland*, a minister equally able and faithful. The continuance of the war would certainly encrease the prince's authority, and a truce proportionably diminish it, and open the way to the exertion of the functions of civil power: this disposed the whole party to wish for the treaty, and to advance its progress and issue with all their weight and influence. It was further necessary, they alleged, to shew their allies that the states had it in their power to conclude peace when they pleased, which would render them more independent on their allies, oblige *France* to declare more openly, and induce all their allies to afford real, instead of imaginary, assistance and large promises. On the other side, the *Orange* party threw all possible obstructions in the way of the treaty, receiving every proposal with great coldness and arrogance, starting punctilious difficulties upon every expression, and obliging the archduke upon every trifling occasion to send expresses into *Spain*, and wait their return, without advancing a step in the negotiation. In this interest may be included the bulk of the people, as well as the whole body of militia by land and sea. The former, by long habit, had contracted invincible prejudices against *Spain*, and the latter proposed the improvement of their fortunes. But there was one consideration which weighed strongly in favour of the opposite faction. This was the

Obstructions raised by the states to the progress of the negotiation.

' *METEREN*, lib. xxviii. *GROT.* Hist. lib. xvi.

decline of the vast *Spanish* monarchy, so formidable under *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* owing to extensive projects, ambitious councils, and unfortunate events. On the contrary, *France* was rising to a great degree of power, conducted by a prince enterprising, constant, and intrepid. This king put an end to all domestic discord and misfortune, by a peace with the house of *Austria*. It was obvious, however, that the temper of the nation, long accustomed to constant heats and commotions, would not long remain quiet without exercise; and to prevent the people from finding employment at home, it might be necessary for the king to contrive work for them abroad, which might at the same time promote the views of his own ambition. *Flanders* had anciently formed a part of the *Gallic* monarchy, and its princes derived and held their power of the kings of *France*. An enterprize to recover the ancient demesnes of the crown lay extremely convenient, and seemed perfectly congenial to the disposition of *Henry*, who was at this very time making great preparations, which might very probably fall on this side, if invited by any greater decay of the *Spanish* power in the *Netherlands*. It was further observed, that the authority of *Spain* in the *Low Countries* was supported by treasures, which came by long and perilous voyages from *Spain*; and by troops drawn from thence, from *Italy* or *Germany*, at a great hazard and expence. The territory of the *Ten Provinces* was inconsiderable, and awed by the neighbourhood and jealousies both of *France* and *England*; but if *Henry* were once master of *Flanders*, the body of the *French* monarchy would be so great, so entire, so populous, and flourishing, as would make an attempt on the liberty of the *United Provinces* fatal, and completely decisive. Then would they have laboured in vain against *Philip*, and fought out that long and glorious struggle, not for absolute freedom, but for a change of masters. It was this idea of a political balance, as well as a dread of the ambition of *Maurice*, that actuated that able minister *Barneveldt*, though many of his party were excited by personal resentment to the prince, and drawn over by the presents and promises of *Spain*.*

BESIDES the contending interests of the two parties, the negotiation met with another obstruction. The archduke had indeed given his solemn assurance, that he would obtain a declaration from king *Philip*, ratifying the means he proposed, and the terms he should stipulate in the treaty;

* BENTIVOG. p. 209. MEURS. Rer. Belg. lib. v.

but

but hitherto no declaration of the *Spanish* court had appeared to confirm the preliminary steps to the negotiation. Such a declaration was necessary, because the *Netherlands* reverted to the crown of *Spain* at the decease of the archduke without issue; in which case, all treaties with him would prove void, unless they were concluded with *Philip's* consent. At last the declaration, couched in form of two acts, was obtained; of which *Spinola* gave notice to the states, desiring a passport for *Lewis Verreiken*, the archduke's ambassador. When *Verreiken* presented the declaration to the states general assembled at the *Hague*, it was objected, that the king had approved in general terms of all that had been done, and promised strictly to observe the armistice; but that he had designedly flurred over the clause where it was specified, that the archduke treated with the provinces on the footing of a free state, over which he had no jurisdiction. Not only this, but several other particulars in the manner and stile of the act, were displeasing to the states general. They resented the title given the archduke of sovereign of all the *Netherlands*; the act's being written on paper instead of parchment; the king's subscription, *We the king*; the seal affixed, which was not the great seal of *Spain*; and the demand, that the *Dutch* squadrons should be immediately recalled from the *Spanish* coasts. In the end, the ambassador was informed, that the states could not accept the declaration without considerable amendments. *Verreiken* laboured to remove the objections. He insisted that the catholic king would never have ratified the preliminaries stipulated by the archduke, had not his intentions been wholly pacific; that procuring the amendments required would only retard the negotiation; but that if the states would, in the mean time, proceed to business, he would engage to obtain the declaration wanted as soon as in course it could be expected. But this was positively refused; and the states, for their own security, gave the ambassador copies of such a declaration as would quiet their scruples, in the *Latin*, *French*, and *Spanish*; that no mistake, through the equivocal sense of words, might arise. In these, several articles, relative to religion, were inserted, which, it was apprehended, the court of *Spain* would not grant; and indeed the writing would seem to be calculated with that design, and dictated by the partizans of the house of *Orange*.

* METEREN, lib. xxviii. LE CLERC, lib. viii.

O 4

WHEN

WHEN the second ratification arrived at *Brussels*, the first observation which occurred, was that the great seal was not affixed: but this difficulty the archduke engaged he should be able to surmount, should the contents prove otherwise agreeable to the sentiments of the *United Provinces*. The article with respect to religion, it was foreseen, would occasion more trouble. *Verreiken* and *Neyen* were dispatched to the *Hague* with this new ratification; and though it was supported with all their eloquence and address, could not gain the approbation of the states. They objected, that, like the former, it was written in a loose stile, upon paper, and sealed with a private signature. However, to preserve the appearance of candour, they said they would communicate the ratification to the provincial states, and report their opinion in six weeks; adding, that if the archduke thought proper to appoint plenipotentiaries in ten days, they would follow his example, and send deputies to the congress. Before the ambassador's departure, the states desired that the original ratification might be left in their hands; but this was refused, though *Verreiken*, to oblige them all in his power, remained at the *Hague*, kept the ratification, and sent his colleague to attend the archduke's commands. By the 14th of *November*, *Neyen* returned from *Brussels*, with orders to deliver the ratification to the states, upon receiving their written promise to restore it, in case the negotiation should prove abortive. Even this was denied, and *Neyen* again forced to set out for *Brussels*, where he obtained the archduke's leave to surrender the ratification, without any promise or written acknowledgement. From such punctilious conduct and fastidious cavilling, it was obvious that the *Orange* party prevailed, that the general sentiments of the people were not pacific, and that the negotiation would at last prove fruitless.

WHILE the treaty went on in this channel, letters addressed to the states were received from the emperor, in which he expressed his astonishment at their not acquainting the imperial court with their intentions, reminded them that the *Netherlands* were formerly a part of the empire, and that consequently they could not claim the privileges of a free state, without his consent; nor would any grants made by the archduke and the king of *Spain* prove valid, without the full approbation of the *Aulic* council. To these letters the states returned a civil answer, excusing themselves by affirming, that they imagined the king of *Spain*, and the archduke had given his imperial majesty timely

timely information, otherwise they should not be wanting in this mark of respect. They represented the causes which induced them to throw off the sovereignty of *Philip*, and now insist on the privileges of a free people; they alledged their having already been acknowledged independent by several states and sovereigns; and lastly, that they apprehended it properly belonged to *Philip*, to enquire whether he had a power to make the grants he proposed; that as for themselves, they had long taken the resolution of being free, or of perishing in the defence of liberty.

SCARCE had the states general returned this answer, and received the compliments of several foreign princes, when the provinces reported their opinion, that the ratification was a sufficient basis for negotiating a peace or truce. This resolution had been carried in all the provincial states, in despite of the objections raised by the *Orange* faction. Never did the talents of *Barneveldt* appear more conspicuous than on this occasion; on which he equally displayed the orator, the statesman, and the patriot. After deliberating with the ambassadors of *France* and *Great Britain*, the states acquainted the archduke by letter, that they were ready to enter upon the negotiation, provided that nothing should be demanded repugnant to their privileges, or obliquely directed against their liberties; and that if he would nominate plenipotentiaries, they would appoint an equal number of deputies (A). Towards the close of the

(A) It was at this very time, when the attention of all *Europe* was fixed on the approaching congress, which was to determine the fate of the *United Provinces*, that the *Hollanders* planned the scheme of a *West-India* company, which should likewise trade to *Africa*, upon the model of the *East India* company. The project met with obstructions, on account of the peace now negotiating; as it was apprehended the king of *Spain* would dispute any grants which could be made out to the company. However, though the states chose to avoid

raising difficulties in the way of the treaty, which the whole world must attribute to their desire of prolonging the war, they permitted their grand armament to set sail in quest of the *Caracca* fleet, soon expected. Admiral *Hemskirk* accordingly steered for the coast of *Spain*, received information that a *Spanish* squadron of six men of war lay in the bay of *Gibraltar*, and made dispositions for attacking the enemy. *Juan Alvares d'Avila*, commanded the *Spanish* fleet. He was attacked by *Hemskirk* with the utmost resolution, and the engagement

the year the armistice was expired, of which the archduke gave the states general notice, and of his desire to prolong it for a month. He likewise acquainted them by letter, that he had nominated plenipotentiaries, and expressed his inclination that the congress might sit with the utmost expedition. The marquis *de Spinola*, *Ricardot*, *Mancidor*, the archduke's secretary, *Neyen*, and *Verneiken*, were appointed ambassadors. It gave umbrage, that not one native of the *Netherlands* should be chosen to adjust the articles of a treaty, that wholly respected this country; but the power was in the hands of the *Spaniards*, and by exerting it they proposed to gain some advantages to themselves^u.

A. D. 1608. IN the beginning of the following year, *Spinola* and the other ambassadors set out for the congress; and as soon as they arrived in the territories of the states, they were received by *Justin Nassau*, and conducted to the *Hague*, without any expence. In all the towns the people flocked to see *Spinola*, whose reputation was as great in *Holland*, as in the other provinces of the *Netherlands*; and at *Dordrecht*, prince *Maurice* met that general, who seemed to regard the prince with astonishment and admiration. *Maurice* expressed sentiments no less favourable to *Spinola*, and they both paid those compliments which were certainly due to each other's merit. Various were the sentiments of the people on the arrival of *Spinola* in *Holland*. Some alledged, it was wrong to suffer so popular an enemy to enter the heart of the country, and thereby afford him the opportunity of seducing the minds of the people. To this it was answered, that the people were

^u *METEREN*, lib. xxx.

LE CLERC, lib. viii.

engagement continued with great fury, until the *Dutch* admiral lost his arm by a cannon-ball. The death of so brave an officer caused some confusion in the fleet; but the spirits of the *Dutchmen* were soon roused, by the gallant conduct of *Verboef*, who succeeded to the command. After an obstinate fight, *d'Avila* was kill-

ed, his ship run a-ground, and burnt by the garrison of *Gibraltar*, to prevent his being taken; the rest of the *Spanish* fleet was burnt, sunk, or destroyed, and the victory indisputably in favour of the *Hollanders*, tho' they received no other benefit from it, than the destruction of the *Spanish* armament. (1).

(1) *Meteren*, lib. 23.

Le Clerc, lib. 3. p. 243.

inveterate

inveterate enemies of the *Spanish* dominion, and *Spinola* himself a promoter of the peace. Before the arrival of the plenipotentiaries, the states had prevailed on the *French* ambassadors, that their master should become guarantee of the treaty intended; and they ventured to engage, that his majesty should assist the states with ten thousand men, in case it was broke through the fault of the king of *Spain* or the archduke. By the 4th of *February*, the states general thinking it was time to open the negotiation, sent compliments to the ambassadors, and demanded their instructions. Then they appointed *William* of *Nassau* and the sieur *Broderode*, with a deputy from each province, to confer with them. *John Barneveldt* was chosen to represent *Holland*. All were assembled in a great hall provided for that purpose, and the first day was spent in examining their reciprocal powers, in which a variety of difficulties occurred. We shall only mention, that the *Dutch* deputies demanded whether the ambassadors proposed treating with them, as the representatives of a free state? To which they were answered in the affirmative. They next enquired by what right the archduke retained the arms of the provinces, if he proposed resigning the sovereignty? To which it was replied, that he was directed in this particular by the practice of other princes, the king of *Spain* retaining the arms and title of king of *Jerusalem*, the *French* king those of *Bavaria*, and the king of *England*, the arms and title of sovereign of *France*, though they possessed not a foot of land in those countries. A few days after the *Dutch* deputies produced a schedule of the particular privileges they demanded, and the form of resignation required. The *Flemish* ambassadors declined giving an answer, but sent the writing to *Brussels*; and received the archduke's consent, that this article should be granted, agreeable to the desire of the states general, in hopes that an equivalent might be obtained relative to the commerce of the *Indies*. The facility with which an article of such importance was given up, created suspicions in the states, that either the archduke was not sincere, or that the congress would prove fruitless, on account of extraordinary demands touching some other points; though in fact it proceeded from an extreme desire of terminating a war, which had equally exhausted *Spain* and the ten provinces.

The congress sits at the Hague.

THE next object was a general armistice, restitution and compensation of losses; articles which were without difficulty adjusted, by leaving matters in their present situation;

ation ; but it was more delicate and dubious with respect to commerce. Both equally affected the extensive trade of the *East Indies* ; they had each too long experienced the advantages of this commerce, to resign any part of it without reluctance. The directors of the *East India* company were deeply concerned in the issue of this article, and they made the strongest remonstrances to the states general and the deputies. Four days were taken up with the single article of commerce ; the debates were warm and spirited, but nothing was determined. At length the *Dutch* deputies declared, that only the acceptance of one of three proposals they had to make, could terminate the dispute. The first was, that the provinces, in consequence of a peace, should ever have free leave to trade to the *Indies* ; the second, that they should have liberty, in consequence of a truce, for a certain number of years ; or that at least there should be peace on this side the tropics, and both nations left to promote their several interests by arms on the other side the line. This last proposition was made, because the *Hollanders* knew themselves greatly superior by sea, and the *Indian* princes in general disgusted at the *Portuguese* government. Two of these propositions were immediately rejected ; the one being directly contrary to an express instruction, that the commerce with the *Indies* should on no account be allowed to the provinces ; and the other to the inclinations of the archduke, which determined him to have the peace general, or the congress dissolved. As to the second proposal, the ambassadors declared they would accept it with this restriction, that the states should agree to renounce the *India* trade at the expiration of the truce. But this was refused, and the ambassadors desired that the article of commerce might be deferred until others were adjusted.

NEXT the *Dutch* deputies demanded a list of the articles of which the ambassadors proposed treating ; but this was denied, until they consented that no advantage would be taken of omissions, and that whatever should happen to be forgot, might not be excluded. The deputies set the example, and gave in a list of their propositions, contained in twenty-eight distinct articles. They were followed by a similar catalogue exhibited by the ambassadors in seven articles, the principal of which turned upon religion ; but they were expressed so equivocally, and arranged with so little method, as afforded a large field for cavilling. With this writing they presented a request, that the states would draw out a scheme of the *European* and *Indian*

Indian commerce, which they would transmit to the courts of *Brussels* and *Madrid*, provided it contained nothing which appeared too severe to the catholic king and the archduke. The proposal was accepted, the writing prepared, and a demand made, that both parties should reciprocally deposit a certain sum in *Spain* and *Holland*, as security for the performance of their engagements. The articles were first examined at the congress, and debated with much warmth. *Ricardot* in particular was so affected with the insolence of the deputies, that he shed tears, and lamented the unhappy situation of *Spain*, which reduced a great monarchy to the necessity of temporizing with a set of burghers and merchants. *Spinola* managed his temper with more address, and to his conduct it was owing that the congress had not broke up long before. *Neyen* was dispatched to *Brabant* and *Spain*, with the scheme of commerce, which now received considerable amendment; but still the bill was too harsh, and long rejected by the proud stomachs of the *Spaniards*, who could not make concessions with any grace, to those whom they used to command. These proposals met with a variety of obstructions at the court of *Madrid*, and *Neyen's* long stay, rendered it necessary to prolong the armistice to the end of the year.

ABOUT this time the states general received advice of negotiations carried on at the court of *France*, which almost determined them to break off the conferences precipitately. While *Neyen* continued at *Madrid*, don *Pedra de Toledo* was sent to *Paris*, to engage *Henry* in the interest of *Spain*, and thereby destroy the fruits of the whole negotiation at the *Hague*. *Philip* could not be prevailed on to acknowledge the freedom of the provinces, unless they previously renounced the commerce of the *Indies*; but finding that the *French* monarch was deaf to all his proposals, he concealed his sentiments, in hopes of obtaining his ends by dint of address and refined policy. At last, the ambassadors declared on the 20th of *August*, that their final instructions respecting the three great points of religion, liberty, and commerce, were arrived: that his catholic majesty was resolved to acknowledge the freedom of the provinces, upon no other conditions, than that they should re-establish the catholic religion, and renounce the *India* commerce. Upon this declaration they retired, leaving the deputies to deliberate upon an answer with the states general, the council of state, prince *Maurice*, and *William* of *Nassau*. Having communicated the proposal to
the

the foreign ambassadors at the *Hague*, it was resolved that the negotiation was at an end; and a manifesto was published on the 23d, in which, after enumerating all the transactions of the congress, the whole blame of the consequences that might ensue from a rupture of the treaty was thrown upon *Philip* and the archduke. The manifesto was delivered to the *Spanish* ministers, who complained loudly of the manner in which they were treated. They then demanded an audience of the states general, and obtained it on the 27th. Here they proposed a truce for a certain number of years; and the states general accepted the offer, on condition, however, that the sovereignty and freedom of the province should be acknowledged during and at the expiration of the truce. This exceeded the powers of the ambassadors; but they remitted the proposal to *Brussels*, and received for answer, that what the states demanded, could only be granted on their renouncing the commerce of *India*, and establishing the catholic religion in all the provinces; that however the archduke had forwarded their propositions to the court of *Spain*, expected an answer in a few days, and hoped the ambassadors might in the mean while be permitted to reside at the *Hague*. In this manner the truce was spun out to the end of *September*.

IN the mean time prince *Maurice*, who never approved of the negotiation, apprehending that a truce at least would ensue, should the *Spaniards* relax in their conditions, sent a circular letter to all the magistrates of the cities. This letter was dated the 21st of *September*, and tended to alienate the minds of the people from the truce in agitation. In the arguments urged on this occasion, it was easy to discern the politician, the patriot, and at the same time the aspiring prince. His reasoning was calculated to the good of his country. He strenuously opposed the restoration of popery, and asserted the sovereignty of the provinces; but he at the same time artfully enflamed the minds of the people, and rendered them averse to peace, possibly with a view to his own interest. Certain it is, that the truce proposed was necessary to both parties, and would have proved beneficial, could it be obtained on equitable conditions. *Maurice* however seemed averse to it upon any term; and it was perhaps more the interest of the *Spaniards* to have concluded a perpetual treaty of peace.

ON the 24th of *September*, the ambassadors gave notice to the states, that they were now impowered to treat with

with the provinces as a free republic, and conclude a truce for seven years, during which, both parties should freely trade to each other's dominions in *Europe*, retain what they now possessed, and cease from all acts of hostility. They acknowledged however, that the archduke was not authorised by the catholic king, to grant these conditions; but that he hoped to get them ratified. The proposal was communicated through the channel of the *French*, *English*, and *Brandenburgh* ambassadors; but it was rejected, unless the sovereignty of the states was absolutely acknowledged without restriction, and free leave granted to trade to the *Indies*. As such concessions exceeded the powers of *Spinola* and his colleagues, the conferences broke up, and the ambassadors took their leave, their time being expired. At parting, *Ricardot* assured the states, that the archduke had acted with the utmost sincerity throughout the negotiation; he blamed their obstinacy, exhorted the states to reflect seriously on the conditions they rejected, which they might probably hereafter not be able to obtain by intreaty and solicitations; and he concluded with saying, that they must be responsible for all the consequent effusion of christian blood, should the war be resumed. The ambassador was answered by the pensioner *Barneveldt*, who instanced, as a proof of the sincerity of the states general, their refusal to enter upon the conferences, until their sovereignty was acknowledged. He concluded with retorting the allegation, that they would be responsible for the future effusion of blood, since the severity of the *Spanish* councils first kindled the war. The tyranny of *Philip* II. furnished the fuel, and the pride and inflexibility of *Philip* III. prevented its being extinguished, at a time when all the combustible materials were already consumedⁿ.

Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, it was discovered, that *Ricardot* had either forgot or designedly left at his lodgings, the original instructions given to the *Spanish* ministers. This the states published, with a long comment in their own vindication, though posterity have justly construed the instructions to their prejudice. In every line the archduke's pacific intentions were apparent, and nothing but the fastidious and insolent demands of the states, their cavilling humour, and punctilious conduct,

The Negotiation of peace broke off.

ⁿ GROT. lib. xvii. BAUDIUS, lib. iii. MEURSIUS, Rer. Belg. lib. v. METEREN, lib. xxx. LE CLERC, lib. viii. CLARENDON'S hist. of the rebel. tom. i.

would

would have prevented the establishment of a truce, on the same terms it was afterwards obtained. All the foreign ministers would seem to be of this opinion. They concurred in pressing the states at least to conclude a truce; and the president *Jeannin*, in particular, enforced his advice with a variety of arguments. When the states objected that no dependence could be placed in the promises of the *Spaniards*, who had so often violated their engagements, he replied, that his master, the king of *France*, would guarantee the treaty, attack the violators with all his forces, and support with all his might that prudence and perseverance which enabled an oppressed people to treat with their sovereign on the footing of a free republic.

The republic divided into parties.

It has already been frequently intimated that the provinces were divided into two factions, one of which totally rejected the truce, and every proposal that did not immediately contribute to the establishment of a solid and lasting peace. At the head of this party was prince *Maurice*; whose interest and aspiring views made him, it is alledged, prefer war to the most advantageous terms of accommodation. It was however dangerous to profess himself an enemy to the tranquillity of his country; he therefore chose the safer method of obtaining his ends, by arguing against the consequences of the truce, sensible that *Spain* and the archduke were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant peace on the terms the states would demand. *Barneveldt* was the oracle of the other faction; he entered warmly into the opinion of the *French* ambassador, and thought a truce ought not to be rejected, because perpetual peace could not be obtained; it would, at least, afford the provinces a breathing, to enable them to renew the war with redoubled vigour. He penetrated into all *Maurice's* views, and represented in the strongest colours the danger of servitude to a family, whose patriotism was only a cloak to their ambition. Libels and pasquinades, calculated to blow up the sparks of civil dissension, were every day published; nor did the *Orange* party scruple to tax the kings of *France* and *England* with selfish views, in recommending a truce which could not be rigidly observed; which in consequence would involve the provinces in numberless calamities, and thereby prove beneficial to the commerce of *France* and *England*. A number of anonymous letters, threatening an attempt on his life, were received by *Barneveldt*, all of which he laid before the states, saying, that tho' he despised the anger of the great, and the resentment of the deluded vulgar, while he was conscious of faithfully performing

performing the duty he owed to his country; yet he could wish to resign an employment which he found rendered him odious. With these words he quitted the assembly, and was soon followed by deputies, sent to exhort him not to abandon the state at this critical juncture, when his ability and integrity were most wanted. Upon resuming the functions of pensionery, he represented in the most lively terms the advantages deducible from the succours offered by the two kings, and the regard which ought to be shewn to their sentiments; he gave in an exact calculation of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war; he refuted all the objections made to the truce; and by the weight of his influence, the spirit and strength of his arguments, brought over the province of *Holland* to the opinion of the five other provinces, which had declared in favour of the truce. *Zealand* alone, swayed by private motives, on account of the rich captures made during the war, and the influence of *Maurice*, remained deaf to all terms of accommodation. The dispute grew high, the *Zealanders* insisting that to conclude a truce without their consent would be a direct infraction of the union of *Utrecht*; and the others remonstrating upon the injustice of one province's giving law to all the others^w.

In these disputes the year was spun out, without any progress made, either in the prosecution of the war, or of a temporary pacification. However *Barneveldt*, and the foreign ministers, laboured with so much zeal and assiduity, that they prevailed on the archduke to prolong the armistice, and send deputies to confer with the *French* and *English* ambassadors at *Antwerp*. Here it was the great point was gained, of again renewing the conferences with the states general of the *United Provinces*, then assembled at *Bergen-op-Zoom*. In the end, the conferences were removed to the *Hague*; and, after subduing infinite obstructions, a truce for twelve years was concluded on the ninth of *April*, ratified on the 14th, then published in all the towns of the *Netherlands*, and joyfully received by the majority of the people, especially of the *Spanish* provinces. In the first article of the treaty the archduke, in his own, and the king of *Spain's* name, acknowledged the *United Provinces*, renounced all claim to sovereignty over them, but in such general terms as would admit of altercation. In the second, a truce for twelve years, by sea and land, through all the

A. D. 1609.
The conferences renewed, and truce concluded for twelve years.

^w AITSMA, tom. i. lib. i. p. 16. METEARN, lib. xxx. fol. 660.

dominions of both parties, was concluded. By the third article the parties were to remain in possession of what they now held, without cession or exchange. In the fourth a general amnesty was stipulated, and full freedom of trade by sea and land to each others dominions granted. This necessarily implied a cessation of hostilities in the *Indies*; however, great debates afterwards arose upon this account. *Spain* observing the rapid progress of the *Hollanders* in the *India* trade, apprehended they would soon become too powerful in that quarter; and the *Dutch* were willing to maintain the advantage of their superiority. Both, for this reason, disputed the article; yet it could not be set aside without destroying the whole treaty, and the fruits of all their laboured conferences. The fifth article regulated the imports, and duties to be paid by the subjects of the archduke and the states, trading to each others dominions, which were to be on the same footing with those of other nations. The archduke used his utmost endeavours to have the duties at *Lillo*, on the *Scheld*, abolished, and the commerce of *Antwerp* restored to its former grandeur; but this was so diametrically opposite to the interest of the *Hollanders*, that it was impossible it should ever take place. The sixth and seventh articles likewise regarded commercial affairs; but it would be unnecessary to dwell on particulars; sufficient it is that the truce was mutually beneficial, *Spain* being no longer in condition to support the war, and the *Hollanders* having obtained the end of all their desperate resistance and invincible perseverance in the cause of liberty. *Philip* of *Nassau* was of all men the greatest gainer by the truce; as, in consequence, he entered into possession of all his paternal estates in the *Spanish Netherlands* and *Burgundy*; while the states rewarded the faithful services of *Maurice* with a pension of 25,000 florins, to be paid annually out of the public treasury, besides an appointment of 60,000 francs as governor-general. Pensions were likewise settled on the other princes of the house of *Nassau*: all were gratified in a manner that demonstrated the high sense the republic had of their merit, though they might possibly be disappointed in their great design of raising prince *Maurice* to sovereign authority. In this manner was a bloody, tedious war terminated, which had more than once almost totally extinguished every spark of freedom and the protestant religion in the *Seven United Provinces* *. The fortune of the states on this occasion ad-

* *Scriptores citat. ibid. p. 18, & 662. Etiam BAUD. tom. iii. sub fin.*

mirably

mirably displays how courage, conduct, and perseverance, however baffled and disappointed, will, in the end, rise superior to misfortune, and triumph over every adversary.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the religious disputes among the protestants of the United Provinces ; the treaty with the Moorish prince of Tetuan ; the disputes about the succession to the ducky of Cleves ; in a word, all the civil and political transactions of the new republic, to the expiration of the truce in the year 1621.

S C A R C E had the *United Provinces* tasted the sweets of *Religious* liberty and peace, when religious disputes arose, to *disputes in* blight the felicity procured by obstinate valour and invincible resolution. *James Arminius*, of *Oudewater*, in the province of *Holland*, first a minister of the gospel at *Amsterdam*, and afterwards professor at *Leyden*, gave birth to a new sect, called after his own name, whose principles were founded upon doctrines as old as the belief of a supreme being. The sect was, however, in his time first distinguished, and his disciples stigmatized as deserters from the followers of *Calvin*. They asserted free-agency ; they spoke ambiguously of God's prescience ; they deemed the doctrine of the *Trinity* not essential to salvation ; many of them affirmed that the scripture requires no adoration of the *Holy Ghost* ; and all, that *Jesus* is not equal to God the father : in a word, they regarded the creed of *St. Athanasius* as the unintelligible, unmeaning comment on an incomprehensible mystery. These tenets were adopted by great numbers of the learned in *Holland*, the other protestant provinces, and in *Germany* ; but they had not been publicly taught from the professorial chair before the elevation of *Arminius* to that office. Most divines who had received their education at *Geneva*, or in the *Palatinate*, brought with them from thence the doctrine of predestination ; a violent contest arose between the parties ; synods and religious conferences were held in divers places ; the states interposed, and the chief persons of the republic espoused either *Arminius* or *Gormarus*, who were the leaders of these factions ; for such in reality they ought to be esteemed. Religion was only the pretext, policy was the source of those impure and bitter invectives poured out on both sides. The prince of *Orange* and *Barneveldt* seized this

P 2

opportunity

opportunity of venting their mutual animosity, which now was greatly augmented by the credit which the pensioner acquired from accomplishing the truce with the archduke, in despite of all the endeavours of the house of *Nassau*. In all controversies it is difficult to adhere to the original point in dispute; it is particularly so in religious contests, where probably both parties are reasoning upon what exceeds the limits of their understanding. The smallest deviation leads into a greater, and at last the disputants end in something which has not the smallest relation to the first subject of debate. Thus it was that a quarrel among obscure divines, about points which neither could determine, became the bone of contention among the leading personages in the provinces, and laid the first conception of a humour that has ever since remained lurking in the constitution of the state, breaking out upon all revolutions, and laying the foundation of that disunion and discord, which will probably terminate one day in the total subversion of the republic. It would be impossible to exhibit a just idea of these disputes, without running into theological disquisitions, equally fruitless to a reader, and inconsistent with historical narration. Sufficient it is, that neither party was convinced, though the necessities of the state made them for some time silent; and that the *Arminians*, though least numerous, were however extremely formidable, on account of the weight, influence, and ability of their leaders^a.

*Treaty
with the
emperor of
Morocco.*

WITH respect to civil affairs, the object of greatest consequence, was, to push with all imaginable vigour the advantage which the provinces in general might deduce from this interval of tranquillity; for, during the war, trade was altogether confined to *Holland* and *Zealand*. With this view the states ordered that 150 *Moors*, taken on board *Spanish* captures, should be returned without ransom, and presented to the emperor of *Morocco*, in consideration of the civilities shewn by that prince to *Hemskirk's* fleet some years before; and to obtain certain commercial privileges in his dominions. Two ships of war were accordingly sent under captain *Hermansen* to the coast of *Africa*, having on board the *Moorish* prisoners, and a present of some black cattle from prince *Maurice* to the emperor. The presents were well received; all the immunities required, granted; and a proposition made of declaring war jointly against the king of *Spain*, which the *Dutch* civilly declined, urging in excuse the late truce. This proposal was made by an alcaide,

^a METEREN, lib. xxxii. LE CLERC, lib. ix.

who

who returned with the fleet to *Holland*. The *Moorish* envoy, perceiving the states were averse to war, offered to take part of their fleet into pay; but this was likewise refused, and, to qualify his disappointment, the ambassador was loaded with presents, and dismissed, with the strongest protestations of respect and veneration for his master.

THE next year was ushered in by an event which had *The truce* almost frustrated the intention of the late treaty with *Spain* broke by and the archduke, and involved in a fresh war all the provinces of the *Netherlands*. Prince *John William* duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, dying without issue-male, his dominions of *Cleves* devolved upon his sisters, in whose right the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and duke of *Newburgh*, demanded the succession. Several other competitors likewise appeared; but these were the chief. The elector applied to the *French* king and the *Dutch*, to support his pretensions; the duke of *Newburgh* to the king of *Spain* and the archduke. At first the contention lay between the house of *Saxony* on the one side; and the houses of *Brandenburgh*, and *Newburgh*, on the other. Divers conferences were held to adjust the claims of the candidates amicably, but they proved fruitless. The archduke, newly respiring after a tedious war, had no inclination to involve himself in fresh disputes, in which he was properly no party; but it was his interest to provide that the *Dutch* should take no advantage of his pacific inclinations, and, under pretence of assisting the elector of *Brandenburgh*, seize upon those places in the disputed territory which lay most convenient to the provinces. The emperor claimed the right of deciding the dispute, but *Henry IV.* did not chuse that the house of *Austria* should have any accession of dominion or power. However, the former adjudged the duchies, under certain limitations, to the house of *Saxony*; and the assassination of *Henry*, by *Ravillac*, happened before that monarch had taken any measures to oppose the imperial verdict. Still the court of *France* espoused the princes, and encouraged the states general to undertake the siege of *Juliers*, to which they were solicited by the elector of *Brandenburgh*. *Dutch* writers alledge, that the states determined upon this measure with reluctance, apprehending it might be deemed an infraction of the truce; but they were compelled to it by *Maurice*, whose warlike, ambitious mind eagerly sought a rupture, or at least a war, in which his talents shone with such lustre. Accordingly, with 14,000 foot and 3000 horse, he traversed *Spanish Guelderland* without offering the smallest violence to the inhabitants, the subjects of the archduke *Albert*; and fate down before *Juliers*.

Juliers. After a vigorous defence, the city capitulated by the second day of *September*, and was garrisoned by *Dutch* forces, under the pretext it should be sequestered in the hands of the states until the dispute might be finally decided. *Albert* regarded this transaction as an infraction of the truce. He perceived that the states, actuated by ambition, relied too much on his pacific intentions. He therefore determined to venture the whole state of *Flanders* rather than suffer such an encroachment on right, and addition to the power and dominion of rebel provinces, not yet declared free, but treated with *as* free and sovereign; a middle distinction made in the late treaty, by way of salvo to the pride of the court of *Spain*. He first demanded solemn restitution of the town of *Juliers*, in the name of the duke of *Newburgh*; but obtaining only shuffling, dilatory answers, an army was assembled under *Spinola*. As the states had strongly garrisoned their late acquisition, they were under no apprehensions about the destination of this army, not doubting but it was intended against *Juliers*; in which the archduke would find himself disappointed. The masterly conduct, however, of *Spinola* threw the provinces into the utmost consternation. After approaching within sight of *Juliers*, he wheeled round suddenly, marched to *Wesel*, and took it before the *Dutch* army could come to its relief. This town was strong by nature and art; it was claimed by the duke of *Brandenburgh*, as a dependency on the duchy of *Cleves*, but was held by the inhabitants under the protection of the states general. Not less astonished than awed by the success of a bold attempt, which opened a way to the invasion of the provinces, the *Dutch* applied to the mediation of *England* and *France*, and at last accommodated matters with the archduke by more abject concessions than they had ever before made in their most adverse circumstances. By this one spirited stroke, *Albert* regained the reputation lost from the terms granted in the late treaty, and the states were justly chastised and mortified for that insolent carriage shewn towards sovereign princes, and crowned heads, once their masters^b.

The archduke and republic again reconciled.

The religious disputes again renewed.

THE appearance of a rupture with the archduke cooled for a while the ardor of faction and religious controversy in the *United Provinces*. No sooner was the truce re-established, than the civil divisions broke out with redoubled strength and vehemence. The *Gormarists* renewed their persecution of the *Arminian* dissenters; they were pushed on by the

^b *Idem. ibid.*

house of *Orange*, sometimes protected by the states, and opposed chiefly by *Barneveldt*, *Grotius*, *Vossius*, the learned in general, and the magistrates of cities in which their influence prevailed. *Arminius*, on his first elevation to the professorship, behaved with the utmost moderation; he scrupulously avoided giving offence, but was, in course of lecturing, forced to advance opinions which roused the indignation of the *Gormarists*, who watched the opportunity of resuming the disputes. His doctrines were opposed, and he defended them with great temper and ability. The best pens in *Holland*, or indeed in *Europe*, were employed in his vindication. *Grotius* and *Vossius* both embarked deeply in the cause; and the *Leyden* professor became the head of a faction of which he was but an inconsiderable member. In some towns the *Arminian* clergy were imprisoned or expelled, in others the *Gormarists*. Synods met in all the provinces, public disputations were maintained, and both parties rather confirmed in their opinions than convinced of their errors. The suspension of the clergy naturally led to an inquiry into the rights and powers of the magistrates, this into the prerogatives of the lieutenants or stadtholders of the several provinces, and that into the sovereign right of the provincial states and states general. A question purely speculative became now a matter of the utmost consequence to liberty. The *Arminians* were represented as secret friends to *Spain*, and enemies to the privileges of their country; the people were inflamed, prince *Maurice* was raised to a greater height of popularity than he ever before obtained, and being at the head of the army, and supported by the multitude, he ventured upon some bold and dangerous alterations in the civil government; changing the magistrates of cities at pleasure, so as to obtain a majority in the provincial states, and consequently in the states general. The first contested election of magistrates was at *Lewarde* in *Friseland*, where the magistrates, legally chosen, were deposed, and supplanted by others nominated by the populace. The next was at *Utrecht*, where the divisions ran high in proportion to the number of the people. The burgomasters were disliked, and complaints were made of their assuming an authority inconsistent with the laws; promises of speedy redress were given; but the populace wanted more. They demanded the authority, and by a violent election of burgomasters usurped the right of civil government. So general was this tumult, that even the Roman catholics took up arms, and insisted upon the free exercise of their religion, though expressly prohibited by the union of *Utrecht*, in

A. D.
1611.

which all other opinions besides are licensed. As the violence of faction ran to a dangerous height, prince *Maurice*, attended by deputies from the states general, repaired to *Utrecht*, in order to restore the tranquillity of the city; but, instead of meeting with the respect his quality, his office, and his merit, demanded, he was grossly insulted, and forced to retire precipitately. This determined the states general to assemble at *Werde*, and to summon the provincial states of *Utrecht* and prince *Maurice* before them. After long deliberation, no remedies, adequate to the disease, could be found; the states of *Utrecht* were therefore dismissed, with a serious exhortation to apply themselves vigorously to the suppression of riots and tumults, which might probably terminate in anarchy, and the destruction of all government, unless seasonably prevented. It is difficult to find the cause of the commotions in *Utrecht*; they would seem to be a consequence of the original dispute between *Arminius* and *Gormarus*; but then the parties, in the heat and zeal of controversy, had changed opinions; and *Maurice* was insulted by the very populace by whom he was adored^c.

A. D.
1612.
*Commo-
tions at U-
trecht.*

WHEN the provincial states of *Utrecht* returned, they reported the censures passed on their conduct by the states general; which so enraged the populace, that, flying to arms, they committed a thousand disorders, rioted about, and raised such tumults as the new magistrates could not appease. Upon this the burghers were ordered to send four deputies to attend the states at the *Hague*, with the submission of the inhabitants of *Utrecht*. It was added, that if they preferred the states should sit rather at *Utrecht* than the *Hague*, their inclination should be gratified, provided the garrison was reinforced with four more companies of soldiers, to suppress disorders, and protect the assembly against insults. All these admonitions and concessions produced no effect. The *Utrecht*ers remained obstinate, and the states talked of laying siege to the city. Previous, however, to violent measures, they published a circular letter, addressed to all the provincial states of the union, acquainting them of the transactions at *Utrecht*, and requiring their advice and assistance. Meantime a body of forces had orders to file off towards *Utrecht*. At first the magistrates laughed at the motion of the army; they imagined the states would never push matters to extremities; but they no sooner be-

^c UTEMBOGARD. p. 3. p. 488. METEREN, lib. xxxii.
LE CLERC, lib. ix.

held the city almost completely invested, than they changed their tone, and besought the magistrates of *Amsterdam* to interpose as mediators. In consequence, a kind of reconciliation was effected, and the *Utrechters* were punished, by deposing the new magistrates, and restoring those who had been expelled by the people. Thus ended, without effusion of blood, a tumult which might have endangered the safety of the commonwealth, had not the government acted with great spirit and resolution.

WITH respect to the clergy, their disputes became purely *The religious* political. It was debated, How far the sovereign authority *ous disputes* might interpose in ecclesiastical affairs? Whether the clergy *putes now* might not, in conscience, be under the necessity of preach- *become political.* ing doctrines contrary to the legislative power? Whether the sovereign authority has power to assemble the clergy, and to chuse the members of the assembly? Whether the ecclesiastical synods are subject to the sovereign power? and, admitting they are, Whether by that means the sovereign is not made arbitrary over the consciences of the subject? The parties came to be distinguished by the appellations of Remonstrants, and Contra-Remonstrants. Libels, pasquinades, and violent invectives, mutually enflamed their spirits. At *Utrecht* factions were renewed; and it was visible the people only watched an opportunity to subvert the government, and restore their own favourites to the magistracy. This induced the states general to invest the council of state with authority to exact a fresh oath of fidelity from the magistrates, burghers, and other inhabitants. The populace were now exasperated to the highest pitch. They knew themselves guilty of sedition; by the oath required they became guilty of perjury. They formed the project of gaining possession of the garrison, commanded by the chevalier *Ogle*, appointed to that trust by prince *Ernest of Nassau*. *Canter* and *Helsdingen*, the persons raised to the magistracy in the late tumults, entered into the conspiracy; and all bound themselves by an oath to secrecy, and fidelity to their engagements. By some means, however, their design transpired; some of the conspirators were seized, put to the torture, and an ample discovery obtained. The two chiefs were banished for life, and forbid, at the peril of their lives, ever setting foot in the *United Provinces*. Several of the conspirators were condemned to death; but afterwards reprieved, and pardoned.

As the controversy could never be decided by arguments, where each party built upon the authority of the sacred writings,

writings, the contra-remonstrants solicited the states general for a national synod to sit under the direction of the states; they granted the request, as the most probable method of terminating disputes; but were opposed by the provincial states of *Holland* and *Utrecht*. Thus, not only the ecclesiastical, but the civil government was divided. *Barneveldt* saw the ruin that impended, and he endeavoured to divert it, by proposing certain ecclesiastical laws to be confirmed by the states. This scheme was projected several years before, but never carried into execution. It was now approved by a variety of members of the states of *Holland*, but rejected by others, until the religious controversy should be first decided. Whatever was done before this event, would, it was urged, be premature, and the laws would have the approbation only of one party. *Barneveldt*, however, meant to silence all disputation by the force of laws; but this was contrary to the interest and views of the *Orange* faction, who made a handle of the proposal, to the prejudice of that great statesman and patriot. He was accused of dangerous designs upon religion; notwithstanding which he carried his point in the province of *Utrecht*, and was in a fair way of subduing the rage of faction^d. At *Rotterdam* matters went otherwise. One *Giselius*, a violent contra-remonstrant, stirred up the people by his seditious harangues. He preached that it was unlawful to communicate with the remonstrants; he was admonished to moderation by the magistrates, but in vain. He was exhorted to hold a conference with his opponents, and to compromise their differences amicably, but to no purpose; he refused to appear, and continued his inflammatory harangues from the pulpit. The magistrates published a proclamation, declaring, that neither they nor the remonstrants were the authors of those factions which disturbed the public tranquillity, and forbidding the people to credit the calumnies published against the clergy. At last it became necessary to suspend *Giselius*. He was accordingly forbid to preach within the jurisdiction of *Rotterdam*. This was called persecution, the notion of which is attended with the worst consequences in a free government. His partizans caballed in private, became dangerous, and obliged the magistrates to order *Giselius* immediately to quit the city. He refused to obey, but was compelled, and ignominiously led through the public streets by a bailiff. The *Orange* party made an excellent handle of this circumstance. They exclaimed,

^d BRANDT, lib. xxv. UTEMB. p. 4.

that

that liberty was at an end ; that the magistrates usurped a power altogether unconstitutional ; and asserted, that the remonstrants were in the interest of the jesuits, and conspiring again to subjugate their country to the *Spanish* tyranny. However absurd the accusation might appear to all judicious persons, it was so artfully propagated as to gain credit. *Maurier*, a *French* writer of credit, then resident in *Holland*, relates, that so convinced was the princess dowager of *Orange* of the ambitious designs entertained by prince *Maurice*, that she seriously remonstrated with him upon the subject. He even alledges, that the prince endeavoured to prevail on her to gain *Barneveldt* to his purposes, assured that the consent of this honest patriot would easily pave the way to sovereignty. He further relates, that the princess closeted *Barneveldt*, used all her influence with him, and received for answer, that nothing could be more consonant to his wishes than the glory and elevation of the house of *Orange*, could this be obtained consistently with the liberty of his country. *Barneveldt* then expatiated upon the hazard of the project, which must necessarily terminate in the ruin of the family, and possibly of the commonwealth. In a word, he spoke with so much strength, energy, and pathos, that he entirely overcame the princess, converted her to his own opinion, made her a rigid stickler for liberty, and persuaded her to exert all her influence to induce *Maurice* to lay aside his purpose, and heal up those divisions in church and state, which could never produce any other effect than the destruction of all parties^c.

*Ambitious
designs of
prince
Maurice,
and stea-
diness of
Barne-
veldt.*

MAURICE, notwithstanding, affected to abstract himself entirely from the ecclesiastical disputes. When *Barneveldt* told him, that faction ran so high that the states of *Holland* must have recourse to him to assist their authority, he pretended astonishment, and declared his aversion to meddle in these matters. However, *Barneveldt* had too much discernment not to fathom his private sentiments ; which the prince indeed inadvertently hinted in the conversation about the remonstrants. The pensioner proposed, that the states general should be moved to grant a general toleration, with respect to the disputed points ; and that the clergy of each side, who were suspended, should be restored to their functions. To this proposition the prince, in appearance, consented ; and it was accordingly decreed by the states, assembled at the *Hague*, in the year 1616, that every violation of such general toleration as contributed to the

* Contin. de REIDAN. lib. xxvi. BRANDT. lib. xxvi.

public tranquillity, should be punished in the most effectual manner by the civil and ecclesiastical powers. It was further decreed, that if any fresh disputes should arise upon points hitherto uncontroverted, they should be decided by a majority in the provincial or national synods. These resolutions were, however, opposed by the deputies of the cities; viz. *Rotterdam*, the *Brille*, the *Hague*, *Benthuyzen*, and a variety of towns, where the people declared, they could not, with a safe conscience, hear doctrines openly preached, which must give offence to every sincere christian. It was not considered, that *Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Mohammedans*, were permitted the free exercise of their several religions in *Holland*. Still, however, the states pursued their first resolution, though they relaxed a little in favour of the deputies, on condition they would not suffer persons within their jurisdiction, who embraced the toleration, to be oppressed. In the end, the deputies were dismissed, with an exhortation to examine the affair coolly and deliberately, and to assist with all their influence in restoring the public tranquillity, which could be no great difficulty, considering that both parties were of the same religion, had the same form of worship, the same public ceremonies, the same manner of exposing vice and cherishing virtue, and differed only in a few points of little consequence to salvation, or indeed to society.

Barne-
veldt pro-
poses re-
straining
the liberty
of the
press.

THE excellent design of the states was, however, considerably obstructed by the pride and conceit of the theologians, who would not admit that any part of their system was capable of amendment; and by the secret endeavours of the *Orange* faction to lessen the influence, and blast the character of *Barneveldt*, as well as to diminish the authority of the provincial states of *Holland*. This purpose could not be accomplished but under the mask of liberty and religion, which ever work powerfully on the minds of the vulgar, who least understand them or enjoy their benefit. The nobles and magistrates of *Holland* were attacked in public writings; and *Barneveldt*, in particular, after forty years faithful service, was libelled as a traitor to his country. He had frequently represented this abuse of liberty to the states; but the point was delicate: laying any restraint on the press would enflame the minds of the people, and afford the fairest opportunity of declaiming against the government, to the fomenters of sedition. *Barneveldt* now gave in a draught of his plan for suppressing libels and inflammatory publications; but it was strongly opposed by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, notwithstanding their conduct

was

was the subject of the keenest satires and pasquinades which had yet appeared. They gave no reason for their opposition, only that they did not approve of renewing laws which had been repealed after mature deliberation. Nevertheless, in the following year, *Barneveldt* so far prevailed, that the ordonnance was published, though it was never put in force, or received by a variety of other towns^f.

SUCH was the state of parties, that the remonstrants were obliged to meet privately in some towns, and the contra-remonstrants in others. Wherever the faction happened to be most powerful, they seized on the churches, and excluded their opponents. At *Amsterdam* the remonstrants were weakest; but hearing that the states had in other cities granted the use of churches to the contra-remonstrants, upon their petitioning, they wrote to *Leyden* for a minister of their sect to preach the gospel in *Amsterdam*. One *Rembert* *The populace rise*
Bischoff was sent; and, on his arrival, the reformists met *against*
in a private house, to hear divine service, and perform their *the remon-*
devotions. Finding the place too small for their numbers, *strants.*
they hired a large warehouse belonging to a merchant; their opponents complained to the magistrates of their illegal assemblies; but obtaining no redress, they assembled in a tumultuous manner, during public worship, broke the windows, forced the doors, abused the minister, and threatened the lives of the audience. The remonstrants now, in their turn, complained to the magistrates, and demanded justice and protection; but they were answered, that the best method to secure themselves would be to avoid such meetings as incurred the resentment of their fellow-citizens. What encouraged the populace in their tumults, and made the magistrates remiss in the discharge of their duty, was, that prince *Maurice* had, about this time, declared in favour of the contra-remonstrants, and desired that a clergyman of their principles might be sent to preach in the *French* chapel at the *Hague*. The remonstrants were now afraid to assemble; they petitioned the magistrates for the same protection granted to other sects; they pleaded the toleration-edict, but obtained no satisfactory answer, though the magistrates were too cautious absolutely to deny their petition. At last they had recourse to the states; but the apprehension of involving themselves in disputes with the magistrates, obliged the states to shift off the matter, by recommending the petitioners to the burgomasters of *Amsterdam*. *Prince Maurice declares himself head of a party.*

^f BRANDT. *ibid.* LE CLERC, lib. ix.

*He refuses
to assist
the states
of Hol-
land.*

*Seizes on
Brille, &c.*

NOT only the open declaration of prince *Maurice*, but the conduct of *Dudley Carleton*, the *British* ambassador, encouraged the contra-remonstrants to proceed in a higher strain. They now threw off all respect for the states of *Holland*, and *Barneveldt* was grossly insulted in the assembly, by a person greatly his inferior in birth, capacity, influence, and integrity. Every thing contributed to the public confusion, and all moderate persons dreaded that anarchy and the dissolution of the government must ensue. The states were reduced to the necessity of imploring the prince's protection, which he artfully withheld, under various pretexts. He even issued several orders to prevent the troops from assisting the magistrates in quelling tumults and suppressing seditions. This induced *Barneveldt* to labour diligently in keeping the states assembled, as the only means of preserving the constitution. At last the magistrates of the several towns, seeing they could expect no assistance from the military power to enforce the laws, resolved to augment the garrisons and guards of their own authority, agreeable to the original laws of the country, as *Grotius* demonstrates. They communicated their intention to the prince; he was displeased, alledging it was an encroachment upon the prerogative of the governor of the province. Upon this pretence he quitted the *Hague* in the night, and set out for the *Brille*, where he introduced two companies of soldiers in despite of all the remonstrances of the magistrates. He had not acquainted the council of state with his resolution, which gave great offence to that assembly, as it was an established custom with the governors to take their leave in form. *Maurice*, however, disregarded their sentiments; he had now thrown off the masque, and resolution was necessary to obtain a majority in the states, by changing the magistrates in the cities.

ADVICE of the transaction at *Brille* soon arrived at *Leyden*; and the magistrates, apprehending they might be favoured with a similar visit, assembled the chief burghers, and formed the resolution, that, in case the prince should approach the city, a deputation should meet him, to request he would offer no violence to their privileges, by forcing armed troops into the city. The same resolution was taken by the magistrates of *Haerlem*, *Torgau*, and *Woerde*; but *Maurice* had by this time gained possession of *Delft* and *Scheidam*. Thence he sent circular letters to the cities of the province of *Holland*, justifying his conduct; but they

2 Apolog. c. 10.

were

were so ill received by the magistrates in general, that he was, more than ever, convinced he could never effect his purposes while *Barneveldt's* interest was so considerable; nor could this be diminished but by obtaining a majority in the states, by placing his own creatures in the public offices of the cities. However, before he made an attempt on the cities of the province of *Holland*, he made trial of his authority at *Nimeguen*, where, during the war, he retained the power of changing the magistrates at pleasure. Here he deposed three of the chief magistrates, who espoused *Barneveldt*, and favoured the remonstrants. The disgraced magistrates threw themselves under the protection of the states of *Holland*, and implored their assistance. Their request was granted, and the states immediately wrote to the states of *Guelderland*; but the city of *Amsterdam*, and some other places, interposed, and refused to suffer the letter to pass in the name of the states of *Holland*, because their deputies had opposed the contents ^b.

AFTER this transaction *Maurice* went to the states of *Guelderland*, informed them of what he had done at *Nime-guan*, and received their thanks and applause. Here his influence carried every thing; he exhorted the states to assist him in supporting the authority of the states general against the encroachments of the provincial states, and curbing the insolence of the city-magistrates, who had the presumption to raise troops, and act in a military capacity, in defiance of the laws, and to the destruction of all liberty. Accordingly, the states of *Guelderland* charged their deputies to the states general, to represent the prince's resolution to support their authority; but it appears that neither *Maurice*, nor the states, entertained a just idea of the nature of the government, or understood the laws of their country. The power assumed, in quality of governor, was by no means consistent with the liberty of the cities, which, for time immemorial, had enjoyed the right of nominating their own magistrates, and levying guards for their defence; the deprivation of these privileges could not therefore but excite a ferment, and raise suspicions in the breast of every friend of liberty and his country. As to *Barneveldt*, he was so much affected with the public disturbances, so anxious and solicitous about the fate of the republic, and so diligent in opposing the ambitious purposes of prince *Maurice*, that he was seized with a fever, which had almost deprived *Holland* of her most faithful and able minister.

^b BRANDT. *ibid.* Contin. de REIDAN. lib. xxvi.

On

On his return to the states, perceiving he could not stem the torrent, and that the prince would one day reek his whole vengeance upon his head, he desired leave to resign the office of pensionery, and retire into private life, where he might at least freely deplore the unhappy fate of a country, that, after foiling the whole power of the *Spanish* monarchy to enslave her, was now on the eve of falling a prey to civil faction, and the ambition of her own children.

A. D. 1614. THE great point now in debate was, whether a national synod should be held? *Maurice* attended the states at *Overyssel*, and there strongly recommended a measure which alone, he said, could terminate the disputes of the clergy: his speech, however, was regarded as a snare; he now appeared in a military capacity, in which it is allowable to ruin your enemy either by stratagem or open force. Of this the deputies of *Haerlem* spoke freely, at the next assembly of the states of *Holland*. They were the first who ventured to declare their suspicions, and their resolution to support the states against all enemies. To this effect they delivered a memorial to the states of *Holland*, to which their deputies demanded an immediate answer. The only point about which any difficulty occurred, was, the adjusting the contingents for supporting the expence of the government for the current year. *Haarlem* demanded that all the cities in arrear should make up their accounts before demands were made on those who had already advanced their proportions. At length those new disputes were wholly terminated by the prudence, the equity, and ability of *Barneveldt*. Something was likewise due to the spirit and good sense of *Maurier*, the *French* ambassador, who, by order of the king, demanded an audience. Among a variety of other topics, *Maurier* told the states, that, in his opinion, there remained only three methods of re-establishing the public tranquillity of the provinces; either open force, a general decision of their differences, or a compromise, in which both sides must relax. As to the first, no man, he urged, of understanding and honesty would recommend it; the second was attended with a thousand difficulties, which must arise in course of debate, where both sides were too much heated and enflamed to reason dispassionately; the last, in his opinion, was the only probable measure: a general toleration, until some better expedient could be found, would in the mean time disarm faction, and frustrate the schemes of those men whose ambition would be gratified at the price of public felicity and liberty.

THOUGH

Tho' the disputes in the states of *Holland* yielded to the remedies applied by *Barneveldt* and *Maurier*, it was otherwise with the provinces in general. *Maurice* remained firm in his sentiments, was too powerful to be openly charged, and too artful to disclose his purposes. He secured the *English* minister in his interest, and, with all the contra-remonstrants, demanded a national synod, as the only effectual application to a disease which must soon destroy the constitution. Upon *Barneveldt's* opposing this measure, libels, more bitter than any of the former, were every day published; and that great man was forced to have recourse to the justification of a conduct which merited the highest applause and deepest gratitude from his country. He published a remonstrance, in which he recited the particulars of his birth, services, and education; the cause of the present disorders, and the only means which appeared to him adequate to the removal of that malignity which affected the whole mass of humours. Corrosive applications, he said, were unadvisable; they irritated and enflamed the habit, without answering any of the indications, or touching the seat of the disease: such were the infamous libels, propagated to blight the fairest characters, and ruin those persons in the opinion of the people, who alone were capable of saving the commonwealth. He desired it might be considered, that the excessive malice and rancour contained in those writings could not be altogether leveled against him; they must have a deeper design; that of destroying the other faithful servants of the public, overthrowing the rights and privileges of the cities in particular, of the country in general, and annihilating the very shadow of liberty, and a republican government. The virulence, the calumny, and bare-faced falshood of the writers, evidently demonstrated by what religion they were animated. They did not even endeavour to conceal their sentiments, respecting the establishment, and made no scruple of avowing the violation offered to the liberties of certain cities, under pretence there was a necessity to use compulsion in chusing the magistrates. Were their professions of zeal for religion, and their country, sincere, they might have pursued methods more honourable, and consistent with the true spirit of devotion and patriotism; but it was much easier to propagate calumnies, than to prove facts; bold assertions were sufficient evidence to the vulgar; and, provided their passions were influenced, it was not necessary to convince their judgment. He concluded with again recommending christian toleration to all who remained attached to the reformed religion, and disputed only

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about

about speculative points unessential to religion. He laid before the states, an account of the public expence, besought them to contribute unanimously to the supplies wanted for the ensuing year; and then addressing himself to the deputies of certain provinces in arrear for their contingents, exhorted them to use their utmost efforts with their constituents, to remove every obstruction to the peace, and restore the unanimity, and felicity of the commonwealth^a.

A. D.

1616.

1617.

AN air of simplicity and candour, of good sense and public zeal, of deep penetration, profound judgment, and extensive knowledge, powerfully recommended this performance to every sincere patriot: it was however attacked with all possible marks of inveterate rancour, the author was loaded with abuse and obloquy, and even the states attacked with a degree of malignancy, which could not pass unnoticed. Accordingly they offered a reward for the discovery of the author, or printer of the libel, and took *Barneveldt* under their immediate protection. They were supported by the towns of *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Rotterdam*, the *Brille*, *Schoonhoven*, &c. By these instructions were given to their deputies, to represent at the next assembly of the states, the necessity of taking measures for preserving the freedom of electors, and the liberties of the cities, promising to indemnify the deputies, and support them with all their strength and influence. In consequence the states remonstrated with prince *Maurice*, on the present situation of affairs; they represented, that certain persons, meaning himself and the *Orange* faction, had, contrary to justice, and the mutual obligations into which they had entered, violated the rights and privileges of the province of *Holland*; that his highness was perfectly well acquainted with the duties of a stadtholder, which chiefly consisted in maintaining the sovereignty of the province, and protecting the general liberties of the cities and inhabitants; that the states were bound, in consequence of their oath, to preserve the government, and of their respect for the house of *Orange*, to support the magistrates and people, in the due exertion of their authority, against all oppression. They exhorted him therefore to assist their laudable endeavours; to use his influence with the other provinces; to protect and aid the authority of the states in ecclesiastical matters; to join with them in the most efficacious methods of terminating those obstacles, which occasioned so much grief to every sincere patriot; to protect in par-

^a Grot. Apol. cap. xx.

particular the province of *Holland*, against the encroachments of the other provinces, excited by the machinations of certain turbulent divines; to desist from demanding a national synod, so contrary to the express meaning of the treaty of *Utrecht*; to prevent the courts of justice from receiving orders and directions, contrary to the resolutions of the states; to oblige them to confine themselves within the limits of their instructions, without encroaching on the privileges of the states or cities; not to oppose the antient right of the cities, to provide for their own security by levying guards and garrisons, when the forces of the state were insufficient; to oblige the officers of the army to obey the orders of the states, the council of war, and the magistrates of those towns where they should happen to be quartered. They likewise requested that his highness would not attempt to garrison towns, or interfere in the elections of magistrates, without the consent of the states and council of war; that he would bestow no military preferments, and neither augment nor diminish the garrisons, without previously acquainting them; and lastly, they earnestly intreated, that he would give no ear to evil counsellors, who sought to aggrandize themselves at the expence of their country, and only regarded the republic and the *Orange* family, as the means of their own elevation; but always rely on the advice of the states, who regarded his honour and interest, as the honour and interest of their country. This method his father, the late prince of *Orange* of glorious memory, always followed, and he constantly met with the warmest returns of gratitude; secured the liberties of the provinces, and raised them from an oppressed, insulted, despicable people, to a powerful, formidable, and free republic. The measures here pointed out, were no less necessary, they said, to the good of the public, than for the security of individuals. They could not by any means allow the smallest violation of their liberties, which they were obliged by oath to defend with their lives and fortunes. Better it was, they said, to die honourably, than to survive the loss of those blessings which their ancestors and themselves purchased at the exorbitant price of their blood. In a word, they asserted, that if they were properly assisted by the influence and power of the stadtholder, they would undertake speedily to subdue all controversies which affected the public tranquillity, close up those wounds, which by habit would become incurable, restore order, discipline, and regularity to the state, and prevail on all the provinces to contribute their several

proportions, for the support of the government and common cause^b.

HISTORY does not inform us what reply *Maurice* made to this remonstrance ; we are only told that he was greatly shocked, but not moved to the purposes of the states, or convinced by their arguments. On the contrary, he assembled a great number of divines of his own faction, at *Amsterdam*, to assist the magistrates in drawing up reasons, to convince the states of the necessity of a national synod. This with another writing were presented, and clearly refuted by *Grotius*, who was too close, clear, and learned for his antagonists. It was at length proposed by the council of state, that three theologians from each province, should meet to adjust the conditions of a mutual toleration ; and that if they could come to no agreement in the space of a month, the protestant clergy of *Germany*, *France*, *England*, and *Switzerland*, should be invited to their assistance. The proposal was approved by a majority of voices in the states ; but *Amsterdam*, and the deputies of some other cities, opposed the resolution, and started a variety of objections. They were eager for a national synod, in which they were strongly supported by the provinces of *Zealand*, *Groningen*, *Friseland*, the *Ommelans*, and prince *Maurice*. This division among the cities, the powerful faction in favour of the contra-remonstrants, and the terror of *Maurice* in his military capacity, entirely destroyed the authority of the states of *Holland*, and rendered them incapable of prosecuting their moderate designs. Still, however, the council of state continued to urge their proposition, declaring null and void all that had been transacted in favour of a national synod. The council became now more than ever affected to the states, from the affront given them by the prince's departure to the *Brille*, without their consent or knowledge. The breach with the council of state considerably diminished the interest of *Maurice* ; but it did not retard any of his projects. Backed by four provinces, besides a variety of cities and towns, he expected to surmount all opposition, and to effect such alterations in the constitution, as would infallibly raise him to the sovereignty of the provinces. He made no scruple of declaring that augmenting the garrisons, suppressing tumults by a military force, in a word, levying troops for the protection of the cities, without the authority of the governor, were in themselves acts of rebellion. The

^b *Idem. ibid.*

truth was, this guard was an obstruction to his design of changing the magistrates. The city of *Utrecht* insisted upon an exertion of this privilege handed down for time immemorial, but to avoid altercation, the magistrates first sent deputies to confer with the prince and the states general. *Barneveldt*, in the name of the states of *Holland*, had an audience upon the same subject; but all his arguments could not prevail with *Maurice*, to suffer the garrisons to be under the direction of the magistrates, or to relinquish his project for retrenching the privileges of the cities^c.

Soon after these conferences, *Maurice* repaired to *Utrecht*, attended by three deputies from the states general. He was received with great marks of distinction, and the burghers were ordered to appear under arms. The magistrates and clergy waited upon him with compliments; and to the latter he said, that his intention was to restore the public tranquillity, by assembling a national synod, when all the controverted points should be canvassed, and their disputes finally decided. The reply was, that nothing could be expected from such an ecclesiastical court, where the parties were to sit in judgment, but altercation, debate, and confusion; they therefore intreated him to lay aside the project, as dangerous, and at all events inadequate. Notwithstanding this repulse from the clergy, *Maurice* proposed to the provincial states of *Utrecht*, the disbanding of the new levied garrisons, and the convocation of a general synod. The proposition being communicated to the deputies of *Holland*, they waited on the prince, and exhorted him to contribute to the repose of the provinces, to support the privileges of the towns, and to protect the public tranquillity, taking not the smallest notice of their suspicions, that he was labouring to overthrow the constitution, and execute designs very opposite to their request. *Maurice* was more sincere: he plainly gave the deputies to understand, that their arrival in *Utrecht* was by no means agreeable. However they held conferences with the states; after which the prince was told, that the guards raised by the magistrates were perfectly constitutional; and with respect to religion, that a national synod could not be convoked without detriment to the privileges of the provincial states, who were supreme within the jurisdiction of the province. After several fruitless negotiations, held upon the supposition the prince would not venture upon any alterations without

^c LE CLERC, lib. ix.

authority, at last his design was discovered, and the states unable to oppose, determined to connive at his measures. His authority was great in the army, and his influence general over the minds of the people, who regarded him as the bulwark of liberty, and the hero who had rescued the provinces from the tyranny of the *Spaniards*. Before the blow was struck, the members of the states, with *Ledemberg* the secretary, quitted the city, and repaired with all diligence to the *Hague*, there to expect the issue. Already *Maurice* had occupied the principal avenues leading to *Utrecht*, which he lined with soldiers. When he had assembled a sufficient force, he ordered the new levies raised by the magistrates to appear, upon which he released them from the oath taken, obliged them to lay down their arms, and disbanded the whole garrison. *Grotius* affirms, he had no authority for this proceeding, that the power was entirely in the provincial states, and that *Maurice* had considered their silence, their inability to appease him, and their abrupt departure, into an assent of his measures. Afterwards he went to the town-house, where he loudly complained of the injury done to his honour by those new levies, which deeply reflected on his integrity and patriotism. This was all the apology he offered for the grossest violation of the privileges of the city and province. He would pass himself for the protector of the church and state and indeed his conduct was so specious, that it gained the affections of the vulgar, who strenuously pressed him to assume the sovereignty.

*Maurice
offers violence to the
privileges
of U-
trecht.*

NEXT he procured a few of the burghers to accuse the present magistrates of abusing their office. This was sufficient reason for deposing them, and substituting in their room, the friends of *Maurice*, and the contra-remonstrants. Accordingly the prince proceeded to the election, or rather nomination of new magistrates, and to appoint a perpetual, instead of an annual council. All the remonstrants were turned out of their places. *Ledemberg*, secretary to the states, was forced to resign, and his office was immediately filled up by a creature of the house of *Orange*, after he had for thirty years served the public with unblemished integrity. A variety of alterations were besides made in the other several departments of the state; even the clergy were deprived of their stipends, and forced to evacuate the city, and many of them the province of *Utrecht*. The contra-remonstrants, encouraged by these favourable changes, demanded the cathedral church then possessed by the remonstrants. *Tau-*

rin

rin the minister, refused to comply: but he was soon obliged to take sanctuary under the wing of *Ledemberg*, with whom he retired to the *Hague*. Upon the secretary's being arrested a few days afterwards, *Taurin* escaped to *Antwerp*, to avoid the same fate^d.

ABOUT this time, by order of his master the *French* king, *Maurier* the *French* ambassador demanded an audience of the states general. He represented in lively colours, the approaching dissolution of the government, owing to the violence of faction, at a time when the expiration of the truce with *Spain* ought to make every part of the state unanimous. He threw out some reflections on the violence offered to the liberties of the cities, and said, that the provinces had wantonly lavished seas of blood, in resisting the tyranny of the house of *Austria*, if they were now to be enslaved by a faction of their own subjects. He recommended harmony in church and state, and exhorted the states general to exert with vigour the power lodged in in their hands by the constitution. The states, conscious of their inability, but ashamed to acknowledge their weakness, seemed embarrassed for an answer. Having no other reply, they thanked the king, told the ambassador the danger was not so great as he apprehended, and that they would take the most effectual measures to restore peace, concord, and regularity.

PRINCE *Maurice* having terminated matters to his wish at *Utrecht*, set out for the *Hague*, where he made report of the late transaction, and received the thanks of the deputies of the four provinces in his interest. The deputies of *Holland* were likewise exhorted, to prevail on the cities to disband the new levied guards; but it was obvious from their answer, that they looked upon the prince's conduct as an infraction of the privileges of the provinces. They perceived that the least tumult would furnish a pretext for similar trespasses in the constitution, and the means of procuring a majority in the states general, by rendering himself absolute in the cities, and of consequence in the provincial states. They concluded with saying, they would report the prince's request to their constituents, as the matter was of too great importance for them to determine of their own authority. They demanded, that, in the mean time, the cities of *Holland* might be left in the full exertion of their privileges; but they were served in a similar manner with those of

A. D.
1618.

^d BRANDT. lib. xxix. GROTI. Apol. cap. 20.

Utrecht, and even the cities in the prince's interest were not exempted from a variety of changes, introduced probably to shew his impartiality. It was not possible indeed to ward off the blow, because the stadtholder had the army at command, and the states of *Holland* were wholly disarmed. Besides, he took his measures with such prudence and art, as seemed even to have deceived *Barneveldt* himself. At the very time *Maurice* was projecting his fall, he was loading his relations with favours, and preferring them to very considerable employments. The pensioner's son was created master of the dykes and forests, a lucrative and honourable office. To the younger son of *Barneveldt*, he gave the government of *Bergen-op-zoom*, by which he placed in his hands one of the keys of the *United Provinces*. At last, the artifice, the power and address of *Maurice* rendered his party every where superior. He gained over to his interest *Francis Aersens*, son of *Cornelius Aersens* secretary of state, and long ambassador at the court of *France*. The violence, the ability, and vigour of *Aersens*, quickened the measures of the prince. His aspiring ambition scrupled no action which could promote his interest; perniciously bold, and detestably eloquent, he converted the noblest qualities to the worst purposes, ruined his country, oppressed innocence, and sacrificed patriotism, at the shrine of those ill-fated virtues, which might have proved the bulwark of liberty, and strongest barrier of the commonwealth. *Aersens* stimulated *Maurice* to what he was before inclined. To his counsel may be attributed the solemn synod assembled in the month of *November*, at *Dordrecht*, to which the states general, the provincial states of the *Seven Provinces*, the kings of *England* and *France*, the elector palatine, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the cities of *Bremen*, *Verden*, *Geneva*, and the protestant cantons of *Switzerland*, dispatched their ambassadors and deputies. Thither the *Arminian* party was cited, to explain the principal points in which they dissented from the established church.

BARNEVELDT and the remonstrants had long avoided this blow, under pretence that a general synod was a trespass on the privileges of the provincial states. They knew the intention was to render them little in the opinion of the people if they appeared; and if they refused to obey the citations, to expose them as public incendiaries, the friends of *Spain*, popery and slavery. The remonstrants refused to attend the synod; at last they published a long writing, in which they explained the chief points
of

of their doctrine, protested against the synod, and exhibited their reasons for refusing to appear in their own defence, before judges who were actually parties in the dispute. Accordingly their opinions were solemnly condemned, and the remonstrants were stigmatized as calumniators, who vilified the established religion, and attributed to the *Belgian* church other sentiments than those it really professed. *Aersens* wrote several pieces against *Barneveldt*, in which he boldly charged him with these designs. He was a spirited, artful, and fluent writer; his works were bought with avidity, they made a deep impression on the minds of the people, and so far influenced their passions, that *Maurice* resolved, before the public ardour cooled, to seize upon *Barneveldt*, *Grotius*, *Hoogenberts*, and other leaders of the *Arminian* party, whom he imprisoned in the castle of *Louvestein*, whence that faction has ever since borrowed the appellation (A). The advanced age, the long services, the moderation and patriotism of *Barneveldt*, now little availed him; even his writings, which clearly refuted all the allegations of his enemies, were either neglected, or read with a partiality and prejudice injurious to his reputation. *Maurice* procured an order of the states general for his imprisonment. His practices and intrigues had obtained a majority in the states; notwithstanding which, this order was signed only by eight members, particularly attached to the prince's interest. *Barneveldt* was accused of being the author of the disturbances at *Utrecht*, and of harbouring designs destructive of public liberty. He was tried by judges appointed by the states general, condemned to death by the most iniquitous sentence, and deprived of his life on a public scaffold, by the same blow which ruined the character of prince *Mau-*

The leaders of the Arminians imprisoned.

Barneveldt condemned and executed.

(A) In this confinement the learned *Grotius* remained for several years, when at length he made his escape, through the courage, the affection, and address of his wife *Reigersberg*. This lady had obtained leave to send large boxes of books to her husband, and to visit him in prison, which furnished her with a hint for his escape. She persuaded him to lie in one of the boxes, to be returned to his house. He was carried out

by the guards, without suspicion, though they complained of the uncommon weight of their burthen; he escaped to the *Spanish Netherlands*, passed from thence into *France*, where he was well received by the king. At last he was employed by *Christina* queen of *Sweden*, that liberal protectress of merit, and died at *Rosbach*, in the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, in the year 1645. See his life.

rich,

A. D. 1619. *rice*, and withered with the ardour of ambition those laurels acquired by long and important services (B). He lost his popularity and the affections of the people, when he hoped to obtain the sovereignty. Instead of being adored as a hero, he was detested as a tyrant. As he passed through the cities, nothing but murmurs and the name of *Barneveldt* could be heard, where formerly *Maurice* was received as the guardian and protector of his country. In a word, the death of *Barneveldt* laid the foundation of a conspiracy against the life of the prince, which was discovered only a few hours before the time appointed for its execution. The design was projected by *Satnlemburgh*, governor of *Bergen-op-zoom*, who with his accomplices, fell a sacrifice to patriotism and filial duty^c.

* LE CLERC, lib. ix. tom. i. GROT. p. Apol. 59.

(B) This terrible tragedy was acted in the castle of the *Hague*, on the 13th day of *May*, A. D. 1619, when *Barneveldt* was seventy-two years of age, fifty of which he had spent with equal integrity and ability, in the different employments of ambassador to the courts of *France* and *England*, and pensionery of the states of *Holland*. A medal was struck in honour

of his memory. All his virtues now, when too late, were approved in their full lustre. He was called a martyr to his country, the protector of liberty, the father, the friend, and the advocate of the provinces; in a word, his memory is held in veneration to this day, and his death regarded as the deepest stain upon the house of *Orange*.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the commercial affairs of the republic during the truce, the renewal of the war with Albert, the death of prince Maurice, the proposals of peace made by Isabella, frustrated by the French ministry, the treaty with France against Spain, &c.

The state of commerce at the expiration of the truce.

DURING the truce with the archduke, the *United Provinces* had paid the most assiduous attention to trade and navigation, which were astonishingly improved and extended, by voyages to *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, in all of which this indefatigable people had erected colonies, and founded settlements. The returns made by the *East India* company, alone were sufficient to aggrandize the state, and raise this infant republic to a degree of naval power

power, scarcely to be paralleled in history. Vast fleets, equal in strength to hostile armaments, returned with the richest treasures and spices of the *Indies*, the *Baltic* swarmed with *Dutch* ships, the flag of the republic became even well known in the *Levant*, and her shipping traded to the *Spanish West Indies*, with as much security as if the provinces were still under the protection of the *Spanish* monarchy. *Venice*, a republic the first in opulence and power in the world, gladly solicited the friendship of this new commonwealth, and was forced to make court to a people, whose industry was the ruin of her commerce, and the chief cause of her decline. The foundation was laid of an empire at *Batavia*, infinitely superior in wealth, power, and grandeur, to the republic of the *United Provinces*, where the providence of the *Dutch* seemed to secure a retreat, in case by any fatal accident their liberties should be destroyed in *Europe*^a.

SUCH was the situation of this republic at the expiration of the truce with *Albert*, a prince who, from his pacific and moderate sentiments, justly merited the appellation of *pious*. It was the archduke's sincere intention to have passed his life in tranquillity, and end his days in perfect harmony with the *United Provinces*. He admired the spirit of liberty, the independency and the industry of men, whom he otherways regarded as rebels and heretics; experience convinced him of the impossibility of subduing them, and he was taught by the dictates of sound policy, to put up with the loss of seven provinces, rather than hazard the ruin of the remaining ten; which formed all his dominions. But the court of *Spain* entertained different sentiments. Losses, defeats, and mortifications, had not yet subdued the haughty spirit of the house of *Austria*; and *Philip* could not support the thoughts of seeing so precious a jewel torn from his diadem. Thus the long cessation of hostilities which it was hoped would calm passion, compose resentment, and open the way to a durable solid pacification, had no other effect, than enabling the parties to resume the war with redoubled vigour.

PREVIOUS however to the renewal of hostilities, *Albert* sent *Peckius*, chancellor of *Brabant*; to the *Hague*, either to conclude a new treaty, or procure an audience of the prince. The superb equipage in which he appeared, gave offence to the frugal *Dutchmen*; it prejudiced them against whatever he could offer: but the extravagance of

Negotiations for a new treaty.

^a BASNAGE, p. 6. LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 73.

A. D.
1621.
Renewal
of the
war.

his propositions, which were dictated by the court of *Madrid*, were not even deemed worthy of a reply by the states general. The populace insulted the ambassador, and he returned highly irritated to *Brussels*. *Albert* beheld with uneasiness the obstinacy of the *Spanish* ministry; he endeavoured to palliate their demands, and grant a truce upon the same footing as the preceding. For this purpose secret agents were employed in *Holland*; but as *Philip* publicly insisted, that the provinces should enter into their former subjection, all the negotiations vanished in smoke. *Spinola* took the field with an army of 15,000 foot, and 4000 horse, with which he penetrated into the country of *Juliers*, ordering the count *de Berg*, with a strong detachment, to invest the city of *Juliers*, garrisoned by *Dutch* forces since the death of the duke of *Cleves*. He was well acquainted with the divisions in the provinces, and weak condition of the army under prince *Maurice*. *Berg* invested *Juliers*; but finding the garrison numerous and resolute, he converted the siege to a blockade, by which he reduced the place to the necessity of surrendering, in despite of the utmost efforts of the prince to throw in succours^d.

NOTWITHSTANDING this advantage, and the great superiority of his forces, the archduke was still desirous of an accommodation: he was on the point of renewing the negotiations, when he was seized with a disorder which carried him off, and deprived the *Netherlands* of all hope of an issue to their calamities. It was expected that the death of *Philip* III. which fell out about this time, and the minority that ensued, would have accelerated a peace; but the *Spanish* ministry, as well as the counsellors about the archduchess, found their advantage in the continuance of the war. It is likewise said, that *Spinola*, animated with his success before *Juliers*, with the distraction of the provinces, and the strength of his army, promised to force the *Dutch* in a few campaigns to absolute subjection. In pursuance of this design, he assembled his whole army with intention to invest *Bergen-op-zoom*, the strongest fortress in *Dutch Brabant*. *Maurice* penetrated his meaning, and took care to provide the garrison with liberal reinforcements of men, ammunition, and provisions. The prince had his head-quarters at *Emmeric*, whence he detached colonel *Henderson*, a *Scotchman*, with 700 men, who threw themselves into the town, in defiance of the vigi-

^d MEM. de Fred. Hen. P. d'Orange, p. 12, 13.

lance of *Spinola*. Soon after the colonel sallied out with a numerous party, on the quarter of the besiegers camp, commanded by *Baglioni*, general of the *Italian* forces. Here, after an obstinate conflict, he was wounded, just as he was on the point of grasping victory; his party, finding themselves unsupported, retired with some precipitation, and the colonel died the day following, deeply regretted by prince *Maurice*. Now the siege was pushed with great vigour, and the resistance was such as might be expected from a brave garrison, animated in defence of liberty, and assisted by strong fortifications. However, the prince, who was too weak to offer battle to *Spinola*, formed an enterprise on *Boisleduc*, which, he thought, would necessarily draw off the attention of the enemy, and interrupt, if it could not wholly suspend, the operations against *Bergen-op-zoom*. But he was soon obliged to abandon the design from a variety of untoward accidents. As yet he was not reinforced by the *German* protestants under count *Manfveldt*, and the duke of *Brunswic*. These auxiliaries were arrived at *Sedan*; but before they could proceed, it was necessary to fight *Gonzales* with a strong detachment. Upon this the count determined, and accordingly attacked the *Spaniard*, who received his charge with great intrepidity. After an obstinate and bloody action, in which the duke of *Brunswic* was dangerously wounded, victory declared for *Manfveldt*; the enemy retreated, and he was left to pursue his march unmolested.

A. D.
1622.

SPINOLA had prosecuted the siege with the utmost vigour, and performed every thing which could be expected from an officer of experience and ability. All those expedients which he had practised with success at *Ostend* were now repeated, and every stratagem of the military art exhausted; but the length of the siege occasioned great desertion in his camp; his army was exceedingly diminished, and the besieged encouraged to a more spirited defence by the late advantage gained by *Manfveldt*, which they hoped would enable prince *Maurice* to give battle to the *Spaniards*. *Manfveldt* had brought a reinforcement of 4000 horse and 3000 foot; and the prince had besides ordered his brother prince *Henry* to join him with his whole army. He was now at *Emmeric* with a body of 8000 foot and 1500 horse, opposing the designs of the count *de Berg*. Upon the union of all the different corps, the main army exceeded 20,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry, a force more than sufficient to compel the exhausted, dispirited *Spaniards* to relinquish the siege of *Bergen-op-zoom*. Accordingly *Spinola* broke up his camp on the approach of the prince of *Orange*,

Spinola
raises the
siege of
Bergen-
op-zoom.

and retired in so good order, that *Maurice*, who well knew his capacity, apprehended that this motion was a feint, only to lull him and the garrison into security. It proved otherwise, and *Spinola* had the mortification to see himself baffled, for the first time, in a siege which had cost him the lives of 10,000 soldiers, of the flower of his army. On the fourth day of *October* prince *Maurice* entered *Bergen-op-zoom* with thirty troops of horse, and next day he was followed by prince *Henry*, count *Ernest de Nassau*, and other officers, with whom he concerted the plan of their future operations.

SOMETIME before *Bergen-op-zoom* was invested, the governor of *Antwerp* laid siege to *Sluys* with 10,000 men, by express order of the archduchess; but the strength of the place, the valour of the garrison, and the dreadful inundation in which they overwhelmed the country, by breaking their dykes, and opening the sluices, rendered the enterprise fruitless, and obliged *Ignatio de Borgia* to decamp with great loss and precipitation. Nor was this the only attempt in which the *Spaniards* failed, during the tedious siege of *Bergen-op-zoom*. They laid siege to *Hasselt*, an inconsiderable town in *Overyssel*, and would have reduced the place but for the vigorous and gallant conduct of the burghers of *Haerlem*, led on by the captains *Olican* and *Vander Camer*, who pierced through the enemies camp, entered the town, made a brisk sally, and obliged the *Spaniards* to retreat with great slaughter, and the loss of their artillery.

PRINCE *Maurice*, having accomplished his purpose at *Bergen-op-zoom*, retired to *Rosendal*, and sent a detachment to invest *Steenberg*, which capitulated before the batteries were erected. *Spinola* too had retreated towards *Antwerp*, where he was joined by 6000 men just arrived from *Spain*, and the corps under the count *de Berg*. With this reinforcement he was superior to the *Hollanders*; accordingly he advanced within three leagues of the prince's camp, and offered battle, which the prince declined, saying, *He had come to relieve Bergen-op-zoom, and reduce Steenberg; he had accomplished both designs, and was satisfied*. Upon receiving this answer, *Spinola* turned off towards *Brussels*, and *Maurice* marched to *Breda*. The enemy resumed their operations, and the count *de Berg* was detached to lay siege to *Pfaffenmütz*, while prince *Maurice* was contriving the means of getting rid of his troublesome ally, count *Manfvelde*, who with his undisciplined troops, accustomed to violence and rapine, was desolating the provinces with all the fury of a barbarous enemy. At last the *Germans* crossed the *Rhine*,
and

and passed into *Westphalia*; when *Maurice* was in hopes that *Manfveldt* would have attempted the relief of *Pfaffenmutz*, the brave garrison of which, after a most gallant defence, and suffering extreme hardships, was forced to capitulate. The count *de Berg* repaired the fortifications, put a strong garrison into the place, and changed the name to that of *Fort Isabella*; but the works were soon after destroyed, in consequence of a petition presented to the emperor and diet at *Ratisbon*, by the magistrates of *Cologne*.

AT the time prince *Maurice* declined the challenge sent by *Spinola*, he was meditating an attempt upon the most considerable city in the *Netherlands*. *Antwerp* was the great object of his designs, and he took every precaution to draw off the enemies attention from this city. The scheme was so well laid, that, on taking leave of the states at the *Hague*, he said, *That God only could prevent the success of the enterprise*. However, it miscarried, through a train of unavoidable accidents, which human sagacity could not foresee. The fleet, assembled at the *Brille*, was locked up by a sudden frost; some of the vessels which had put to sea were lost in a storm; two regiments were shipwrecked; and thus the finest project that had been concerted during the war vanished into smoke. *Flanders* and *Brabant* must have followed the fate of *Antwerp*, the loss of which would have been a mortal blow to the *Spanish* affairs. Disappointed in a scheme upon which he had set his heart, *Maurice* returned, greatly chagrined, to *Ryswic*, where a conspiracy against his life was discovered. The author was *William Barneveldt*, grandson of the pensioner, who determined to revenge the ignominious death of that celebrated patriot. He communicated his design of assassinating the prince to his elder brother, the sieur *Barneveldt* of *Groenveldt*, exhorting him to join in his resentment, to assist in avenging the indignity done the family, and in ridding the provinces of a tyrant, whose sole aim was to acquire the sovereignty of the country, and subject the *United Provinces* to a more cruel slavery than they had suffered under the dominion of *Spain*. But *Groenveldt* received the proposal with horror, and used every argument in his power to prevail upon *William* to drop an attempt which must terminate in the ruin and disgrace of the conspirators. His remonstrance produced no effect; *William* was obstinate and implacable; his violent spirit knew no bounds, and he resolved to pursue his vengeance at the hazard of his own destruction. He engaged in the plot a number of *Arminians*, actuated by the same aversion to *Maurice*, and desire of rescuing their country from bondage,

Maurice is disappointed in his designs on Antwerp.

A. D.
1623.

A conspiracy against his life discovered.

bondage, as himself. It was determined to shoot the prince on his way from *Ryswic* to the *Hague*, and the conspirators had all their proper parts assigned them, the arms were purchased, and the day for execution fixed. Two of his associates, struck with remorse, discovered the conspiracy; the prince returned to the *Hague*, doubled his guards, and *Barneveldt* escaped to *Antwerp*, where he died some years after. Four of the conspirators were seized, tried, condemned, and solemnly executed. *Groenweldt* likewise was taken into custody, and condemned as a party, because he had not discovered his brother's intentions. It was not sufficient that he had endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt; he was beheaded, and considered by the people as a martyr to fraternal affection, and an innocent victim offered to appease the resentment of prince *Maurice* ^c.

The persecution renewed against the Arminians.

THIS opportunity was favourable to the *Gomarists*, and they did not fail to embrace it to renew their persecutions against the *Arminian* party. They gave out that the whole sect was engaged in the conspiracy; notwithstanding the edict of the states, which had forbid the revival of all religious disputes, they began publishing bitter invectives against the *Arminians*; and even accused a little society, formed for the support of poor sectarists, of a design against the government. It was affirmed, that the *Arminian* ministers, banished the provinces, had returned in disguise, and were exerting their utmost influence to excite the people to rebellion. In a word, they carried their violences to so great a length, and were so powerfully supported by the prince of *Orange*, that, by an ordonnance published in the month of *February*, in the name of *Maurice* and the states of *Utrecht*, the *Arminians* were declared rebels and enemies to their country; they were proscribed afresh, and a reward of 600 livres offered to whoever should accuse any of them of crimes and misdemeanors against the government, or designs upon the prince of *Orange*; nor was the reward limited to conviction: the accuser had his pay upon lodging the heads of his accusation in some public court; and by this a door was opened for corruption, perjury, and persecution. Armed with legislative power, the *Gomarists* kept no bounds; they not only abused the *Arminians* from the pulpit, reviling them with the opprobrious names of traitors and parricides, but they proceeded to persecute individuals, and to establish courts as iniquitous and oppressive as those inquisitions which had originally occasioned the defection

^c *Nuville Hist. de Hollande, tom. i. lib. v.*

of the *Seven Provinces*. The *Arminians* presented a petition, craving the protection of the states general against such unprecedented cruelty. They solemnly disavowed all knowledge of the horrid conspiracy with which they were charged; they remonstrated on the injustice of persecuting a whole body of people for the crimes of certain guilty members; they declared their having no relation, connection, or interest in the fate of the conspirators, whom they detested and abhorred; they urged their services to the states, and pressed that they might be tried by the laws of their country in the usual form, and not dragged before courts determined upon finding them criminal. The famous *Grotius* supported this petition with an apology for the *Arminians*, founded on the common rights of humanity, and the laws of the provinces; but this masterly piece, instead of convincing, served only to irritate the minds of the *Gomarists*. The states did not care to interpose, as the prince of *Orange*, and the province of *Utrecht*, had given sanction to the persecution. And thus the unfortunate *Arminians* were left a prey to the most implacable of all enemies, as they were actuated by the spirit of political and theological rancour.

It must indeed be confessed that the *Gomarists* had some appearance of reason for their persecutions, and that the prince of *Orange*, in particular, had cause for that implacable hatred he bore to the *Arminian* faction, who had long wished to see the influence of his family retrenched. All the accomplices in the late conspiracy were of this party; and *Slatus*, an *Arminian* preacher of *Bliswick*, now in custody, and actually engaged in the plot, had confessed on the rack, that all the principal persons of his persuasion were accessaries to the design of assassinating *Maurice*, and subverting the government. This evidence was extorted from him by the violence of the torture, and the hope given him of pardon; however, it left suspicions injurious to the *Arminians* in the minds of several men extremely moderate in their sentiments; though, when his declaration came to be read, it appeared a mere tissue of malevolence and calumny. He was therefore condemned to death; and a libel he had published the preceding year against the prince of *Orange*, ordered to be burned by the ignominious hands of the executioner^d. Several other persons were beheaded at the *Hague* and *Leyden*, only because they were *Arminians*, and conse-

^d NUVILLE, tom. i. lib. v.

quently supposed favourers of the violent measures upon which some turbulent, headstrong, and bigotted persons of the same faction had entered. The rigour of these proceedings was generally condemned; it was thought injurious to liberty, that attempts against the life of the prince of *Orange* should be deemed equivalent to designs formed against the government, which was actually acknowledging that he was the head of the republic, and in a manner the sovereign of the *United Provinces*.

*Treaty
with the
states of
Barbary.*

IN this manner was *Holland* torn with civil faction, while at the same time oppressed with an expensive, bloody war, against the whole power of the *Spanish* monarchy; and her commerce disturbed by the piracies of the *Barbary* corsairs, especially those of *Tunis* and *Algiers*. The states complained, by their ambassadors, to the courts of *Fez* and *Constantinople*, under whose protection the *Barbary* states screen themselves; but they could obtain no redress, because several of these claim a kind of independency, under the dominion of their deys, and prove extremely useful auxiliaries to the grand signior, and the emperor of *Morocco*. In order, therefore, to get rid of such troublesome foes, the states entered into a kind of composition with the maritime cities of *Barbary*, whereby it was declared, that the enemies of either should be regarded as the enemies of both. This agreement was purchased by a sum of money; and, to render it more valid, a treaty was struck up between the *United Provinces*, and the joint empire of *Fez* and *Morocco*. In consequence, they committed hostilities against the *Spaniards*, in which they were assisted by the *Dutch* and *Germans*; although the latter were waging an actual land-war with the states; for the emperor, without declaring openly against the *Hollanders*, maintained two formidable armies to assist their enemies, and, if possible, to reduce the *Netherlands* once more under the dominion of the house of *Austria*. One was distinguished by the name of the *German* catholics; it had been employed against the protestants of *Bohemia*, commanded by count *Tilly*, and was now ordered to advance into *Friseland*. The other, conducted by *Gonzales de Cordova*, acted along the *Lower Rhine* in the duchies of *Juliers* and *Gueldres*, and was composed chiefly of *Spaniards*, under the direction of the emperor. It was proposed to join these to *Spinola's* army, in order to form such a body of forces as should, at one blow, crush the rebellious *Hollanders*.

A. D. 1624. SENSIBLE of what was transacting among the enemy, the states endeavoured to ward off the impending stroke, by an artifice

artifice that succeeded. They again employed *Manfveldt*, and the bishop of *Halberstadt*, to make a diversion; furnishing them with money to begin new levies. With these auxiliaries it was resolved to carry the war into *Liege*, *Cologne*, and the catholic part of *Westphalia*, in order to draw the attention of *Tilly* and *Gonzales* from the *United Provinces*. They likewise entered into an alliance with *Betlen Gabor*, prince of *Transylvania*, in open rebellion against the emperor, with a view to employ the imperial army in *Hungary*; and by attacking the court of *Vienna* in so many parts, distract her councils, and divide her forces. *Manfveldt* began his expeditions, or rather his depredations, in *East Friseland* and *Westphalia*. He ravaged, pillaged, and desolated with the cruelty of a barbarian; respecting neither age nor sex, and robbing without distinction the indigent and wealthy. Encouraged by his success, the *Dutch* garrison in the little town of *Lippe* made irruptions into *Westphalia*, levied prodigious contributions, and inspired the states with a high opinion of the scheme concerted to divert the enemy, and an inclination to augment the irregular auxiliaries. With respect to the bishop of *Halberstadt*, the *Spaniards* opposed his crossing the *Weser*, and placed strong garrisons in *Hoxter*, *Hamelen*, *Rintelen*, and *Wecht*; but count *Stirum*, a few days after, took this last place by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword. These hostilities, and others, committed in *Lower Saxony*, produced an assembly of the princes, where a league was concluded for the defence of the circle. The bishop of *Halberstadt* was chosen captain-general of the forces of the circle, by which the powers in alliance thought to detach him from the interest of *Manfveldt* and the *United Provinces*. His brother, the duke of *Brunswic*, engaged to the emperor for his honour; and, in consequence, *Tilly* had instructions not to penetrate into *Lower Saxony*. To these promises made by the duke the ambitious prelate paid little regard. He saw himself at the head of a fine army of 19,000 foot, and 5600 horse; he despised the emperor's pardon, and drew upon himself the indignation of the court of *Vienna*, the allied powers of *Lower Saxony*, and the whole weight of count *Tilly's* forces. In consequence, he was defeated at *Statlo*, and his army entirely destroyed, except 6000 of the scattered remains, picked up, and retained in their service, by the *Hollanders*.*

Victory
obtained by
count
Tilly.

* Id. ibid.

UPON the bishop's defeat, *Mansveldt* retired to *East Friseland*, a province at that time disturbed by civil dissensions. In the city of *Embden* alone were no less than three parties; one declared for the natural sovereign, one for the emperor, and a third for the *United Provinces*. *Tilly*, who knew the ill treatment which the inhabitants received from *Mansveldt*, thought to profit by the aversion they entertained for that general and the friends of the bishop of *Halberstadt*, and for that purpose to enter the territory of *Embden* in conjunction with *Gonzales*. The *United Provinces* were apprised of his design soon enough to prevent it, by sending prince *Henry* and count *Ernest Casimir* of *Nassau*, with a body of forces, towards the city. A garrison of twelve complete companies was left in the town and citadel; the harbour was put into a state of defence, and the whole party for the emperor banished. This precaution destroyed all *Tilly's* schemes, and obliged him to retire to *Westphalia*, where he revenged the disappointment on the towns held in that country by the *Hollanders*. *Sparemberg*, and several places of less consideration, felt the effects of his resentment; after which he marched to invest *Lippe*, or *Lippstat*, the only remaining town the *Hollanders* possessed in *Westphalia*, and a place of the utmost consequence. The garrison, composed of *French* and *Dutch* soldiers, was numerous, and well provided. *Tilly* made regular approaches, battered the walls with great fury, gave the assault, and was vigorously repulsed; but finding that *Mansveldt* did not care to hazard a battle, the garrison at last surrendered the place upon honourable conditions. As the winter approached, the armies of both sides retired into quarters; and fruitless negotiations were renewed in this, as in every other preceding season. Before we resume the military operations by land, it will be necessary to give a short view of the naval transactions of the *United Provinces*.

*Naval
transac-
tions.*

SOON after the treaty with the states of *Barbary*, the provinces experienced how little confidence ought to be placed in the faith of pirates, who judge of right by power and the sword. Four *Dutch* ships were attacked on the coast of *Genoa* by the corsairs of *Algiers*, and three were taken after a long and bloody engagement. The fourth, determined not to fall into the hands of so cruel and perfidious an enemy, fought desperately; and the crew, finding all endeavours vain, set fire to the powder-room, and blew themselves up, with seventy of the barbarians, who had boarded the vessel. Nor was this the only loss sustained this

this year ; another of more importance happened, in consequence of a well-concerted plan of the court of *Madrid*, whereby upwards of an hundred sail of *Dutch* ships were seized in the harbours of *Spain* and *Portugal* (A).

BUT those losses, considerable as they appeared, were amply recompensed by the prodigious success of the *East India* company. The trade was extended, the settlements established on the most secure footing, the enemies colonies miserably harrassed, and their shipping entirely destroyed. Above sixty rich vessels were taken or sunk, and the booty amounted to upwards of two millions sterling, a remittance now made to *Europe*, to enable the provinces to support the war with vigour, and extricate themselves with honour out of a quarrel of which *Spain* grew heartily tired^f.

The naval operations of *Holland* were not confined to *Europe* and *Asia*, a strong fleet was sent to *America* under admiral *Hermit*, with instructions to penetrate to the source of those vast treasures, which the *Spaniards* drew from *Peru*, and their settlements on the southern continent of *America*. *Wilieken* had been detached with a squadron to *Brasil* about four months before. When the viceroy of *Lima* understood that a *Dutch* fleet was upon the coast, he immediately equipped a powerful armament, which he drew up in the port of *Callao*, on which he doubted not the *Hollanders* would make their first attack. *Hermit* was not discouraged by the superiority of the enemy ; they were more than double his force, but he boldly crouded sail for the harbour, and greatly astonished the *Spaniards* at his boldness, who were then preparing to give him chase, not expecting he would presume to offer battle. The engagement was begun by the two admirals, whose example was followed by the vice-admirals, and the conflict maintained with great obstinacy, until the *Spanish* admiral's ship, with

Successes
of the
Dutch in
South
America.

^f Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. x.

(A) It must be remembered, that, through the whole course of this war, the *Dutch* traded to the *Spanish* ports, as if they had been in entire friendship with the crown ; than which nothing can furnish a stronger idea of the attachment of the *Hollanders* to gain and commerce. It was no uncommon practice with them to supply

towns, with provision, that were besieged by their own armies ; and to furnish the enemy with ammunition, and other necessaries ; without which they could not continue the war. Their motive and their apology was, that they, by this means, kept in their own hands the profits with which other nations would be enriched.

800 men on board, was sunk, and the vice-admiral's burned. The loss of these two ships was succeeded by the destruction of nine more, six of which were sunk, and three burned. The enemy retired under the cannon of the town; *Hermit* pursued, and the action was renewed with redoubled fury. In the space of an hour eleven *Spanish* men of war were sunk, taken, and destroyed; and the consternation was so great in *Lima*, that had the admiral pursued his blow, he must infallibly have taken the town, and gained possession of the immense treasures lodged in the citadel. But he wanted to refresh his men, in order to attack the place with more vigour next day; by which time the viceroy had assembled a numerous army that rendered an attempt impracticable.

ADMIRAL *Willekens* arrived in *All-Saints* bay on the 8th day of *May*, and next day cast anchor before the town of *St. Salvador*, the capital of the country, and the residence of the *Portuguese* viceroy. His squadron consisted of nine large ships, manned with 1500 sailors and 2000 marines. All the soldiers were put on board the four ships that composed the van, in order to persuade the enemy that the other ships were equally crowded. *Willekens* landed with all his forces, drove the enemy from the shore, and obliged them to hide themselves behind the walls of the city; the vice-admiral, in the mean time, gaining possession of a strong battery that formed a kind of out-work, on a projecting rock. Next day they found the town abandoned by the inhabitants, and the gates set open; however, the garrison still continued in the castle, until finding that all resistance would prove fruitless, they surrendered. The town was pillaged, and vast quantities of rich merchandise sent on board, for the use of the *West India* company; nor did the soldiers even spare the churches, from whence they carried vast quantities of plate, and other valuable moveables. Colonel *Van Dort* was appointed governor of the town, and a strong garrison left to support his government. His first act was, to publish a manifesto, in the name of the states, allowing liberty of conscience to all who would take an oath of fidelity to the republic of the *United Provinces*. He then hoisted the *Spanish* flag, in order to deceive the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* shipping, and had the good fortune to seize eight rich merchantmen by the stratagem. *Willekens* dispatched three men of war to *Europe*, with an account of the success of the expedition. On their voyage they took several valuable prizes, and their arrival in *Holland* gave the
greatest

greatest satisfaction, as it was not doubted but the entire conquest of the *Brasils* would be the consequence &.

WHILE the *United Provinces* were thus victorious in *America*, the court of *Spain* was making great preparations to oppress them in *Europe*, and bring to an end a war which had hitherto served only to draw the treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico* into *Holland*. The designs of the *Spaniards*, however, created less uneasiness to the states, than the conduct of their allies, whose rapacity became more troublesome than their services were useful. *Mansveldt*, destitute of money and provisions, in *East Friseland*, kept possession of several fortresses, which he offered to sell to the states general for 300,000 florins; a proposal that was accepted, tho' extremely unjust, because his troops were expressly hired for that service. By this means the *Dutch*, who were already in possession of *Embsen*, formed a good barrier on that side against the incursions of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*. *Mansveldt* now resolved to penetrate into the bishopric of *Munster*; but, being defeated in several enterprises he had formed, his troops deserted so fast, that he returned to *Holland* with a number of officers, who professed themselves entirely at his devotion, and rivetted to his fortune. The severity and duration of the frost encouraged the *Spaniards* quartered in *Cleves* to undertake two expeditions upon the ice. They crossed the *Yffel*, entered *Velau*, and penetrated to the province of *Holland*, in which they had not before set foot for a number of years. By the other expedition it was proposed to invade the territory of *Drente*, and the province of *Grœningen*. Prince *Maurice*, hearing of the preparations at *Antwerp*, frustrated the design, put the fortresses into the best posture of defence, and employed several thousand men in breaking the ice at all the passages; yet could not all his vigilance prevent the count *de Bergue* from crossing the *Yffel*, with 40 troops of horse and 10,000 infantry, overwhelming *Dutch Guelderland* with consternation, and advancing to *Arnheim*, a place to which he laid siege. The garrison had been seasonably reinforced; it made a vigorous resistance; but the excessive inclemency of the weather gave greater obstruction to the count's progress, than the fire and sallies of the besieged. He therefore dropped the enterprise, and pushed forward to *Eede*, where he received advice that the prince of *Orange* was arrived at *Utrecht*, with all his forces, and 40 pieces of cannon. This intelligence broke all his measures, and he began to think

The Spaniards miscarry in an expedition to the provinces.

of an expeditious retreat, from an apprehension he should be shut up by the breaking of the frost, and exposed to famine, and the hazard of a defeat. He retired with precipitation, and repassed the *Iffel*, abandoning all the great designs he had formed, with the loss of near half his army, which perished by cold, hunger, or the sword; the *Dutch* garrisons in *Arnhem*, *Zutphen*, and *Deventer*, falling out upon his rear, and making prodigious slaughter. Nor was the other expedition very successful, though it bore the most promising aspect; it ended in burning some villages, and taking prisoners a number of peasants; the prince of *Orange's* diligence entirely confounded the *Spaniards*, who thought to find the provinces defenceless, and lulled in profound security.

STILL the old quarrel continued between the elector of *Brandenburgh*, assisted by the *Dutch* and the *German* protestants; and the duke of *Newburgh*, supported by the *Spaniards* and catholic powers, about the succession to the duchy of *Juliers*. The wretched inhabitants of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, *la Marck*, *Ravensberg*, and *Ravestein*, were equally oppressed by both parties; each of which endeavoured to support their claims at the expence of the country. This gave birth to a negotiation between the elector and duke, whereby it was proposed to compromise a difference, that tended only to desolate the people whom both called their subjects. A treaty was signed, and the parties sent the articles to the *Hague* and *Brussels*, to receive the sanction of the states, and the archduchess. But neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Dutch* chose to resign the towns they possessed in the countries disputed; and thus the whole negotiation was rendered fruitless, and the inhabitants kept in a state of grievous oppression.

*Naval
transac-
tions.*

A STRICT regard to their several interests, was the only particular in which the archduchess and the states of the *United Provinces* agreed. While that princess joined issue with the *Dutch*, in rejecting a treaty which would have restored peace to the territories of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, she was taking measures to repair the losses lately sustained on the ocean, and recompense the miscarriage of the late expeditions into the provinces. With this view she had collected a considerable naval force at *Dunkirk*, consisting of nine large men of war, and a great number of small privateers, with which incredible damage was done to the *Dutch* commerce. Besides a variety of other vessels, fifty fishing-busses, and an *English* man of war of 50 guns, were taken by the enemy; in a word, so formidable was this squadron, that the states offered a reward of 10,000 florins, and the benefit

benefit of the prize, to whoever should equip a force sufficient to take one of the larger vessels ; the same reward was offered for each of the nine men of war; and a proportionable gratuity for single privateers. Excited by these promises, a number of adventurers soon appeared ; and, among the rest, general *Lambert* ; who, with a considerable force, gave chase to six men of war, as they quitted *Dunkirk*, came up with them, and maintained a bloody engagement for several hours. He was killed by a musket-ball in the heat of the action, a great number of his people perished, and the whole *Dutch* fleet was extremely shattered : but the enemy did not fare better ; one of their ships, with the whole crew, went to the bottom ; another was driven ashore, and destroyed ; and the four remaining men of war sheered off in a wretched plight to the *English* coast. Though this engagement did not prove decisive, it however checked the ardour of the *Spaniards*, who now slackened greatly in their cruises, and appeared with more caution out of their harbours. The *Dutch*, however, fully ballanced the losses sustained here, by other more fortunate cruises on the coasts of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Barbary*. Among other valuable prizes, they took a ship laden with the plate, rich furniture, and money, of the conde *de Lemos*, viceroy of *Sicily*, estimated at 150,000 *l.* sterling^h.

THESE, and other misfortunes, obliged the *Spaniards* to have recourse to extraordinary methods to repair their marine ; for which purpose several *French* ships were detained in their ports, and the crews and shipping employed in the king's service. *France* remonstrated upon this violence offered to the rights of nations, but could obtain no redress ; and this furnished a pretext for a closer alliance between the *French* king and the provinces. Ambassadors were sent to *Paris*, and a treaty was concluded ; whereby the states agreed, on their part, not to enter upon any negotiations of peace, or even a truce, without the consent of his most christian majesty ; to associate the king's subjects in the trade to the *East Indies* ; to allow the free exercise of their religion to the *French* ambassador, his domestics, and the king's troops serving in the provinces, provided this was done in so private a manner as to give no umbrage to the professors of the established religion of the provinces ; and to revoke their treaties with the corsairs of *Barbary*. At the same time the states contracted an alliance with the crown of *England*, which never proved of any service, unless we ex-

^h NUVILLE, Hist. tom. i. lib. v.

cept the opportunity with which it furnished the *Hollanders*, of gaining possession of some *English* settlements in the *East Indies*, by the most insidious and barbarous conduct, which *James* was too indolent and pusillanimous to resent¹.

Preparations of the Spaniards.

WHAT rendered the *Dutch* more eager to fortify themselves by alliances, were the vast preparations making by the *Spaniards* and the archduchess in the *Netherlands*, where it was reported an army of 50,000 men would open the campaign. One division of this extraordinary force, was destined to act in *Brabant*, and to lay siege to *Breda*, under the conduct of *Spinola*. It consisted of 26,000 infantry, and 5000 cavalry. A second corps of 9000 foot, and 3000 horse, under the count *de Berg*, it was proposed, should attack the places held by the *Dutch* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, in the duchies of *Fuliers* and *Cleves*; while a third body was to form a flying camp, and make inroads into the provinces, by means of the *Vaal* and *Meuse*. The command of this camp was assigned to *Juan Bravo de Lagunas*. All that the states could oppose to so formidable an army, was a corps consisting of 13,000 infantry and 4000 horse, under the immediate command of the prince of *Orange*, and another of 6000 foot, and 18 troops of dragoons, conducted by prince *Henry*, but subject to the orders of *Maurice*. The former was destined to oppose *Spinola*, and the latter to cover the countries which the count *de Berg* was directed to invade. On the 16th day of *July*, *Spinola* quitted *Brussels*, and advanced with his whole army towards *Heusden*, which alarmed *Breda*, though he had taken every measure to conceal his real design upon that city. *Justin Nassau*, the natural son of *William* prince of *Orange*, was governor of *Breda*; he supplied the garrison in the most plentiful manner with provision and ammunition, broke down the bridges and avenues to the city, ruined the surrounding mills, laid the adjacent country waste, and destroyed whatever could prove useful to the enemy, or any way assist their approaches. Prince *Henry* used the same precautions for the security of *Rees* and *Emmeric*, and armed the peasants to defend the passes. In the month of *August*, the count *de Berg* laid siege to *Mundeberg*, garrisoned by *Brandenburghers*, and obliged it to surrender. Thence he marched to *Cleves*, which so alarmed the garrison, that, retiring to the citadel, they left the city open

¹ Vid. vol. x. Mod. Univ. Hist.

to the *Spaniards*, upon which the magistrates presented the keys to the *Spanish* general, and put themselves under the protection of the archduchess. Soon after the citadel surrendered, after a feeble resistance; and the victorious *Spaniards*, without regarding their promises to the magistrates, obliged the townsmen to purchase an exemption from being pillaged, at an enormous price. After taking an oath of fidelity to the archduchess from the inhabitants, the count formed several unsuccessful enterprises against *Ravestein*, leaving a strong garrison in *Cleves*. However he found means to reduce *Griet* and *Genep*, before he marched to join *Spinola*, who had by this time invested *Breda*.

THIS city was among the strongest and most considerable places in the *Netherlands*, being fortified with the utmost caution and ability, by the late and present princes of *Orange*. The citadel, which formed the residence of the princes of that family, was surrounded by a ditch of prodigious depth and height filled with water, and a strong wall, defended by three great bastions. The arsenal was celebrated for its extent, and the vast quantities of arms and military stores it contained. As to *Spinola*, he was perfectly acquainted with the strength of the place, and thought he should expose his whole army to imminent destruction, should he attempt an assault, before he had regularly carried on his approaches. He even resolved upon reducing the city by famine, as the method attended with least danger to his army; and accordingly begun with drawing trenches round for the space of four miles, erecting forts and redoubts at certain distances. He established his head-quarters at *Ginneken*, count *Issemberg* was posted at *Haggen*, the baron *de Balançon* at *Teteringen* and *Terbaden*, while *Baglioni* had his quarters at *Conniberg*, extending along the descent of the river *Marck*, over which he had formed a bridge of boats. The redoubts situated between the quarters of *Spinola* and *Issemberg*, lying betwixt the rivers *Marck* and *Aa*, were defended by the *Italians* and the *Lansquenets*; from thence to *Baglioni's* quarters, by the *German* and *Irish* auxiliaries; along to the quarters of *Balançon*, by the *Flemings* and *Walloons*, and the remainder of the trenches quite to that of *Spinola*, were defended by the *Spaniards*. Such was the disposition of the besiegers; every thing was conducted with the utmost regularity, and the court of *Brussels* entertained the most sanguine hope of success.

ON

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1625.

ON the other hand, the garrison, consisting of 7000 infantry, and several troops of horse, composed of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* soldiers, took the most vigorous measures for their own defence. The *English* were under the command of colonel *Morgan*, who had frequently distinguished his valour in the service of the states; the *French* directed by colonel *de Hauterive*, and the *Dutch* troops were subject to the immediate orders of colonel *Lohre*, though the whole received their instructions from *Justin Nassau*, the governor. The *French* were opposed to the quarters of *Spinola*, the *English* to those of *Baglioni* and *Balançon*, and the *Dutch* troops were posted in that part of the city which was fronted by the quarters of the count *de Iffemberg*. In this manner did this memorable siege commence. The first advantage was gained by *Baglioni*, who seized a large convoy of provisions and stores coming up the river, converting the boats into a bridge. This loss dispirited the besieged, and reduced them to a stated allowance of bread; however they were encouraged by the return of the prince of *Orange* to the *Hague*, after having retaken *Cleves*, and obliged the *Spanish* garrison to surrender at discretion. He now advanced to *Werkam*, and was contriving the means of diverting *Spinola's* attention from the siege of *Breda*, by a second attempt on *Antwerp*, which likewise miscarried, just as it was on the point of execution, though planned with the utmost caution and ability. Already the *Dutch* cavalry had gained possession of all the avenues to the city, the ditch was filled with boats, and several ladders applied to the walls in the night, when a *Spanish* sentinel discovered the design. Immediately the alarm spread, the garrison was under arms, and the governor had the address to order a number of trumpets and warlike instruments to be sounded in different parts of the city, to apprize the *Hollanders* that he stood in his defence. By this the prince's troops were seized with a panic, they conceived a whole army enclosed within, they abandoned their posts with great precipitation, and were deaf to all *Maurice's* intreaties and menaces, until they got beyond the reach of danger. About ten days after, the prince prevailed upon his troops to resume the enterprize; but it was then too late, and he perceived before he could approach the city, that the garrison was prepared. This obliged him to withdraw his army, after which he retired to the *Hague*, where care, chagrin, and disappointment, brought on a disorder that ended with his life, in the 88th year of his age, forty of which

which had been constantly employed in the service of his country. He was buried at *Delft*, in the tomb erected *Prince* for his father, regretted as the preserver of his country, *Mau-* and admired as the greatest statesman and warrior of his *rice's* age. Vigilant, indefatigable, penetrating, cautious, *death* enterprising and sagacious, he united all the virtues of a *hand* general and hero, with the knowledge of a scholar. Particularly learned in the arts belonging to the cabinet and the field, he had also made great proficiency in those more properly within the sphere of the gentleman and the philosopher. He had a taste for the fine arts, especially drawing and architecture; but his principal study was engineering, fortification, and those branches of the mathematics which relate to the military art. In these he was a master, having proved the speculative knowledge by long and assiduous practice. His camp was the school of great officers, where persons of the highest distinction, and the best soldiers in *France*, received the first principles of education. Ambition was his prevailing foible. This had led him into some violences inconsistent with the general tenor of his conduct, displeasing to his countrymen, and almost destructive of liberty. He gave birth to a faction, which had more than once endangered his life, that, to this day, continues to divide the republic, and will probably, in the result, hasten the dissolution of the government, the subjection of the provinces to some foreign power, the total loss of freedom, and that natural liberty for which the *Hollanders* had so long and so strenuously struggled. His ambition, however, was the weakness of a great mind; it sometimes shaded, but never concealed his extraordinary merit, his generosity and patriotism; like a cloud before the sun, it damped the ardour, but could not obscure the whole radiance of his glory (A).

WHILE

(A) When prince *Maurice* returned to the *Hague*, he left his army at *Rosendal*, with orders that prince *Henry* should join it with his corps, and the auxiliaries expected from *France*. The instructions to *Henry* were to attempt raising the siege of *Breda*, on the junction of all his forces; but this he did not live to see accomplished, and the apprehensions he was under for this city, which composed a part of the family-estate, increased his malady, and accelerated his death. There were only three particulars respecting his military conduct, which he wished on his death-bed had been otherwise. He repented of having fought the battle of *Nieuport*, which though it added to his glory, produced no advantage

*Operati-
ons of the
siege of
Breda.*

WHILE prince *Maurice* was busied before *Antwerp*, while he lay sick at the *Hague*, and during the general despondency that succeeded his death, *Spinola* prosecuted the siege of *Breda* with the utmost diligence and vigour. On his pushing his trenches near the bastions, the besieged began a terrible fire to retard his approaches, and sustained it with such vehemence and obstinacy, that *Spinola* was in hopes they must soon surrender for want of ammunition. But here he formed a false judgment of the prudence of *Justin Nassau*, who finding he could not accomplish his purpose, by the most terrible firing that ever was kept up, resolved to try the effect of water. With this view, he stopped up the course of the river *Marck*, and having formed a large basin of water, opened the sluices, swept away men, horses, and houses in an inundation, and overflowed the whole country. The chief force of the torrent fell upon *Spinola's* quarters, and he exerted his utmost ability to remove the consequences. He dug up large pits, and cut out ditches and canals to receive the water; but these being filled, and the whole ground covered over, so as to appear one uniform mass of water, served only to entrap his cavalry. The inundation was augmented by the rains which happened to fall, only the count of *Issenberg's* quarters remained sufficiently dry for the infantry to encamp in; a mortality among the soldiers and horses ensued, and of his whole army *Spinola* had scarce 12,000 men fit for service by the month of *December*. With these inconsiderable remains, lines of vast extent were to be defended, the works were to be advanced, the sallies from the garrison repulsed, provisions to be conveyed into the camp, and all this to be effected, while *Spinola*, who was the very soul of action, was confined to a sick-bed.

IN the garrison, an epidemical disease and scarcity, likewise prevailed; but the excellent regulations made, and strictly observed, enabled the town to hold out three or four months beyond the time expected. The magistrates

advantage to the republic. He blamed himself for not following the counsel offered him when he reduced *Sluys*, of laying under water the towns possessed by the *Spaniards*, on the *Rhine* and *Meuse*; and he taxed himself severely, for not taking

possession of *Spinola's* quarters before *Breda*, at the time the siege was forming. History cannot instance so few errors in the conduct of any man, who acted at the head of an army for the space of forty years.

bought

bought the corn, sold it to the bakers at a certain price, obliging them to sell the bread to the inhabitants and garrison at a price affixed, and returning the overplus of their pay to the soldiers. A variety of other prudent regulations were established by the magistrates and governor, such as we do not find equalled by any instances recorded in history, upon a similar occasion, and all evincing the steadiness, sagacity, courage and ability of *Justin Nassau*. A kind of rivalry appeared between him and *Spinola*, which should best fulfil their several duties. The *Spanish* general had himself carried about the works in a litter, he inspected and directed every thing, and displayed the activity of full health, at the time his life was in imminent danger from an acute malady. He ordered several breaches in the lines to be repaired, which the *Hollanders* had made by sap, with a view of introducing succours to the besieged, and drove piles into all the ditches and canals through which their boats could pass. He made drains, to clear off the waters of the river *Marck*, succeeded in a great measure, and, by dint of perseverance, vigilance, and conduct, surmounted the greatest obstructions. He was now reinforced with a body of 8000 foot, and 1500 horse, many of the sick were perfectly recovered by his extreme care, and his army again was formidable, amounting to 25,000 infantry, and 8000 cavalry. Nor was prince *Henry* idle, who now succeeded to the titles and dominions of his brother, and was elected governor of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Guelderland*, *Utrecht*, and *Overryssel*. He pressed *France* for assistance, and was joined by a body of cavalry under the conduct of the count *de Rouffi* and the marquis *de Rambures*. With this reinforcement, and a body of *German* infantry, he attacked the enemy's lines, and after an obstinate conflict was repulsed. He advanced a second time; but *Spinola*, who entertained a high opinion of his valour and conduct, did not chuse to wait for him in his lines; he marched out with the greater part of his army, seized upon a convenient post, and obliged the prince a second time to retire towards *Boisleduc*. Finding no prospect of being able to relieve the garrison, he sent a permission to the governor, to surrender on the best conditions he could obtain. This plan, which was signed with no name, fell into the hands of the besiegers, and *Spinola* sent it open, by a trumpeter, to *Justin Nassau*, offering him an honourable capitulation; but that intrepid governor suspecting the letter was forged, because it was anonymous, replied civilly, that a permission was not

not an order to surrender ; and that he should better follow the prince of *Orange's* intention, and shew his respect for *Spinola*, by continuing to defend the city to the last extremity.

By this time the garrison was diminished, by disease, fatigue, want, and hardship, to half the number ; but *Justin* put on such a countenance, as concealed his situation from *Spinola*. He frequently sallied out upon *Baglioni's* quarters, where the *Italians* were perishing with cold and hunger, the whole subsistence of the besiegers depending on the contributions raised in the neighbouring territories. This produced a mutiny in the camp, that could not be appeased without applying violent remedies, and executing within sight of the whole army the chief ring-leaders. One of the mutineers blew up *Spinola's* chief magazine, valued at 200,000 livres. Urged more by necessity than compassion for the besieged, *Spinola* sent a message to the governor, exhorting him not to force him to extremities, which might be attended with fatal consequences to a brave garrison ; but *Justin*, with equal art and dissimulation, answered, that *Spinola* was certainly ill served by his spies, as he appeared wholly unacquainted with the state of affairs in *Breda*, which was fully provided for a siege of several months, and defended by soldiers who preferred death to the necessity of surrendering. At that time the besieged were not informed of the death of the prince of *Orange*, they flattered themselves with the hopes of speedy succour, and were entirely ignorant of prince *Henry's* late disappointment. They wrote to the army an account of their miserable condition ; and *Henry* returned an answer, written with his own hand, and signed with his name, apprising them of the death of *Maurice*, the unsuccessful attempts made to raise the siege, and throw in succours, the great inferiority of his troops in point of numbers, the death of king *James*, whereby he was disappointed of a strong reinforcement ; concluding, that he left the city entirely to the discretion of the governor, and other principal officers. The contents of this letter struck *Justin* like a thunder-clap. He had hitherto artfully concealed the total want of provision and ammunition from the enemy, and his own garrison, except a few officers, and other persons in whom he reposed confidence. The colonels *Hauterive* and *Morgan* would listen to no propositions, saying, that the honour of their several countries were concerned, and that they were responsible for the conduct of the *English* and *French* forces.

They

They therefore required an express order from the prince of Orange to surrender, notwithstanding they pined under the united pressure of fatigue, scarcity, and disease. *Justin* acquainted the prince with their resolution, and he sent back an order to surrender, threatening with capital punishment whoever should disobey; but he requested that the garrison would first acquaint him by a certain number of fires, lighted up in different parts of the city, how many days they should be able to hold out. Upon receipt of this order, eleven fires were kindled; but as the prince had sent a duplicate of the order by the other messenger, and this fell into the hands of the enemy, *Spinola* was now acquainted with the desperate circumstances of the besieged. By this he likewise discovered the mystery of the eleven fires: a council of war was assembled to deliberate whether they should stay the eleven days, and then oblige the garrison to surrender at discretion, or immediately offer conditions worthy of so brave a corps. The Spanish officers were of the former opinion; the count de Berg and *Spinola* supported the latter. At last the marquis, determined to pursue the dictates of his noble generosity, sent such terms as could not be refused. The count de Berg conducted the negotiation. Two separate capitulations were drawn up, one for the garrison, and the other for the city, and both the most honourable and advantageous that could be devised. They were accepted, and the garrison marched out on the 6th of June, after sustaining a siege for ten months, whereby they were diminished two-thirds of the number of troops with which they began the siege; nor was the loss inferior on the part of the inhabitants. *Spinola* drew up his army to salute them, and surrounded by his field-officers, paid particular compliments to the governor, the colonels *Morgan*, *Heuterive*, and *Lohre*. He distributed money among the soldiers, ordered the sick and wounded to be treated with the utmost tenderness, conveyed the rest in the manner most commodious for them to *Gertruydenburgh*, and displayed all the sentiments of a hero in the regard paid to the valour and merit of his enemies. In honour to the memory of prince *Maurice*, he resigned the command after this memorable siege, sufficiently contented with having set bounds to the conquests of that great general, upon whom fortune seemed to frown for the two last years of his life.

Breda surrenders and Spinola resigns.

* LE CLERC, tom. i. NUVILLE, tom. i. passim. La vie de Prince Maurice, p. 56. Vie de Prince Henry, 4to. p. 22.
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THE surrender of *Breda* was matter of the highest satisfaction to the courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels*, rejoicings were made all over the *Spanish Netherlands*, and the archduchess, with her whole court, set out for the new conquest, into which she made her public entrance. She confirmed the privileges granted by *Spinola* to the inhabitants; and appointing *Balançon*, surnamed Timber Leg, because he had lost that limb at the siege of *Ostend*, governor, she returned to *Brussels*. Such a profusion of civilities were poured out on the inhabitants of *Breda* by *Spinola*, that the states general began to be alarmed at his conduct, suspecting he meant by his kindness to seduce other towns from their allegiance; but *Spinola* was actuated merely by motives of generosity. He admired and rewarded their constancy and fidelity, and simply followed the impulse of humanity, without a view to policy. However the states prohibited their subjects from all intercourse and commerce with *Breda*, which obliged the archduchess to renew former edicts, whereby all the *Spanish Netherlands* were strictly enjoined to maintain no correspondence, commerce, or connection with the *United Provinces*. The present edict differed only in one circumstance. In all former ordonances, the *Dutch* were termed rebels and traitors; here they were simply called enemies.

Naval
transac-
tions.

WITH this siege ended the campaign in the *Netherlands*. The year was no less successful in naval transactions, than in military operations by land. Here the *Dutch* were more successful. After the affair of *Lima*, admiral *Hermit* pursued his course to the coast of *Chili*, with intention to amuse the enemy, to persuade them that he had dropt all further designs on *Peru*, and likewise to cruize for the plate-fleet, which he expected would set sail by the month of *December*. Being disappointed in this last project by the false information of a *Spanish* pilot, he returned to *Callao*, manned eighteen boats, entered the harbour, burned nineteen *Caracca* ships, a great number of frigates, and was on the point of taking a galleon, valued at two millions of pieces of eight, when he was discovered by the light of the fire from the ships. Above an hundred pieces of cannon were pointed against him, and plied with such fury that he was forced to retreat. A second attempt was made next day; but the strong reinforcement sent by the governor of *Lima* rendered it fruitless; and *Hermit* directed his course to *Guayaquil*, the most commodious harbour in *Peru*; where an immense treasure is always lodged,

ready to be shipped on board the galleons. Here he embarked his troops, defeated the *Spanish* army, took the town, and seized the treasure; but, on his departure, unfortunately set fire to the place, which so incensed the inhabitants, that, in despair, they took arms, pursued the admiral, killed 500 of his men, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, the loss of his nephew, and great part of his booty. Determined, if possible, to revenge this disgrace, *Hermit* returned a third time to *Callao*, and planned such a scheme as must have inevitably destroyed the great galleon, which lay, like a floating castle, in the harbour; but his project was betrayed to the viceroy, by two *Greeks*, who deserted to the enemy. Thus disappointed of the main object of his pursuit, though upon the whole extremely successful, the brave admiral fell into a fit of melancholy, and died with chagrin; upon which the command devolved on his vice-admiral *John Hugues*, who contented himself with cruising for the plate-ships, between *Lima* and *Panama*, in which he proved extremely fortunate.

MATTERS went more untowardly in *Brasil*, where the *Dutch* fleet had been lately so successful. The reduction of *St. Salvador* was esteemed in *Holland* the most important acquisition made during the war, as it paved the way to the conquest of all *Brasil*; but as the *Spaniards* placed an equal value upon this town, they omitted nothing that could re-establish them in the possession. At the very time when admiral *Willekens* returned to *Europe*, imagining he had fully provided for the security of *St. Salvador*, by leaving a strong garrison of 2000 men, six men of war, several frigates, and great store of provision and ammunition; the *Spaniards* were equipping a squadron of 56 sail, under *Frederic de Toledo*, to drive the *Hollanders* out of *Brasil*. This fleet, manned with 12,000 soldiers and mariners, arrived before the town about the close of the year, and laid siege in form; *Toledo*, debarking with the land-forces, while *Juan Faxardo* was left with the fleet to block up the harbour. The garrison made several brisk sallies to obstruct his approaches, but *Toledo* sustained them with vigour, watched every motion and opportunity diligently, plied his cannon with great spirit and ability; and at last effected a breach, just as *Faxardo* had destroyed several ships, and reduced the marine to such distress, that the sailors mutinied. In these circumstances *Van Dort* died of a fever, contracted from the excessive fatigue of the siege, and the heat of the climate. This encreased the disorder in the fleet and the army. The *Dutch* sailors marched in a body to lay siege to the new governor, because

refused to surrender ; which obliged him to capitulate, and march out of the town, without being allowed the honours of war ; for *Toledo* had no idea of displaying the gallantry of *Spinola*. The garrison were transported to *Holland*, loaded with infamy, and the execrations of their countrymen, for having, by their own misconduct, occasioned the miscarriage of the most considerable enterprise formed by the *West India* company. All the soldiers and mariners were dismissed the service, and whipped out of the army ; several of the officers were cashiered, rendered incapable of service, and suffered to live in disgrace and obscurity ; and the new governor alone was promoted, for the perseverance and steadiness with which he adhered to his duty, under such embarrassing circumstances ; but his name is not recorded ¹.

*The states
assist in
oppressing
the French
protestants*

MEANTIME the states concluded a treaty with the *French* king, whereby they agreed to assist him with a fleet to oppress his protestant subjects, and block up the sea-ports held by the *Hugonots*. The prince *de Soubize*, and his brother the duke of *Rohan*, remonstrated to them on the iniquity of assisting a tyrant to oppress subjects of the same religion professed in the *United Provinces*, whose sole crime was, that they would not sign articles against their conscience, and profess a mode of faith, which they deemed little better than idolatrous. The cities of *Rohan*, the towns of *Montauban*, *Cayres*, and a variety of other places, sent deputies to *Holland*, exhorting the states not to enter upon a measure so inconsistent with conscience, honour, charity, and every principle of humanity ; they protested they would use their utmost endeavours to accommodate matters, and only requested that the states would refrain from hostilities, until the issue of the negotiations now on foot was decided. The catholic writers accuse the protestants of tergiversation ; they alledge, that the prince *de Soubize*, while the treaty was depending, and after the states general had consented to defer hostilities, set sail to attack the combined fleet of *France* and *Holland*. According to them, he pushed thro' the *French* line, and attacked the *Dutch* admiral in the rear ; who, after defending himself with great valour, had the misfortune to be blown up ². The truth is, the states general were determined to gain the *French* king to their interest, by the most dishonourable concessions. He had consented to augment his army in the *Netherlands* ; and they, in return, stipulated to employ their fleet against the *Hugonots*. They promised the protestant deputies every thing they required,

¹ LE CLERC, *ibid*.

² NUVILLE, tom. ii. p. 18.

and

and had, at the same time, dispatched secret orders to their admiral to join the *sieur de Manty*, the king's admiralⁿ. It was this junction, and certain motions made by the combined fleet, that alarmed the prince *de Soubize*, and occasioned the breach of armistice of which he is accused. The states laboured to vindicate themselves, by throwing the blame on the *Rebellers*; but time has not been able to wash out this stain on the reputation of a protestant republic, then waging a bloody war on account of religion.

NOR did this disgraceful treaty end in the single misfortune of a defeat. It was always disliked by the populace in *Holland*, who generally push their notions of religion, honour, and friendship, to a greater degree of enthusiasm than their superiors. The clergy in general, too, favoured the *Hugonots*. Some divines were so bold as to declaim from the pulpit against the late treaty with *France*. In particular, the minister of the *French* church at *Amsterdam* distinguished his zeal, and so animated the people, that they ran in a tumultuous manner from church to the house of *Hautein*, the admiral, which they pillaged and destroyed. They next pointed their resentment against the friends of admiral *Bruck*, a commander in the late engagement; many of whom they insulted and beat in the streets. These disorders were not opposed by the states, who were therefore suspected by the *French* of conniving at them; though, in fact, they were prevented from exerting their authority, from an apprehension of a general insurrection.

A. D.
1626.

THE loss of *Breda*, and the powerful army maintained by the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, rendered it necessary to divide their forces, and support *Manfveldt*, notwithstanding he proved so troublesome and expensive an ally. Perceiving that his forces were daily decreasing by numerous desertion, the states sent commissioners to *Emmeric* to review the remaining troops. They were found to amount to 5000 foot and 1200 irregular horse, which were to be augmented to a corps of 8000 strong, to act, in conjunction with the troops of *Denmark*, against the imperial army in *Lower Saxony*. While *Manfveldt* was employed in making levies, the bivouac of *Halberstadt*, with a detachment of four troops of incursions, horse and 600 musketeers, made a feint motion towards *Brabant*, and, wheeling suddenly round, surprised the town of *Ordinguen*, which he sacked and pillaged. Soon after *Manfveldt*, having completed his corps, and received a reinforcement of 2000 *Hollanders*, traversed *Westphalia*, ravaged

* Vid. Remonst. de duc du Rohan,

the bishopric of *Osnaburg*, and desolated the territories of the duke of *Lunenburgh*, because that prince had declined acceding to the league formed by the princes of *Lower Saxony*. Afterwards, in conjunction with *Halberstadt*, he cut in pieces a detachment of 500 *Croats*. From this time, to the eve of the succeeding year, *Manfveldt* acted separate from the *Dutch* forces. He found means, however, by the remittances of the states, to augment his army to 12,000 men, with a train of 30 pieces of cannon; with which force he penetrated into *Upper Saxony*, took *Zerbst* by escalade, and put the garrison to the sword. He then spread terror to the very heart of *Silesia*; but his infantry being cut in pieces by *Wallestein*, in an action near the bridge of *Deffau*, he marched with his cavalry to the marche of *Brandenburgh*, where he began to recruit his army. All this while the bishop of *Halberstadt* was making a powerful diversion on the *Wefer*, and harassing count *Tilly*, the *Bavarian* general's army, that great general being himself confined by sickness. The bishop profited by the opportunity; he hovered continually on the skirts of the imperial army, destroyed their forage, cut off their convoys, skirmished with their detachments, and proved a very troublesome enemy; when he was seized with an ardent fever, of which he died at *Wolfembutte*, to the excessive joy of all the inhabitants of the surrounding countries, who regarded the prelate as the scourge of the catholic religion, and a very Anti-Christ.

Revival
of religi-
ous dis-
putes in
Holland.

THE states were forced to act defensively during this whole year, which produced nothing memorable. The civil divisions which again appeared in the provinces, obliged them to rely chiefly on the vigour of their partizan allies. Notwithstanding the people already tasted the sweets of prince *Henry's* gentle, moderate, and prudent government, the *Arminian* party, animated by the death of *Maurice*, formed a design of revenging their late sufferings; and by the exhortations of their banished brethren, began again to revive, and shew their implacable hatred to the house of *Orange*. The more moderate among them, however, endeavoured to prevail on the party to try the effects of more gentle measures, by soothing the prince, and requesting that they might experience that favour which they had reason to expect from his repeated intimations. *Henry*, out of respect to his brother's memory, and from an apprehension of disobliging the states, paid little regard to their remonstrances. He contented himself with general testimonies of esteem for *Hugo Grotius*, then at *Paris*, and with releasing from confinement *Hoogerbert*, pensionery of *Leyden*. It is even supposed that
he

he connived at the fresh persecution commenced in *Amsterdam* and *Leyden* against this unhappy party. Here some persons of consideration in the government proposed, wholly to suppress Arminianism, and by prohibiting even the private exercise of the worship professed by the sect, and obliging them to subscribe to certain articles drawn up by the national church, at one blow to crush a faction which had caused so much trouble to the republic°. These measures were pushed with violence; they were opposed by all men of understanding, as equally unjust and impolitic; yet possibly the debate might have given birth to a civil war, had not the general attention been seasonably diverted by a more important object.

THE great preparations of the *Spaniards* rendered it necessary, that the states should act with the utmost vigour and unanimity. The departure of *Spinola* from the *Netherlands* gave the prince of *Orange* great hopes he should be able to retrieve the losses of the last campaign. He laboured diligently to put the army on the best footing, and had actually formed a corps of 16,000 foot and 4000 cavalry, which he commanded in person; together with another body of forces under the conduct of count *Ernest Casimir*, of 12,000 soldiers. With this force the count invested *Oldenzeel*, which he reduced in the space of eight days, tho' defended by the famous *Monelé*, a native of *Franche Comté*, in whom the archduchess had the utmost confidence, as he was the particular favourite of *Spinola*. On his side, the prince of *Orange* encamped near *Cronenburgh*, made a motion as if he proposed laying siege to *Wessel*, and erected a fort near *Isselburgh*, to obstruct the works carried on by the *Spaniards*, to cut a canal from *Rhimberg* to *Venlo*. His great design was, to reduce fort *Rieldrecht*, on the frontiers of *Flanders*; for which purpose, leaving the main army under the direction of count *Stirum*, he embarked a considerable detachment in 400 boats, collected on the *Vaal*, and set out on the enterprise, which was frustrated by the shallowness of the river, in consequence of a great drought. This expedition was succeeded by another against *Linghen*, in *Westphalia*, which likewise proved unfortunate. He now prepared to oppose with his whole army, the attempt to open a passage between the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*. During his absence, however, *Stirum* was attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner, by the count *de Berg*, who with an army covered the works. The conflict was bloody, and the chief advan-

The Spaniards defeated in an attempt on Sluys.

tage the enemy could boast was, that they made the *Dutch* general prisoner ; and retired from the *Dutch* camp without being pursued, with about four pieces of cannon. So unexpected a blow could not fail of disconcerting the prince's measures ; it likewise encouraged the *Spaniards* to form another project, little less important than the surprising count *Stirum's* camp. *Spinola*, who had not yet quitted the *Netherlands*, advised an attempt upon *Sluys*. Count *Horn*, with a choice body of troops, was detached upon this business, with orders to seize upon the harbour, the fate of which must determine that of the town ; as cutting off all communication would effectually reduce the garrison to the necessity of surrendering ; but the vigilance of the centinels disconcerted the whole scheme, just on the point of execution. The soldier, firing his piece on the approach of the *Spaniards*, alarmed the garrison ; all flew to the ramparts ; the count perceived he was discovered ; but, determining to push his way, he approached quite to the draw-bridge, and was there saluted with such a volley of grape-shot as put his party in disorder, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, his loss amounting to four hundred men, killed on the spot.

AT this time *Spinola* was at *Dunkirk*, waiting the issue of the attempt on *Sluys*. He was greatly mortified to find it had miscarried, and spoke with resentment of the rashness of the count in exposing his men to certain death, after he was discovered. This made him advise the *Spaniards* to moderate their joy on account of the prince of *Orange's* late disappointments, which had miscarried through mere accident ; their losses, he said, arose from misconduct ^P. It was here the court of *Spain* had erected an admiralty, of which *Spinola* was president. The new college, eager to distinguish its zeal, equipped a squadron, on occasion of the rupture with *England*, attacked the combined fleets of *England* and *Holland*, destroyed four ships of war, and carried a great number of prizes into *Dunkirk* ; but the *Dutch* soon repaired the loss and disgrace, by the defeat and capture of the large galleons, fitted out as men of war ; and several advantages obtained over count *Philip de Mansveldt*.

THE more effectually to stop the courses of the *Dunkirkers*, the states provided a fleet of fifty cruisers in *Holland* and *Zealand*, to which *Lewis XIII.* joined seven large men of war, the finest ever built in *France*. *Spinola* endeavoured to provide for the security of all the ports which he feared

^P *NUVILLE*, tom. ii, p. 30.

might be insulted ; and carefully concealing from the prince of *Orange* the scarcity of money, made such efforts as greatly exceeded expectation, and encreased the reputation he already acquired for activity and address in the most difficult conjunctures. The troops which he ordered to file to the frontiers of the provinces, alarmed the states general for *Bergen-op-zoom*, *Grave*, and *Flushing*, into which they put strong garrisons, supplying them with abundance of provision and military stores.

As soon as the rigour of the season would permit, the prince of *Orange* advanced with his army between *Nimeguen* and *Arnheim*. This obliged the *Spaniards* to recall the prince of *Issemburgh*, after he had been detached with 2000 men to join count *Tilly*, in *Lower Saxony*, against the forces of *Denmark* and the circle. It was supposed the prince would undertake the siege of *Wessel* ; to prevent which the count *de Berg* approached to *Gueldres*. *Henry*, however, either had no design upon *Wessel*, or he dropped it, in order to invest *Groll*, a town the most conveniently situated for the obtaining a clear, undisputable frontier. Success in the enterprize would likewise deprive the *Spaniards* of a place extremely conveniently situated for laying the adjacent territories of *Overyffel*, *Drent*, *Twent*, *Groningen*, and *Priseland*, under contribution. Thirty years before *Groll* had been reduced by prince *Maurice* ; was retaken by *Spinola* ten years after ; and now was besieged by prince *Henry*, with an army composed of 168 companies of infantry, 55 troops of cavalry, and a fine train of artillery. All the passes were immediately blocked up, and the trenches were formed with the utmost vigour. The garrison consisted only of 1200 men ; but it was augmented by a number of the inhabitants, who formed themselves into companies, and performed excellent service. Old *Dulken*, a soldier of great valour and experience, was governor ; but age and infirmity confining him to his chamber, he devolved the chief care upon *Verréiken*, an officer who had already distinguished his capacity. The count *de Berg* hovered round with his army, greatly incommoded the besiegers, and closely watched every opportunity of succouring the garrison, who shewed they were determined to act with the utmost spirit, by a sharp sally made on the quarter of *Ernest of Nassau*, which he repulsed after an obstinate conflict, though supported only by 15 companies of infantry. The trenches were opened on the 20th of *July* ; the siege continued to the 18th of *August*, when the garrison, perceiving that their repeated sallies answered no purpose but to weaken themselves,

A. D.
1627.

Prince
Henry
reduces
Groll,

selves, and that they could expect no assistance from the count *de Berg*, began to relax in their vigour. A wound which the governor received in the shoulder, the demolition of the principal works, the dismounting of almost all the artillery, and the great strength of prince *Henry's* lines, which were incapable of being forced, greatly disheartened the garrison. They saw the *English* and *French* auxiliaries pushing their operations to the foot of the wall, and colonel *Hauterive* ready to spring a mine, which would open a vast breach; this determined them to send a trumpet to the prince, requesting leave to give the count *de Berg* notice of their situation: this being refused, the brave garrison renewed hostilities, made a vigorous sally, and filled the trenches with carnage. Their attack was exceeding brisk, and nothing but the great superiority of the besiegers, and the prodigious strength of prince *Henry's* works, could have prevented this little garrison from cutting their way through to the army. At last they capitulated upon the same honourable conditions that *Spinola* granted to the city of *Breda*. *Henry* indeed rivalled the humanity of that great commander, and poured out civilities on the soldiers and inhabitants. Count *Stirum* was appointed governor, the old fortifications were repaired, and a variety of new works added^r.

SEVERAL enterprises which the *Spaniards* formed against *Zealand* miscarried; *Groll* was reduced, and *Berg* now appeared as unfortunate as *Maurice* and *Henry* had been the three preceding years. The prince of *Orange* pursued his advantages, and by several spirited attacks, and judicious operations, dislodged the enemy from all the posts they had to secure the navigation of the *Scheld*. He likewise harrassed them in *Westphalia*, in *Brabant*, and on the *Wessel*. But in the midst of these successes a rupture with *England* was apprehended. The *English*, on account of the depredations of the *Dutch* in the *East Indies*, had detained three *Dutch Indiamen*, which had put in by stress of weather into *Portsmouth*. To demand restitution, the states sent an ambassador to the court of *London*; and, to give weight to their negotiations, ordered a strong fleet to be speedily equipped, under the conduct of admiral *Orbel*. This produced the effect; a promise was given of making immediate restitution; and a plan projected for uniting the two nations by a more close and intimate connection. The intention was to secure themselves against the depredations of the *Dunkirkers*, who incredibly annoyed the commerce of the Chan-

*Treaties
with
France
and Eng-
land.*

^r LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 157.

nel. The allies agreed to fit out a joint fleet of an hundred cruisers ; but the terrible storms that came on in the month of *October*, and continued for several weeks, prevented the fleet from putting to sea, damaged them in the harbours, and dissipated the whole scheme, from which so much was expected. The *French* king laboured to dissolve this union between the crown of *England* and the *United Provinces*, for he was then busied in reducing his protestant subjects, powerfully assisted by *Great Britain*. The most expeditious method of effecting his purpose was, to renew the treaty whereby the states engaged not to unite themselves with the enemies of *France* ; nor was it difficult to procure this point, as the *Dutch* had now effectually answered the intention of uniting with *England*, having had restitution made of the *East Indiamen*, and relinquished the project against the *Dunkirkers*. The king readily allowed that the states should not commit hostilities against the *English*, notwithstanding they were his enemies ; and they, in return, engaged not to afford them any assistance, and even to refrain from supplying the protestants of *France* with military stores. Soon after, however, the states general, finding that their being restricted to conclude no peace, truce, or alliance, without the concurrence of *Lewis*, was injurious to their sovereignty, sent an embassy to procure an extensive and more honourable construction of that article of the treaty ; which, after some difficulty, was granted.

WHILE *Spinola* remained at *Dunkirk*, he continued to direct the operations in the *Netherlands*. Already the *Dutch* had found the happy effects of his not executing his schemes in person ; and now they entertained the most sanguine hope of a fortunate issue to the war, as that celebrated officer was recalled to *Spain*, and his authority distributed among a variety of persons, all unequal to him in point of genius and application. The government, and civil affairs, were entrusted to the cardinal *de Cueva* and don *Carlos Colonna* ; the count *de Berg* had the command of the army. But while the states were felicitating themselves on the prospect this change presented, they were alarmed by disturbances from another quarter, and the approach of count *Tilly* to *East Friseland*, *Oldenburgh*, and the bishopric of *Munster*. Sensible of the inconveniencies that would result from the vicinity of so troublesome an enemy, the states directed that the chief posts on the frontiers should be well secured. To ward off the impending blow with greater certainty, a new army, of 12,000 foot and 5000 horse, was raised ; with which count *Ernest* was sent to oppose the count of *Anhalt*.

Anhalt, lieutenant-general of the imperial army, and commander in chief of the troops of *Cologne*; but all this diligence and vigour could not prevent the enemy from gaining some considerable advantages. The young count of *East Friseland*, in order to pay his court to the emperor, found means to introduce an imperial garrison into *Shikufen*, and some other places, where the states had formed considerable magazines. This success elated *Anhalt* to such a pitch, that he summoned all the towns of *West Friseland* to submit; he levied contributions in *Groningen*, and exhorted the people to receive the imperial army; he made an attempt to surprise *Emdden*, in which the states kept a strong garrison, but was disappointed. Still more to alarm the states, *Tilly* marched another body of troops towards *Westphalia*, and the duchies of *Berg* and *Juliers*. The count *de Berg* availed himself of this favourable conjuncture, and threw in a strong reinforcement into *Linghen*, threatened with a siege by prince *Henry*.*

THE states imagining that the imperial army had some other object than renewing the disputes about the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, ordered a part of the army to file towards the *Rhine*, for the security of *Rees* and *Emmeric*. While the count *de Berg* was employed in *Westphalia*, they likewise made an attempt to surprise *Straßburg* fort, built for the defence of the new canal at *Venlo*; but they met with so warm a reception from the *Spaniards*, that they retreated with precipitation. This enterprise, though unsuccessful, hurried the return of the count *de Berg* to *Guelderland*, where he applied with diligence to put the canal in such a posture of defence, by redoubts and forts, as would deter the enemy from any future attempts. He also began two other canals towards the extremities of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, in order to prevent the incursions of the *Hollanders*, and particularly of the garrison of *Bergen-op-zoom*, whose perpetual attacks greatly retarded the fortifications which the archduchess was erecting at *Saint-Vliet*. But what chiefly incommoded the *Spaniards* was the presence of the prince of *Orange*, who continually passed from *Lillo* to *Bergen-op-zoom*, to cut off the communication betwixt *Saint Vliet* and *Antwerp*. With this view *Henry* constructed three considerable forts beyond *Lillo*, whence he often set fire to the new fortifications, and destroyed several valuable convoys of provision coming by water from *Antwerp*.

The various fortune of war.

IN all these expeditions and operations the *Hollanders* were successful; but fortune seemed to abandon them in *Marstrand*, where their forces were defeated by the count *de*

* Vie de prince Henry, p. 29.

Berg; nor did they succeed better by sea, the *Dunkirk* cruisers having taken above forty rich prizes since the commencement of the season. At the *Hague* these losses were attributed to the wretched situation of the finances, which prevented the states from keeping on foot a sufficient land-force, and equipping the necessary number of cruisers. This obliged them to make certain exactions in *Juliers* and *Cleves*, under pretence of procuring payment of a sum of money due to them from the elector of *Brandenburgh*. On the other hand, the *Spaniards*, who supported the claim of the duke of *Newburgh*, oppressed the miserable inhabitants with heavy contributions, under the name of taxes and the usual revenue, which they had a right to receive, while the war was supported at their expence. The people, equally oppressed by their friends and enemies, had recourse to the emperor's protection; and the court of *Vienna* was delighted with this fair opportunity of keeping the whole succession in sequestration, and of using *Cleves* and *Juliers* as their own property, until one of the claimants should be reduced to cede his pretensions. Mandates were immediately published, declaring his imperial majesty's intention, forbidding all hostilities in the duchies, and requiring all foreign troops to quit the duchies of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, and *Berg*, with all their dependencies. This declaration was followed by instructions to count *Tilly* to advance with his army to support the emperor's intention. The first act of imperial authority exerted, was the banishing the *Dutch* protestant ministers out of *Dortmonde*, and restoring the catholic religion. The same was done in all the other places possessed by the states, in trust for the elector of *Brandenburgh*, where the imperialists found themselves superior in power. *Berg* alone held out against the imperial commissaries, and protested against their authority, the magistrates declaring they would stand the consequences of a siege rather than submit. *Tilly*, perceiving their resolution, retired without attempting any thing against a little place which had shewn so obstinate an attachment to liberty. *Emmeric* and *Rees* were summoned, *Tilly* threatening them with all the horrors of war unless the catholic religion was immediately restored; but the garrison set him at defiance, and laughed at his menaces, perceiving that the prince of *Orange* and *Stirum* were both ready to succour them on the first motion of the imperialists. To shew the equity of their proceedings, the commissaries did not exempt the places in possession of the *Spaniards* from their visitations. Wherever there were protestant magistrates they were deposed, without regard

gard to the capitulation with *Spinola*; the catholic schools and preachers were restored; and the utmost violences committed in *Wessel* before the people could be brought to submission. The duke of *Newburgh* lent his authority to those measures; but he perceived they were pushed too far, and that the people were more oppressed by the imperialists than they before were by the *Hollanders* and *Brandenburghers*. He complained to the court of *Vienna*, but obtained no satisfaction; and protestants and papists were left to bleed under the scourge of the most cruel tyranny.

A. D. 1628. THE elector of *Brandenburgh* equally suspected the designs of the court of *Vienna*, and resented her proceedings. To prevent therefore the troublesome and dangerous consequences of a sequestration in the hands of an ambitious grasping power, the competitors entered into a provisional agreement for twenty-one years; whereby they stipulated jointly to oppose all who, under the mask of friendship, violated their rights; and to stand by the partition that was made at the last negotiation. But, sensible that they could not force the *Dutch* and *Spanish* garrisons out of the towns they possessed, ambassadors were sent by both princes to *Brussels* and the *Hague*, requesting that the archduchess and the states would withdraw their troops, which would cut off all shadow of excuse from the emperor for continuing his oppressions. The states and the archduchess had too long tasted the sweets of those possessions, to renounce them merely from a principle of equity; they therefore returned equivocal answers, and thus, a second time, frustrated the effects of a treaty between the candidates, and deprived the inhabitants of the felicity they had reason to expect from so reasonable a partition^r.

Several advantages obtained by the Dutch garrisons. WHILE this affair was in agitation, the governors of *Groll*, *Breford*, *Rees*, *Emmeric*, and *Soest*, entered *la Mark* with a body of troops, to oppose the joint forces of the emperor and the king of *Spain*. Having thrown succours into *Ravensperg*, they attempted to surprise *Ham*, relying upon a correspondence which they maintained with some of the inhabitants; but a reinforcement expected from *Stirum* not arriving at the place of rendezvous, the scheme fell to the ground, and their friends in the town a prey to the enemy, who put them to the torture, and, on their confession, had them hanged, drawn, and quartered, as traitors. The garrison of *Groll* had better fortune; they surprised *Rattingen*, pillaged the town, and carried off some prison-

^r NUVILLE, lib. vi. cap. 12.

ers of distinction, and considerable booty. The garrison of *Grave* likewise seized upon a large convoy going from *Brussels* to *Maestricht*, in which were rich presents from the archduchess to the duke of *Modena*. Several other garrisons, encouraged by the example and success of *Groll* and *Grave*, made inroads into the *Spanish* territories, levied heavy contributions, and returned laden with plunder. A detachment from *Emmeric* fell into an ambuscade laid by the count *de Berg*, but determined to perish rather than surrender; the soldiers fought with the utmost fury, and, after an obstinate conflict, totally defeated and dispersed the *Spaniards*. The states had licensed these depredations; the scarcity of money obliging them to declare all the plunder the legal property of the captors; yet they could not avoid giving ear to the duke of *Modena's* complaints for the loss of his valuable presents. It was ordered that all which belonged to the duke should be restored; and to gratify the garrison, the sum of 27,000 florins was given them, as an equivalent.

MEANTIME the new admiralty at *Dunkirk*, strictly observing the directions given by *Spinola*, became every day more formidable to *Holland*. The harbour was filled with rich prizes, and every day produced bankruptcies in *Amsterdam*. Their losses drove the *Dutch* merchants and seamen to despair; which made them enter into a league never to strike, but, if they found themselves overpowered, to blow up their vessels. To oppose the descents of the *Dunkirkers*, the states ordered all the coasts of *Zealand* and *Holland* to be carefully defended, for which purpose the boors were armed. Four thousand seamen were taken into the service, and all the natives of the provinces prohibited, under severe penalties, to enter into foreign fleets. A squadron of thirty *Dunkirk* ships was equipped, with orders to cruise along the *French* coast, and block up the harbour, while general *Van Dort* laid siege to the town of *Dunkirk*. A division of eight ships from this fleet having fallen in with a squadron of six *Dunkirkers*, a bloody engagement began; and, after an obstinate conflict, the *Hollanders* obtained a complete victory. One ship of the enemy was taken, and the rest so miserably shattered, that with the utmost difficulty they escaped. This success cleared the way for a fleet of rich homeward-bound *Indiamen*, which otherwise would probably have been taken. The siege of *Dunkirk*, however, went on but slowly; and it was at last proposed to block up the harbour by a chain of vessels faced with stone, and thereby made as strong as a wall; but, on trial, the project failed, and

and the projector was rewarded with ridicule. The *East India* company, however, lent their assistance to the government, to check the presumption of the *Dunkirkers*; and joined to the fleet already stationed before that harbour, a squadron of twelve fine men of war, which did not diminish the number of ships sent the following year to *Asia*; from whence we may judge of the great opulence of the company at this period.

*Naval
affairs.*

THE measures of the *West India* company were not less vigorous, and they proved more fortunate. They had taken a great number of rich *Spanish* and *Portuguese* single merchantmen; they had destroyed whole fleets in the ports of *Lisbon*, *Corunna*, and *Cadiz*; and now their admiral, *Peter Adrien*, with a squadron of 12 ships, fell in with a *Spanish* fleet in the gulph of *Honduras*. He attacked the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, drove their ships upon the sand-banks, and, after obliging them to strike, took out their valuable cargoes and the prisoners, set fire to the prizes, and arrived safe with his booty in *Holland*, to the great joy and emolument of the company. But the instrument destined by providence to remove the great disorders in the finances, to enable the states to prosecute the war with redoubled vigour, and to raise the *West India* company to a rivalship with the company trading to the *East Indies*, was admiral *Peter Heine*. This bold and active officer defeated and destroyed a fleet of *Spanish* merchantmen and men of war in the bay of *All-Saints*, bringing home so prodigious a cargo of sugar as lessened the price of that commodity at every market in *Europe*. Encouraged by this success, the company equipped a squadron of thirty-one ships, with design to intercept the plate-fleet. *Heine* was appointed the commander in chief; nor did his good fortune once desert him through the whole course of the expedition. In the month of *May* he set sail for *Mexico*, desolating, as he went along, the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*. He arrived at the *Havannah*, in the island of *Cuba*; where he expected to fall in with the *flota*, part of which was driven off by a storm to the coast of *Florida*, just as the ships were ready to put in to the *Havannah*. As to the *flota* from *New Spain*, it fell entirely into the hands of the *Dutch* admiral, after a faint resistance, and was valued worth 15 millions of *livres*, in chests of silver and rich merchandise. This was the richest prize ever made by the *Hollanders*; the admiral therefore thought he could not be too cautious in an affair which so nearly concerned the republic; for this reason he set sail directly for *Europe*, and arrived in *Holland* with

*The Spa-
nish flota
taken.*

with the loss only of one prize, and two of his own ships, that foundered in a storm, which rose just as he had entered the chops of the Channel. *Heine* was received with as much honour as the princes of *Orange* had been after the most signal victories. Bonfires were kindled in every town throughout the seven provinces, and the people flocked from all quarters to behold him as a prodigy. Nothing was to be heard but the ringing of bells, the roar of cannon, and the shouts of the multitude. *Peter Heine* was publicly entertained by the prince of *Orange*, in company with the king of *Bohemia*, the elector palatine, and the ambassadors of crowned heads. He had the honour of knighthood conferred on him; a civic crown, in gold, was wrought by the hands of the magistrates of *Amsterdam* to adorn his temples; and he was raised to the dignity of admiral of *Holland*, in the room of *William of Nassau*, killed at the siege of *Groll*, and with fuller powers than any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed.

WHEN the whole wealth of the *flota* was landed, an infinity of persons of fashion crowded to see the curiosity; which proved fatal to the prince palatine, and had almost been so to the elector, the barge in which they were being overset, and the young prince drowned. After a minute calculation of the value of the cargo, the directors of the company divided fifty *per cent.* among the proprietors; a measure that was most bitterly censured by all judicious persons, who wished well to the establishment. The money would have been better employed, as they thought, in establishing such a head-colony in *America*, as the *East India* company possessed at *Batavia*; and this was the more necessary, as the society was now engaged in a bloody war with the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, without enjoying a foot of land in the *Brazils*, since the loss of *St. Salvador* *.

THE public rejoicings, which continued at *Amsterdam* A. D. during the whole month of *January*, were at last interrupted by a tumult that arose, because certain burghers refused 1629. to obey the magistrates, who happened to be *Arminians*. The *Civil commotions* prince of *Orange*, who perceived the consequences to the at *Amsterdam*. state of keeping up the old factions, resolved to abolish all party-distinction, by supporting merit indiscriminately in the pursuit of public offices; it was supposed that by his interest the present magistrates had gained their election. This gave great umbrage to the *Gomarists*, who resented to see a

* LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 162. 167.

proscribed set of men, the old and implacable enemies of the prince's family, now taken into his favour, and placed upon an equality with those who had always supported his interest. The whole mob of *Amsterdam* assembled to espouse the cause of the citizens who had refused to obey the *Arminian* magistrates; and *Henry* detached a party of 1200 soldiers to quell the tumult, and take the chief mutineers into custody. At the next assembly of the states an ordonance passed, whereby the people were required to obey the magistrates, of whatever sect or religion they happened to profess themselves. The most riotous in the late tumult were confined, or mulcted in proportion to the degree of their guilt; and this severity so irritated the *Gomarists*, that great numbers retired to *Zealand*. *William Bogwert*, one of the most eminent, a person who was the tool of the *Gomarist* clergy, going out of the city, to execute the sentence of exile passed upon him, was met by 6000 people, weeping and tearing their hair, all pouring out their benedictions, and regarding him as a martyr to religion. On his approaching *Haerlem*, crouds of people went out to meet him as another *Stephen*, and a saint who had suffered for his faith; without reflecting that no true mode of religion can be contrary to the dictates of nature and moral virtue, which enjoin order, and a strict regard to the laws of society.

THIS sedition was scarcely appeased, when another, of a more dangerous nature arose among the seamen who had served under admiral *Heine* to the *West Indies*. They complained that the company had not only refused to augment their wages, but to admit them to any share of the immense wealth brought to the state by their courage. Filled with resentment at this usage, they began forcing and pillaging the company's warehouses, in which all the rich merchandise was lodged. A party of soldiers was immediately sent against them, but this would have proved insufficient had they not been gratified with a considerable sum of money; after the division of which they retired quietly, and again offered their services to the company, to assist in manning the new squadron equipping for a fresh expedition. This fleet was composed of sixty stout vessels, and destined to reduce *Peru*, *Mexico*, and the *Brasils*; in a word, all that was valuable of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* possessions in *South America*. However, the great expences of this armament did not prevent the company from advancing a large sum to the states, to enable them to pursue the war with vigour,

gour, and raise an army with which the prince of Orange should be able to make head against the enemy[†].

THERE could not be a more terrible stroke to the Spaniards than the loss of the flota. Already their military operations were at a stand for want of money, and the troops in every quarter were ready to mutiny. It was an additional grievance to see the money, with which they hoped to be masters of all the Netherlands, now employed to their destruction. The vast preparations making in Holland, since the month of February, threw the court of Brussels into despair. Many lords, and other persons of distinction and influence, took this opportunity of expressing their dislike of the measures of the administration, and the methods in which the war had been conducted. They threw the whole blame of the present misfortunes upon the Spaniards. To their jealousy they attributed Spinola's resignation, tho' he was the chief bulwark of the state; they accused them of rapacity, profusion, ignorance, and cowardice. The country, they said, was oppressed, depopulated, and enslaved; their bad policy excited the resentment of the natives, merited the contempt of the enemy, and would soon produce the loss of the Netherlands. They complained that all preferments were bestowed on foreigners; to them was committed the defence of the frontiers, and to them ought to be imputed the loss of Groll, and all the insults received during the last campaign; by which the inhabitants were reduced to beggary, the country desolated, and the court disgraced. The Spaniards, they affirmed, refused to obey the prince of Berg, the only person of high condition among them, who was capable of conducting an army. It was the business of the prince of Orange to profit by these divisions at the court of Brussels, and the difficulty of putting the troops in motion; nor did he let slip the opportunity. Marching his army towards the frontiers of Brabant, he reviewed his whole force at Nimeguen, including the troops of France and England; sent his artillery and baggage to the Meuse, and publicly confessed his design of laying siege to Boisleduc. His army amounted to 32,000 men, divided into 43 battalions, and 3 large brigades, besides a reinforcement of 6000 men, sent afterwards by the states, with a train of 60 pieces of cannon. The town was invested in the night of the 30th of April; though the governor Anthony Sebets could not be persuaded, till the next morning, that the enemy would be so rash as to attack a place of such

State of
the Span-
ish af-
fairs.

Prince
Henry in-
vests
Boisleduc.

[†] Idem. ibid.

strength and importance. *Boisleduc*, called the *Maid of Brabant*, because it had never surrendered, though often besieged, was so regularly fortified as to be deemed impregnable. It was scarce accessible on account of the dykes and marshes with which it was surrounded, and required a large army completely to invest the vast extent of walls, fortified with seven strong bastions, defended by an immense wet ditch with canals and sluices, by means of which the water might be admitted or excluded at pleasure, and the whole country, if necessary, laid under water. A variety of strong out-works obstructed the approach of an enemy; and nothing was wanting, that art or nature could give, to render this the most impregnable town in the *Netherlands*. Prince *Henry* fixed his quarters opposite to the center of the town, at the village of *Vucht*, behind fort *Isabella*. Under him served immediately the *French*, and part of the *English* forces. Count *Ernest Casimir* was posted to the north-east, at the village of *Hintem*; count *William of Nassau* had his quarters on the north side; the baron *Brederode* directed the siege to the south-east; count *Solms* was situated at the village of *Ingelen*, with the stores of provision and ammunition; while general *Pinsen* presided at the operations carrying on to the westward of *Boisleduc*."

ALL *Brabant* was overwhelmed with consternation, and the court of *Brussels* in the utmost perturbation, upon advice that prince *Henry* had begun his approaches. The most pressing messages were dispatched to *Spain* for money, ammunition, and the requisites for putting the troops in motion. *Schets*, tho' labouring under a thousand discouraging circumstances, destitute of officers, and a sufficient garrison, determined to make a vigorous defence; well knowing the importance of his trust. With the prince of *Orange's* permission, he sent away all the women, children, and others, who served only to consume provisions; and placed his whole confidence in a garrison not exceeding 2300 infantry, and six troops of cavalry; notwithstanding several companies of burghers had formed themselves under his banners. He omitted practising nothing which long experience had taught him was necessary for his defence, resolving to maintain the great reputation he acquired by a series of faithful, important services. A seasonable reinforcement of 800 men, from *Breda*, slipped in with much address, on the fifth night of the siege, and greatly animated the garrison and governor. The prince laboured to deprive them of all

" *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. 14,

future succours, and pushed his works with the utmost vigour, assisted by the peasants in the neighbourhood. In ten days his camp was surrounded by a deep ditch, which received the waters of three rivers, whereby the troops were supplied with all manner of provisions with ease and security. He began to build a great number of forts and batteries, in order to cut off the enemy from any communication with the river, in which he succeeded beyond expectation; turning the waters, intended for the defence of the town, to the great inconvenience of the garrison. For fifteen days had the besieged regarded the progress of these works without giving any considerable annoyance, from an apprehension of exhausting their ammunition. Great quantities of powder had been damaged by the influx of the waters into the town; so that the first sallies were made sword-in-hand, without the use of firelocks. The governor, to prevent the soldiers from being dispirited, pretended that this was matter of choice, carefully concealing his great want of ammunition; and the troops, glad of an opportunity of shewing their valour, always behaved with the utmost gallantry (A). The batteries and trenches being finished, prince *Henry* played with fury against the forts *Isabella* and *St. Antonio*. The marshal *Chatillon*, at the head of the *French*, drove the garrison from their out-works, on the first day of *June*, and pursued them quite to the gates of the town. Another body of *French*, commanded by *Hauterive*, lodged themselves in the counterscarp of fort *Isabella*, and were attacking the horn-work. The viscount *Turenne*, who was nephew to the prince of *Orange*, served at this siege, commanded a company of foot, and signalised himself in so extraordinary a manner as attracted the attention of the whole army. In every desperate attack, in every difficult situation, there the young warrior presented himself, with all the calmness of a philosopher. To him it was owing that another corps of 600 men, from *Breda*, had not entered *Baileduc*; with a party of 300 men he totally defeated the enemy, and conti-

(A) We are credibly informed that the gallant marshal *Kaib* made use of the same stratagem, to conceal his want of ammunition, in that unfortunate action in which he was slain, in the service of his *Prussian* majesty; and that it was

attended with singular success. When the sword or bayonet are used, the soldier naturally imagines he has a better opportunity of distinguishing his address and courage, than when the whole depends upon leveling a musket.

nued the pursuit, notwithstanding two painful wounds he had received. The *French* and *English* were rivals on this occasion; the officers, and even the private men, being animated with a desire of particularly distinguishing themselves; yet, as no breach could be effected, no other opportunity offered than when the enemy sallied.

AT last fatigue, and repeated sallies, had greatly diminished the number of the garrison, when their spirits were suddenly revived, by the approach of count *Henry de Berg*, with an army of 25,000 men. The count attacked the entrenchments of the besiegers, and met with a warm reception. In three successive attempts upon the camp he was foiled, and driven back with great slaughter; upon which he retired to join *Montecuculi*, who had entered *Cleves* with an army of 14,000 foot and 3000 horse. *Henry* found, by intercepted letters, that the design was to make a considerable diversion; for this reason he ordered *Grave* to be put in a state of defence, and directed the states to secure all the passes and avenues to the provinces. He then pushed his operations with so much spirit, that fort *Isabella* surrendered on the 18th of *July*, and fort *Antonio* the succeeding day, after the besieged had made two desperate sallies, in which the trenches were filled with carnage. The garrison, having done every thing that valour and conduct could effect, retired in good order to the town, and there seconded the endeavours of the brave governor. By the surrender of these two forts, reduced to heaps of ashes, they were at liberty to approach the town, and to point their cannon directly against the walls. *Schets*, who wanted men, powder, and provision, laboured to destroy his works. The most vigorous sallies were made, but to little purpose; the great superiority of the besiegers repulsing every attempt.

MEANTIME count *Stirum* was detached with 4000 foot and 1200 horse, to oppose count *Berg*, who was meditating an invasion of the provinces. He crossed the *Yssel* without resistance, but was vigorously attacked in the rear by *Stirum*. Not long after *Stirum* was reinforced by 3000 men, from the camp before *Boisleduc*, with which he ventured to give battle, on the banks of the *Yssel*, to a corps of 10,000 *Spaniards*, under the conduct of *Dulkens*, late governor of *Groll*. The action was bloody and obstinate, for the space of ten hours, when, most of the *Dutch* officers being wounded, the count was obliged to retire with great loss. He had, however, the precaution to break down the dykes

* *Vie de prince Henry*, p. 142.

behind him, by which means he obstructed the enemies march into the provinces, overwhelmed with the terror of of an invasion. On advice of *Stirum's* defeat, the prince of *Orange* quitted the camp with more than half his army, and was soon joined by several corps of auxiliaries, troops drawn from the garrisons, and new-levied forces ; so that his army amounted to 22,000 men, besides the troops left to carry on the siege. The enemy made excursions almost to the gates of *Amsterdam* ; but they were soon thrown into despondency by the reduction of *Wesel*, which was surprised by the governor of *Emmeric*, and the garrison put to the sword, all except the governor, *Lozanne*, who was set at liberty, and soon after beheaded at *Brussels*, by order of the archduchess, for having, by his remissness, occasioned the loss of so valuable a city. The reduction of *Wesel*, in which the enemy had all their magazines, obliged them to raise the siege of *Hattem*, abandon *Amersford*, evacuate the territory of *Velaw*, and repass the *Yssel* with precipitation ; joined to the divisions among the general officers, it rendered fruitless the vast expence of raising an army of 30,000 men, the last effort of *Spain* against the *United Provinces*, and enabled prince *Henry* to push the siege of *Boisleduc* without interruption.

STILL the garrison of this place, though cut off from all hope of relief, continued to make a vigorous defence ; but the burghers and clergy, terrified with the effects of bombs and mines, besought the magistrates, with tears in their eyes, to avoid being pillaged, by requiring a capitulation. Moved with their distress, the magistrates resolved to grant their request, should the governor remain obstinate in refusing honourable conditions. *Schets* paid little regard to the safety of the town ; his whole aim was to gain reputation, and make such a defence as should deserve to be recorded to future ages. Though he had powder but for a few rounds, notwithstanding his garrison was quite spent, emaciated, and diminished to a third of the number, he would have stood the consequences of an assault, after several practicable breaches had been made, were not the magistrates resolute to surrender the city. This obliged him to accept the advantageous proposals, and the military honours offered by the prince. Accordingly the garrison marched out, and was conducted to *Diest* ; and as to the inhabitants, they were confirmed in all their privileges, and liberty of conscience was permitted. Thus ended the siege of *Boisleduc*, by which the reputation of prince *Henry* was raised to an equality with that of prince *Maurice*, and of the first

The Dutch
every
where
victorious.

Boisleduc
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ers.

generals of the age. His camp was filled with volunteers of the highest distinction; by whom his perseverance, steadiness, prudence, valour, and conduct, were published in every quarter of *Europe*. The conquest cost the states an immense sum of money; but the advantages flowing from it were so great, as to absorb every other consideration.

PRINCE *Henry* was no sooner in possession of *Boisleduc*, than he detached count *Ernest Casimir*, with 150 companies of foot, and 30 troops of horse, to oppose count *John de Nassau* and *Dulkens*; who, in consequence of a reinforcement from *Tilly*, were preparing to make a fresh irruption into the provinces. *Ernest* acquitted himself with such diligence, that, having thrown a bridge over the *Yssel*, he was encamped on the opposite side, before the enemy had an idea they should meet with any obstruction. Reinforcing the garrisons of *Doesburg* and *Keppel*, he cut off the enemy's convoys, and their communication with count *Tilly's* army; inasmuch, that, to avoid perishing by famine, they were forced to retire precipitately to the bishopric of *Munster*, and petition *Ernest* for a safe conduct. Colonel *Hauterive* likewise passed the *Rhine* with 40 companies of infantry and 14 troops of dragoons; and, laying siege to the strong fortress of *Ringelburgh*, took it by assault, in the space of ten hours, putting the garrison to the sword. Thence he marched to *Ysselburgh*, which he reduced in four days. With the same rapidity he subdued all the towns and forts which, from their situation, proved extremely troublesome to the *Dutch* garrison in *Wesel*, and filled the whole country with terror and desolation. The new garrison of *Wesel* were no less eager to distinguish their zeal and valour. Dividing themselves into three corps, one of which remained for the defence of the town, they sallied out in quest of plunder and glory. One division attacked *Rhimberg*, and was roughly handled by the *Spanish* garrison. The other was more fortunate. Having attacked *Duisburgh* in the night, it surrendered before the morning to the *Hollanders*. All the other places possessed by the *Spaniards*, on the hither side the *Rhine*, and in the duchy of *Cleves*, soon yielded to the good fortune of this little party. In a word, the *Spaniards* were every where defeated, dispirited, desponding; since the sieges of *Boisleduc* and *Wesel*, they scarce ventured to hold up their heads, face the enemy in the field, or refuse complying with a summons, though secured behind walls. It was matter of surprise to see the strong fortress of *Roeborte*, defended by a garrison more numerous than the besiegers, surrendering at discretion,

after

after having exchanged a few shot. This could only be accounted for from the universal panic that prevailed ².

COUNT *William* of *Nassau* was the soul of these spirited *William* expeditions. On advice that the elector of *Cologne*, and the *of Nas-* bishops of *Munster* and *Paderborn*, were taking measures to *lau's ex-* assist the enemy, he sent them a peremptory order to desist *peditions.* from these designs, otherwise they would oblige him to lay their territories desolate. This menace produced the desired effect; they dropped their project, and suffered the count to go on with his expeditions without interruption. He reduced *Berg*, attacked *Solingen*, and carried the place sword-in-hand, giving the town up to be pillaged by his soldiers. A variety of other places submitted to him; he was weakened with leaving garrisons in his conquests; but this did not prevent his reducing the town of *Ongermunde*, the magistrates of which capitulated. *William's* soldiers, insolent with success, and excited by their late plunder to desire more, fell a pillaging the town without regard to the capitulation; which so incensed the burghers, that they took arms, attacked the *Hollanders*, and were on the point of driving the conquerors out of the town, when count *William* arrived with the troops encamped without the walls, and put an end to the combat, by obliging both parties to submit to the capitulation. In consequence of those conquests, the whole duchy of *Fuliers* was, in a manner, depopulated; the people deserting their habitations in the country, and flocked in crouds to all the fortified cities. *Cologne*, *Munster*, *Cleves*, and *Berg*, were much in the same situation. But the *Hollanders* published an edict, whereby they declared their sole intention was to oblige the *Spaniards* to evacuate the succession of *Fuliers*, and promising the natives all the protection in their power. This declaration restored, in some measure, the peace of the country; the people returned to their usual occupations, and were not alarmed at the progress of the *Dutch* conquests, considering they could not suffer by a mere change of masters, the *Spaniards* having treated them with great insolence and tyranny.

To this rapid course of good fortune in the *Netherlands*, *Naval* the *Dutch* added a variety of successes in *Asia* and *America*. *affairs.* Notwithstanding the *East India* company were engaged in a bloody war with the emperor of *Java*, during which *Batavia* was twice besieged, their returns were immense ³.

² *NOVILLE*, tom. ii. p. 64.
Hist. vol. x.

³ *Vid. Mod. Univ.*

This

A. D.
1630.

This induced them to rival the generosity and public spirit of the *West India* company, by making the government a present of 500,000 pounds weight of salt-petre. The last-mentioned company, determining to pursue their late good fortune, and to establish a head-settlement in *South America*, which might vie with *Batavia*, sent a powerful squadron to those seas, under the conduct of admiral *Loncke*, the companion and the friend of *Heine* in all his expeditions. In the month of *February* he arrived on the coast of *Fernambuco*, the largest division of *Brasil*, and detached *Vardenburch* with 16 men of war and 3000 land-forces, to invest *Olinda*, the capital; but the resistance made by the out-forts obliged the fleet to reunite, and determined the admiral to attack the city with his whole strength. *Vardenburch* retained the command of the army, which was immediately debarked in three divisions, under the conduct of the generals *Eltz*, *Honcks*, and *Steincallefeld*, who repulsed the *Portuguese* in three successive attacks they made to obstruct their landing. The *Hollanders* began their approaches towards the jesuits quarter of the city, and soon took their college by assault, though strongly fortified. In consequence, *Olinda* surrendered; and the reduction of the capital was followed by the submission of the whole district of *Fernambuco*, quite to cape *St. Augustine*. The *West India* company acquired great reputation by this expedition; and they were already considered as in possession of all *Brasil*, as general *Vardenburch* had in his letters extolled the great advantages of the reduction of *Olinda*, which, he said, gave the *Hollanders* such a footing, that the whole country might be reduced at a small expence. The public hope was augmented by the further successes of the armament. Leaving a strong garrison in *Olinda*, the admiral repassed the line, fell upon the town of *St. Martha*, and pillaged the inhabitants. Soon after he engaged *Frederic de Toledo*, sent with a strong squadron and 5000 troops, to the succour of the *Spanish* settlements; whom he defeated, after an obstinate and exceeding bloody conflict, in which the *Spanish* admiral was, for several months, supposed to have perished. His ship being separated from the rest of the squadron in the engagement, foundered at sea; and *Toledo* with a few of his crew were saved by a miracle. Such a flow of success encouraged the company to fit out another fleet, which set sail, towards the close of the year, to complete their conquests.

Farther
operations
in Juliers
and
Cleves.

As soon as the season permitted, *William of Nassau* renewed his expeditions against the *Spaniards*, who still possessed some considerable places on the frontiers of the
succession

succession of *Juliers*. He defeated divers parties of the enemy, took their convoys, and was attended with all the good fortune of the preceding campaign. The first project that failed was one he formed against *Dusseldorp*. A party of soldiers was sent in the habits of women, to seize upon that town, but they were discovered and disappointed. Next he failed in an attempt to surprise *Mulheim*, garrisoned by a body of imperialists. The detachment of 5000 men, which he had sent upon that business, was surprised and repulsed by 2000 of the enemy. Indeed all the count's schemes were so refined and ideal, as well as dangerous, that to succeed they required the utmost good fortune and address. They were so connected with each other, that the failure of one occasioned a general disappointment; though it proved otherwise in the present case, for *William* was successful on the opposite side of the *Rhine*, though all his projects against *Dusseldorp* and *Mulheim* had been baffled. The town of *Sichtelen*, and a variety of other places held by *Spanish* or *Austrian* garrisons, submitted to the *Hollanders*. These rapid victories, and so long a series of prosperity, however, raised a powerful confederacy against the count of *Nassau*. All the catholic princes on the frontiers of the provinces were alarmed. They gave out that the *Dutch* wanted to penetrate as far as *Frankfort*, and to throw themselves into the palatinate, there to revive all the horrors of a war which had for ages desolated that country. It was affirmed their intention was to restore *Frederic V.* despoiled of his electorate and dignities; a project which the emperor thought himself particu'arly interested to obstruct. The elector of *Cologne* and the bishops of *Munster* and *Paderborn*, though over-awed by *William* of *Nassau*, privately solicited the emperor to oppose the states of the *United Provinces*, and protect the catholic religion and the dignity of the empire, which suffered extremely by permitting a handful of rebellious heretics to pursue, unmolested, a course of the most cruel tyranny and oppression. His imperial majesty lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the catholic princes; and fearing that the count *de Hanau* would declare for the *Dutch*, because he refused admitting an imperial garrison into his city, he ordered all the avenues to be blocked up, and *Hanau* to be in a manner besieged by the imperial army. This obliged the count to admit the emperor's troops, who were a few months after driven out by the *Swedes*.

ALL this time the *Dutch* were employed in the entire reduction of the succession of *Juliers*. On advice that the
Spaniards

Spaniards were building a new fort on the canal between the *Rhine*, and the *Meuse*; the governor of *Wessel*, making draughts out of his own and the nearest garrisons, detached colonel *Iselstein* to disturb the works, and if possible ruin the fort. His detachment amounted to 900 men, with which he ventured to attack count *John* of *Nassau* with a body of 1500 foot and horse, defeated and took him prisoner after an obstinate engagement. This and other advantages gained by the *Hollanders*, determined the duke of *Newburgh* to repair in person to the *Hague*, to solicit the consent of the states to the partition-treaty lately concluded between him and the elector of *Brandenburgh*. The states, perceiving that the *Spaniards* refused to evacuate *Orsoy* and *Sittert*, could not be prevailed upon to surrender *Emmeric*, *Roes*, and *Wessel*, with their dependent towns and territories. At last the archduchess consented to withdraw her troops entirely from the duchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; upon which the states began to relax a little from their former rigour, condescending to cede all their conquests, except the three towns just mentioned*. With this concession the duke of *Newburgh* was forced to rest satisfied; accordingly he took his leave, and returned to *Germany*.

*Proposals
for a truce.*

It was immediately after this negotiation that the court of *Brussels* made proposals for a truce between the archduchess and the states, for the space of 34 years, upon the same conditions offered 21 years before. The remittances necessary for the support of the war were entirely stopped at *Madrid*, and the catholic king seemed to take little concern in the event of the war carried on in the *Netherlands*. A treaty of commerce between the catholic and protestant provinces, about this time, had somewhat diminished that implacable animosity which had for so long time subsisted between them. This, with a variety of other circumstances, the archduchess hoped would dispose both parties to listen to the means of establishing the tranquillity of the 17 provinces, after a bloody war of 60 years duration. It was well known at the *Hague* that necessity dictated the proposals to the archduchess; however they did not chuse absolutely to reject propositions, which might turn out more to the advantage of the provinces than even a successful war. After the conferences held at *Rosendal*, for the exchange of prisoners, the archduchess's deputies proceeded to the *Hague*, because the *Dutch* deputies had no instructions to enter upon the business of a truce. Opinions

* *NUVILLE*, *ibid.*

were

were divided in the assembly of the states general. Some persuaded themselves that an accommodation with *Spain* would incur the resentment of *France*; they urged, that while the republic had nothing to fear, it was absurd to consent to a truce, which was only giving the enemy time to recover their exhausted strength and spirits; and that *Holland* being now opulent by the wealth of the *Indies*, and powerful by the reduction of *Boisleduc* and *Wessel*, the two ramparts of the *United Provinces*, ought in her turn to treat the *Spaniards* with that haughtiness and insolence, of which they were so profuse in their prosperity. Those of a contrary opinion supported their sentiments by a variety of arguments, tending to evince, that a suppliant, humbled enemy ought not to be despised; that the chance of war was uncertain; and that those who were this year at the very pinnacle of fortune, might next season be reduced to the lowest abyss of distress. These general reflections they corroborated by the sentiments of the late excellent patriot *Barneveldt*, who, with the consent of the *French* king, had urged pacific measures in 1609. They might possibly have carried their point, had not cardinal *Richlieu*, bent upon retrenching the power of the house of *Austria*, traversed the negotiation, by means of the *sieur de Bouguy*, sent in quality of ambassador to the *Hague*^a. This artful minister practised so ingeniously on the temper of the states, that, instead of concluding a truce with *Spain*, they renewed the alliance with *France*, then at war with the catholic monarch. The treaty differed but little from that signed in 1627, but never ratified. Here, as in the former, the states consented to enter upon no truce, treaty of peace, engagement, or alliance, without the consent of his most christian majesty. They likewise promised to assist him with troops, ammunition, cannon, &c. as soon as his army should enter upon hostilities in *Artois*, *Hainault*, and the other countries belonging to the *Spaniards*; the king, on his part, stipulating to pay a considerable subsidy to the states, and to employ the same number of forces in the *Netherlands*, which he had hitherto maintained. All the measures taken by *Spain* and the court of *Brussels*, to promote a truce, were disconcerted. No regard was paid to the *Flemish* deputies at the *Hague*; they were treated with the utmost contempt, and in danger of being openly insulted. An answer to their proposals was published, under the title of the *Anti-truce*; in which the courts of *Spain* and *Brussels*

^a Id. *ibid.* Le *CLERC*, tom. ii. *ibid.*

Confe-
rences for
a truce
broken off.

were lashed with great severity, and indeed very little decency. Yet did not this discourage the archduchess from proceeding in her pacific designs. She had recourse to the mediation of *England*, and hoped to gain an influence with the mediator, by procuring the restoration of the elector palatine, brother-in-law to *Charles*, and nephew to the prince of *Orange*. The states themselves were likewise interested in seeing this unhappy prince re-established in the electoral dignity and his dominions; however regard for the prince did not operate so powerfully as was expected. They suffered themselves to be solicited for the space of four months by the *British* ambassador, and at last returned for answer, that when they had any thoughts of concluding a truce, they would acquaint their ally the king of *Great Britain* with their intentions. This put an end to the negotiation, and obliged the *Spaniards* to make the best preparations in their power for the renewal of hostilities.

WHILE the prince of *Orange* was employed in the siege of *Boisleduc*, the *Hollanders* supported a vigorous war against the new admiralty formed at *Dunkirk*, which had struck such terror since the reduction of *Breda*, and the excellent regulations made by *Spinola*. The losses sustained by the *Dutch* merchants obliged the states to encrease their marine, and send the merchant-ships under strong convoys. Early this season a powerful squadron put to sea, under the conduct of the new admiral of *Holland*, *Peter Heine*, and next day fell in with three *Spanish* men of war on the coast of *Flanders*. An action ensued, and *Heine* was killed by a cannon-bullet at the first broad-side; but his lieutenant concealing his death carefully, the mariners continued to fight with spirit, and the three *Spanish* ships were taken, and carried into *Rotterdam*, where the admiral's death was first divulged (A). This last defeat gave a considerable

(A) The admiral's remains were conducted with great solemnity to *Delft*, where they were interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence, in the great cemetery set aside for the monuments of illustrious persons, who have done their country important services. Deputies from the states general, and the states of *Holland* and *Zealand*, the directors of the

East and *West India* companies, all the different corporations at *Amsterdam*, and a great number of persons of distinction, honoured the funeral with their presence. A superb monument, graced with the relation of his exploits, was erected at the public expence, and *Peter's* memory continues at this day to be admired, honoured, and esteemed.

check

check to the *Dunkirkers*, and diffused a spirit of discontent and mutiny through the *Spanish* army and garrisons; who could not but attribute to misconduct, that the wealth intended for their maintenance should be the means of their destruction; and those very sums destined for their pay, enriching their enemies, and purchasing them all the conveniencies of life, while they were pining under all the miseries of hunger and nakedness. Crouds of deserters came over every day from *Breda*, and the other *Spanish* garrisons. Even the officers in the count *de Berg's* army quitted the service, and enlisted with the states. The peasants were oppressed with contributions, and the nobility incensed at the insolence of the *Spaniards*, and the preference given to foreigners. Even the clergy murmured, declaimed against the remissness of the government, and lamented the danger that threatened religion. All these disorders, all these grievances, were charged by the natives on the proud foreigners, who enjoyed every emolument arising from places, pensions, and preferments, without contributing at all to the relief, the ease, and the security of the people. The states of the clergy and nobility assembled, to deliberate on the present situation of affairs, and the means of applying remedies to oppressions altogether unsupportable. Many persons were for submitting to the *Hollanders*, without regard to the protestant religion, which they had established, and their declared opposition to the catholic faith; but others, touched with conscience, and strongly attached to the religion of their ancestors, proposed deputing the archbishop of *Mechlin* and the duke *d'Arfchot* to the archduchess, to represent to her the grievances of which the people complained; all of which had their rise in the preference shewn to foreigners. They gave her to understand, that, on condition they were not saddled with the ministers and officers of the *Spanish* court, they would willingly give up all the assistance in troops, and remittances in money, expected from that kingdom; not doubting but they should be able to defend their religion and liberty, under the general authority of his catholic majesty and the archduchess. The good princess heard their complaints, felt for their misfortunes, and promised to do all in her power to redress them. With this view she sent the count *de Solre* into *Spain*; but the duke *de Olivarez* destroyed the effects of her remonstrances. Disappointed in this hope, the archduchess endeavoured to ease her subjects, by opening a free intercourse of trade between them and the states of the

The miserable situation of the Spanish Netherlands.

United

The History of the United Provinces,

United Provinces^b; and as the *Hollanders* and the prince of *Orange* shewed no dislike to this project, she mistook their attachment to commerce for an inclination to renew the conferences for a truce; but soon perceived that they were resolved to pursue their good fortune, until a proper barrier, and firmer security, were procured for the republic.

Richlieu
makes an
attempt to
seize upon
the city of
Orange.

SINCE the late treaty with *France*, cardinal *Richlieu* directed the counsels of the states general, and soon discovered that all his good offices towards the republic, had their source in self-interest. While he was caressing the states, and cajolling the people with the hope of powerful succours from the *French* king, he was secretly contriving the means of seizing on the town of *Orange*, and the patrimony of prince *Henry*. For some time he had maintained a clandestine correspondence with the sieur de *Walkemburgh*, governor of the city, who, notwithstanding he was the great favourite of the prince his master, could not avoid lending an ear to the bewitching solicitations of *Richlieu*, who of all men best understood the human heart, and most successfully employed the talent of seduction. *Walkemburgh* consented to surrender the place to the cardinal for the sum of 400,000 livres in money, and an estate in *Provence* of 20,000 livres in value; but insisting upon being put in possession of the whole, before he admitted a *French* garrison, the negotiation was protracted, and the prince had some intimation of his infidelity. The government of the town and citadel was triennial; but the prince, out of regard for *Walkemburgh*, broke through the rule, and continued him in the government beyond the usual time. Immediately, on advice of his treachery, the office was bestowed on *Knuyth* a *Zealander*; who pursued his instructions with great address, assembled a body of troops with the utmost expedition and privacy, got possession of the city, blocked up *Walkemburgh* in the house of a burgher where he had dined, killed him in a scuffle that ensued on his refusing to surrender, and then laid siege to the citadel, which the lieutenant-governor gave up, on being informed of *Walkemburgh's* death, and *Knuyth's* commission. This laid the foundation of that rivetted aversion, which the prince ever afterwards entertained for the cardinal, and opposition to the grandeur of the house of *Bourbon*, constantly shewn upon all occasions by the succeeding princes of the family of *Orange*^c.

^b *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. cap. 8.

^c *LE CLERC*, Hist. p. 170.

THE prudence, the valour, and the great moderation of prince *Henry* had raised him to a higher degree of credit with the states and the people, than even his brother or father had acquired. Perceiving that he had no intention to abuse his authority, or encroach on the liberties of his country, they resolved to testify their gratitude, by rendering the stadtholdership hereditary in his family, and raising his son to the office of general of the cavalry, though then only in the fifth year of his age. These acts of acknowledgment were accompanied by particular demonstrations of the joy of the people; and a solemn deputation from the states general waited upon the prince with the strongest assurances of their esteem and gratitude. The young prince's commission was presented in a gold casket, and compliments were poured in daily from the states of all the provinces. But the attention required to these ceremonials did not divert *Henry* from the business of the state; he resolved to shew himself worthy of his new honours, by a double portion of diligence. Assembling his army near *Emmeric*, where he had formed vast magazines of corn imported from *Dantzic*, his great preparations alarmed the courts of *Brussels* and *Madrid*, as they still entertained remote hopes, that the truce might yet take place. The archduchess, sensible that it was vain to flatter herself longer with this prospect, exerted herself to put the army in a condition to take the field, and for that purpose laid additional taxes on the clergy and people. A proceeding so necessary when the treasury was quite exhausted, excited the clamours of the *Flemings*; and the ill-judged policy of the court of *Madrid*, increased their discontent, by appointing the marquis *de Santa Cruz* to succeed *Spinola* in the command of the forces, an employment which the people hoped would be conferred upon a native of the *Netherlands*. To sweeten the draught, which it was well known would prove unpalatable to the *Flemings*, a report was spread, that the marquis was to serve under the cardinal *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, brother to the catholic king, and nephew to the archduchess, who was to succeed her in the government. Count *Henry de Berg* was made marshal-general of all the troops in *Flanders*, and *Carlo Colonna* was raised to the rank of camp-master-general. A corps of 6000 men was destined to cover *Antwerp* and *Mechlin*, under the conduct of *Zapeta*; the care of all the convoys was committed to *Lucas Cayro*, who had 4000 foot, and thirty troops of horse under his command. As to the count *de Berg*, he took post near *Rhimberg*, for

The stadtholdership made hereditary.

the defence of the new canal, and of *Spanish Guelderland*, of which he was governor.

A. D.
1631.

*A grand
expedition
prepared
by the Spa-
niards.*

SUCH were the measures taken by the enemy, while the prince of *Orange*, dividing his army into three corps, took post upon the *Rhine*, at *Boisseduc* and *Siuis*. Leaving count *Stirum* with a flying camp of 10,000 men at *Rees*, he embarked his troops at *Emmeric*, and attended by the duke of *Vendosme*, made a descent in the neighbourhood of *Bruges*, passed the rivers and canals on rope-bridges, constructed upon a new plan, surprised three *Spanish* forts, and advanced to *Ghent*; but finding that a body of the enemy's cavalry was formed at the skirts of a wood in his way, he dropped his design, and returned, from an apprehension of falling into an ambuscade. The *Spanish* army multiplied daily; troops were pouring in from *Germany* and *Italy*, and already a body of 29,000 foot, with 27 companies of horse, had advanced to the canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, on a supposition that the prince formed designs upon one of these cities. The archduchess perceived that the vigilance of the prince of *Orange* would baffle all her endeavours, in the usual method of carrying on the campaign; she therefore resumed a scheme which had been proposed two years before, of cutting off the communication between the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*. For this purpose a great number of barges and flat-bottomed boats had been constructed, but laid aside rather for the want of troops or money to carry the project into execution. At the persuasion of a capuchin, and the son of the advocate-general *Barneveldt*, who lived in banishment at *Brussels*, the boats were again taken into commission, a body of forces appointed to serve in the expedition, and the direction of the whole committed to *John count de Nassau*. The count set sail from *Antwerp* with a fleet of 90 boats, having on board 5000 land-forces, and 1300 marines; but part of the priest's intelligence proving false, he was forced to alter the course prescribed, re-enter the *Scheld*, pass by *Romertwall*, and coast along the isle of *Tolen*, into which the prince of *Orange* had thrown a reinforcement of 9000 men. The barks loaded with his ammunition, provision, and cannon, having run on the sand-banks, a whole tide was lost before they were got afloat, which afforded the *Hollanders* time to collect a small fleet of boats at *Bergen-op-zoem*; with these they attacked the enemy, and took several boats, and 300 prisoners. At the same instant the fleet of *Zealand*, commanded by admiral *Hollart*, fell upon the *Spaniards*

niards in the night. Count *John* sustained the attack with great intrepidity, and the capuchin performed wonders; but after an action of six hours, the *Spaniards* were totally defeated; and of the whole armament, only eleven officers escaped, in which number were count *John*, the baron *Balançon* governor of *Breda*, and the capuchin. Seventy-six boats and barks were taken, the rest had been either sunk or burned, and the number of prisoners exceeded 5000 men, most of whom enlisted in the prince's army, and were incorporated in different regiments. The victory was deemed in *Holland* among the most glorious *The Spa-* with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless the arms *niards de-* of the republic; and indeed the consequences were very *seated.* important, as they entirely broke the scheme planned at the court of *Brussels*, of seizing all the *Dutch* islands quite to the *Brille*, and *Dordrecht*, while the marquis *de Santa Cruz* should subdue the whole country along the *Meuse*, as far as *Gertruydenberg* ².

THE defeat of this expedition threw the court of *Brussels* into consternation. Equipping the armament had cost the government large sums, which were now entirely lost, together with great part of the army. The archduchess supported the misfortune with infinite spirit and moderation, exerting her utmost influence to appease the clamours raised against the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, upon whom the blame of so ideal a project was thrown by the multitude, and even by the *Flemish* nobility. Something must be done to satisfy the people; accordingly the count offered the admiral *Jacob Janse* a victim to their discontents, and sent him prisoner to *Breda*; but *Janse* was an *Italian*, and this proceeding served only to encrease the public murmurs. Happily, however, a large fleet of *Dutchmen*, loaded with corn, seized by the *Dunkirkers*, brought the *Flemings* into better temper. Advice coming to the court of *Madrid* of the fate of the late expedition, the ministry had recourse to their usual artifices. They greatly diminished the loss, and magnified some petty advantages gained in the *East* and *West Indies*. They had little indeed to boast with respect to the latter, for the great armament destined for the recovery of *Olinda* was dispersed in a storm, and the greatest part of the troops died of a malignant fever. *D'Oquenlo* at last set sail, with a numerous fleet, for *Brasil*, and in his voyage encountered the *Dutch* admiral *Pater*, with 17 ships, ten of which sheer-

Naval transactions.

² LE CLERC, tom. ii. ubi supra.

ed off before the engagement begun. *Pater* was too far advanced to retire with safety or honour, he determined therefore to supply the want of numbers by courage, fell upon the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, sunk four and burned six of their ships, before he could be surrounded. After having long kept victory in suspense by dint of skill and intrepidity, he saw one of his finest vessels blown up, with the crew, consisting of 300 men. This loss was succeeded by another accident, which all his prudence and valour could not remedy. The powder-room of his own ship took fire, the flames spread in despite of his utmost endeavours, and *Pater*, with above four hundred brave seamen, perished in the flames. Five ships now only remained, and they fought with redoubled vigour, determining to revenge the death of their valiant admiral. Nothing could exceed their fury; they cleared their decks, crowded with *Spaniards* who had boarded them, tinged the sea with blood, and covered it with floating carcases. At last, perceiving they must sink under the weight of numbers, they made one desperate push, broke through the enemy's line, and, after having destroyed four ships, got clear, and steered their course unpursued to *Olinda*. The honour of victory remained with the *Spaniards*; but they had purchased it so dear, that *d'Oquendo* was disabled for that year from acting offensively. Returning to *Europe* some time after, he was attacked by four *Dutch* men of war, and defeated with the loss of 700 men, 22 officers, three ships and his vice-admiral. Such were the exploits of which the court of *Madrid* boasted; but a false relation of facts served for a time to blind the public, and appease the clamours of the people^b.

A. D.
1632.

WHILE *Spain* was busied in preparing for the defence of the *Netherlands*, and the recovery of her losses in *Brasil*, the eyes of all *Europe* were turned upon the king of *Sweden*, whose irruption into *Germany* threw the whole empire into consternation. In the space of one year he had conquered whole provinces, restored the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, to the dominions of which they were despoiled by the victorious imperial general *Wallstein*, defeated the emperor's troops in divers rencounters, obtained the glorious victory of *Leipsic* over *Tilly*, the most celebrated commander of his age, crossed the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, reduced above sixty towns, fortresses, and cities, and was

^b *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. cap. 10.

on the brink of overthrowing the whole power, and subjecting the grandeur of the antient house of *Austria*, which had long given law to *Christendom*. Covered with laurels, and hedged in by victory, this glorious monarch did not think the states of the *United Provinces* unworthy of his alliance. They had long laboured in the same cause, and with equal perseverance and courage fought in defence of liberty and the protestant religion. With this view he sent his chancellor *Oxenstierne* to the *Hague*, where he was received with all the honours due to his own merit, and the minister of so great a prince and hero. A treaty was concluded between the king and the republic, whereby they stipulated to attack the *Spaniards* on the *Rhine*, with all their forces, and by this means divide the *Austrian* army. The pensionary *Pauw* was sent to the king, to adjust further particulars.^c

Treaty
with Swe-
den.

To fulfil the treaty with *Sweden*, the prince of *Orange* took the field at the head of 253 companies of infantry, and 58 troops of cavalry. Several detachments were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy; and the prince entering *Spanish Guelderland*, bent his course towards *Venlo*, seizing upon *Arsen*, a little fortress upon the *Meuse*. Next day he summoned the garrison of *Venlo*. The magistrates desired him to consult the count *de Berg*; but *Henry* marched his troops by two avenues, amidst the furious discharge of the artillery on the ramparts, and a sharp sally made by the garrison. Before morning, the trenches were advanced three hundred yards, notwithstanding the besieged gave all possible obstruction. A battery of six pieces of cannon was erected, which played so briskly with ignited balls, that one side of the town was set on fire. By the 3d of *June*, the inhabitants, seeing the enemy approach the ditch, desired to capitulate, on condition that their privileges were preserved, liberty of conscience permitted, and a church allowed for the public exercise of the catholic religion. The garrison, scrupling to submit on the same terms with the burghers, defended themselves for a day, and then capitulated, retiring to the city of *Juliers*. This siege, though the firing was extremely brisk, cost the besieged only two lives, which was attributed to the prudent conduct of prince *Henry*, imitating the example of his brother *Maurice*, in exposing his troops to danger, only in cases of extreme necessity.

^c PUFFEND. Hist. Generale, tom. vi. lib. vi.

The Prince
of Orange
gains se-
veral ad-
vantages.

HENRY was no sooner in possession of *Venlo*, than he detached count *Ernest* with 6000 men, towards *Stralen* and *Ruremonde*, the former of which surrendered without resistance to the sieur *Iruilleri*. *Ruremonde*, an episcopal town in *Guelderland*, was besieged by *Ernest* in person. Batteries were immediately erected, but before they began to play, the prince of *Orange* arrived in the camp. His presence wrought such an effect on the inhabitants, that they surrendered next day, the 10th of *June*, on the same conditions granted to the magistrates of *Venlo*. The prince's moderation contributed no less to the sudden reduction of towns, than his valour. He generally granted all their privileges, and liberty of conscience to the conquered, who experienced no other hardship than what is consequent on a mere change of masters and of government. The siege of *Ruremonde* proved however extremely unfortunate to the provinces of *Groningen* and *Friseland*, who by a musket-ball, the last shot fired by the garrison, lost their excellent governor, count *Ernest Casimir* of *Nassau*. He was succeeded in his dignities by his son *Henry Ernest*, and the states general acknowledged their esteem for the deceased, by making the stadtholdership of the two provinces hereditary in his family.

In the mean time *William* of *Nassau* gained very considerable advantages over the enemy. He was detached with a corps of three thousand men by the prince of *Orange*, to harass the enemy on the banks of the *Scheld*. Embarking his troops in a number of small boats at *Ramekins*, he pushed up the river to *Lillo*, made himself master of the important post and dyke at *Crowstein*, and of two forts at the extremities of the dykes, from the *Scheld* to the territory of *Ryen*. Afterwards he took *Pekgat*, fort *St. Martin*, and all the works which covered *St. Vliet*. To oppose his progress, the *Spaniards* detached a body of 5000 men, composed of the garrison of *Antwerp*, and the militia of the country, under the generals *Colonna* and *Feria*. A battle was fought near *Callo*, in which both sides behaved with great valour; but the *Scotch* and *Irish* auxiliaries at last broke the enemy, defeated them, and took a great number of prisoners, killed 400 men, among whom was the brave *Spinelli*, and obtained a compleat victory. So many advantages gained by the *Hollanders* determined the count *de Berg* to resign his commission, after he had faithfully served the court of *Spain* for a great number of years, notwithstanding he was nearly related to the prince of *Orange*, connected by strong ties with

The count
de Berg
resigns.

with count *Stirum*, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage, attached to liberty, but so zealous a catholic that his conscience would not suffer him to submit to the protestant government established in the *Seven Provinces*. He retired to *Liege*, under pretence that it was a neutral city, and that he was deserted, and denied a body of forces sufficient for the defence of *Guelderland*; but it was generally supposed, he had concerted matters with the prince of *Orange*, being disgusted with the preference shewn to foreigners. The sudden retreat of so important a personage alarmed the court of *Brussels*. The archduchess feared that so dangerous an example would be imitated by others of the nobility, dissatisfied with the conduct of the *Spanish* ministry, and ready to enter into a league for the expulsion of all foreigners out of the *Netherlands*. Filled with these apprehensions, she dispatched a letter to the count, written with her own hand, inviting him back to *Brussels*, and promising to redress all his grievances; but the count excused himself in an answer couched in the most respectful terms, for the princess. He was sensible of her goodness; but he knew her power was limited by *Olivarez*, and that her favour to himself would be matter of discontent to all the *Spaniards*. He hoped, he said, that his faithful personal services of 40 years, and the death of six brothers slain in the war, would give sufficient testimony of his zeal for the house of *Austria*, and the catholic religion. He touched upon the sufferings of the country, and the ruin of the catholic cause, from the pride, avarice, and that contempt which the *Spaniards* affected to entertain for the natives. He wrote, at the same time, a circular letter, in form of a manifesto, to the clergy, nobility, and towns of the *Ten Provinces*, to justify his conduct with respect to the marquis de *Leganez*, and other *Spaniards* with whom he was at variance. In the result he entirely threw off the mask, declared his intention of levying an army for the defence of the country, against the opposition and tyranny of the *Spaniards*.

On the 18th of *June* the prince of *Orange* wrote a letter to the count de *Berg*, applauding his resolution, and declaring that he should not have seized upon the towns in *Spanish Guelderland*, of which he was governor, but that they were left defenceless, the magistrates refusing to furnish the *Spanish* garrisons with money, which he feared might produce tumults and the ruin of the places. He offered him all manner of assistance and consolation, in his own name, and that of the states general, and requested

He declares against the Spaniards.

he would rely upon their friendship and protection, against all his enemies. With respect to the catholic religion, in which he was so zealous, he might rest satisfied, as the states were determined to permit liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of the *Romish* religion in all their conquests, as was obvious from their conduct at *Venlo*, *Stralen*, and *Ruremonde*. The states of *Liege*, apprehensive that the declaration published by the count *de Berg* might be regarded as a breach of their neutrality, published a protest of their having no share in the count's designs; while he, on his part, confirmed their asseveration by a solemn act, acquitting the chapter and states of all communication, interest, or connection, with his affairs, and the purport of his late declaration. Measures so deliberate and well laid, convinced the court of *Brussels*, that the count's resolution had not been formed in a sudden fit of disgust; the *Spaniards* insinuated to the archduchess, that the invasion of *Spanish Guelderland* was in consequence of secret intelligence between him and the prince of *Orange*. This first determined her to prevent the consequences of his desertion by letters wrote to the three estates of the provinces, and then, by a personal declaration against the count, with an order to seize his person. So vigorous a resolution terrified the count's party, and obliged him to return to *Aix*, in *Holland*, upon which he was declared a traitor by the court of *Brussels*, and condemned to lose his head upon a scaffold.

THE revolt however of the count *de Berg* did not produce all the expected consequences. It was supposed that the *Flemish* troops would desert, by which means the archduchess would be deprived of her greatest strength, and disabled from opposing the conquests of the prince of *Orange*; but that princess had taken her measures so prudently, and was so universally beloved, that scarce any more than the usual desertion happened. It was notwithstanding a terrible blow to the court of *Spain*, as she was now deprived of a general to oppose prince *Henry*, and whose popularity in *Guelderland* might greatly assist the operations of the army. Four towns and three forts, situated on the *Meuse*, were reduced in the space of eight days. By the 10th of *June*, the *Dutch* had pushed their conquests quite to *Maestricht*, and penetrated to the farthest extremity of the duchy of *Limburgh*. *Maestricht* itself, the most commodious passage of the *Meuse*, was now invested, after it had quietly remained in the hands of the *Spaniards* since the year 1579, when it was taken

taken by the duke of *Parma*. The city was defended only by a garrison of 2500 men, under the command of the baron *de Leda*, nephew to the count *de Motery*, an officer of great experience, absent when the prince of *Orange* formed the siege. That prince carried on his approaches with his usual caution, while the baron performed all that youth, fire, and an eager thirst of glory could inspire. With his only troop of cavalry, he reconnoitered the disposition of the *Dutch* trenches, maintained a sharp conflict, and returned with a number of prisoners superior to his whole party; a success which so elated the inhabitants, that the whole, without distinction, even the clergy and women, determined to second the vigorous efforts of their intrepid governor, and labour in repairing the fortifications. A sally was made to burn all the surrounding houses, which could any way assist the approach of the besieged; but the garrison was repulsed with great slaughter. All the batteries being finished by the 14th of *June*, the rest of the month was employed in battering the walls, and advancing the works, which the besieged endeavoured to obstruct by a great number of brisk sallies. Sometimes they proved successful, and in one sally they destroyed two batteries, filled up part of the trenches, and made prodigious carnage⁴.

MEANTIME the *Spaniards*, sensible that *Maestricht* was a town of the last importance, were collecting all their strength for its relief, and not satisfied with their own forces, had recourse to the assistance of their allies. *Gonzales de Cordova*, with a body of forces drawn from the palatinate, presented himself before the trenches, upon which he played with twenty-four pieces of heavy cannon; but endeavouring to force his way into the town, was vigorously repulsed by the *French* and *English* auxiliaries. The sieur *d'Estiaux* particularly distinguished himself in this affair, pursuing the enemy across the river, with such impetuosity, that he penetrated the *Spanish* camp, threw it in great confusion, and retired with a considerable number of prisoners. *Gonzales* collecting his dispersed troops, attempted to seize all the avenues leading to the *Dutch* camp, and thereby cut off their provisions; but the prince of *Orange* took such measures as effectually baffled the project of the *Spaniard*. Six weeks had now been consumed in this siege, during which a variety of sallies and assaults were made, which gave it so much reputation,

Maef-
tricht be-
sieged.

⁴ *NYVILLE*, tom. ii. cap. 14.

that

that volunteers flocked from all quarters of *Europe*, to learn the art of war under prince *Henry*. On the 22d of *July*, the marquis *de Santa Cruz* arrived with his whole army before the trenches, and attempted to force a passage over the *Meuse* at *Stocken*; but his troops were so roughly handled, that he was forced to wait patiently for the arrival of his artillery, and the *German* auxiliaries under *Pappenheim*, one of the best officers in the emperor's service. When the prince of *Orange* understood that this reinforcement had joined the *Spanish* general, he redoubled his vigilance, placed stronger guards at all the posts, and ordered *William* of *Nassau* to join the camp with the troops he had levied in the neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*. Nor had *Pappenheim* reason to be satisfied with the reception given him by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, and the *Spanish* officers, who were jealous of his reputation, and afraid he would run away with the whole honour of relieving *Maestricht*. To prevent this, he sent the duke of *Newburgh*, with proposals to the prince of *Orange*, for changing hostilities into a negotiation. *Pappenheim*, incensed at the usage, declared by a trumpet, that he was come with the imperial army to oppose the *Dutch*, and immediately advanced to force the prince's intrenchments. The *Hollanders* sustained the attack with great firmness, and at last drove back the imperialists with prodigious slaughter. *Pappenheim* then entrenched himself opposite to count *Stirum's* quarters, with intention to seize the first opportunity of throwing succours into the town. To second his design, the besieged made a brisk sally, furiously attacked the *English* quarters, and filled the trenches with blood. Above 400 *British* soldiers perished in this action, the principal of whom were the lord *Oxford*, and colonel *Williams* *.

AFTER *Pappenheim* had fully examined the posts, the strength and situation of the besiegers, he disposed every thing for a second attack, on the 18th of *August*, planted his cannon, and drew up his army in order of battle. Two regiments of carbineers composed the van, followed by all the infantry, with fascines to fill up the trenches; the cavalry supported both wings. The attack was so impetuous, that notwithstanding the trenches were choaked up with their dead, the *Germans* still pressed on, and obliged the *Dutch* to abandon their advanced works. The fight was obstinately maintained for three hours, when the

* Vie de prince Henry, p. 102.

prince of *Orange* arrived with fresh troops, conducted by the dukes *de Candale* and *Bouillon*, and a body of volunteers formed out of the flower of the *French* nobility. They attacked the *Germans* in flank, with irresistible fury; the scale of fortune was now changed, and the imperialists in their turn put in disorder, defeated, and driven from the entrenchments. The brave imperialist was shocked, to see the *Spaniards* cool spectators of the slaughter of his troops; he complained to the marquis *de Santa Cruz*; but his application meeting only with ridicule, he determined once more to exert his valour, and demonstrate that he could finish his business without their assistance (A). A second time he returned to the charge; both sides of the *Dutch* camp were attacked, and he forced a footing for his cavalry within the trenches. He sustained the attack, from one till seven in the evening, the *Spaniards* all the while remaining quiet spectators of his extraordinary efforts of gallantry and conduct. The artillery, musketry, grenades, bombs, and carbines, continued an unremitting discharge, and the clouds of smoke obscured the light, and made it impossible for the combatants to distinguish each other. Prince *Henry*, the dukes *de Condale* and *Bouillon*, count *John Maurice* of *Nassau*, and the *French* volunteers, opposed their utmost vigour to the fury of *Pappenheim*, who performed every duty of a soldier and great general. Perceiving his troops gave way, he erected gibbets behind, and forced them in despair to return to ~~return to~~ the attack, to avoid a more ignominious death. The garrison finding such astonishingly brave efforts made for their relief, resolved to contribute their endeavours, and sallying out vigorously upon the *English* quarters, made a considerable diversion, but were at last repulsed with loss, after an obstinate engagement. The *Germans* were discouraged by the defeat of the besieged. They had repeatedly come back to the charge, and were as often repulsed. Now they were fatigued, exhausted, and broken, while the *Dutch* poured in fresh to the attack, and relieved the troops that had suffered. After one furious unsuccessful attempt, *Pappenheim* retired in tolerable order, leaving

<p>(A) <i>Nuville</i> reports, that when <i>Pappenheim</i> desired that the <i>Spaniards</i> might march to his assistance, the marquis answered, that the king had employed 400,000 dollars to fill</p>	<p>the ditch with <i>German</i> carcases. We must confess this railery appears too indelicate for an officer of the marquis's merit and distinction.</p>
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two thousand killed on the field, and nine hundred wounded prisoners, among whom was lieutenant-general *Lindlock*, four colonels, and a great number of inferior officers, greatly chagrined at his defeat, and the conduct of the *Spaniards*, who regarded his disappointment as a real victory gained by themselves.

PRINCE *Henry* finding himself disengaged from so formidable an opponent as the imperial general, and having nothing to apprehend from the *Spaniards*, who seemed to lie encamped at a little distance, only to give testimony to his valiant exploits, his excellent conduct, and glorious triumph, pushed the siege with redoubled vigour. The *British* troops sprung a mine on the 20th of *August*, which destroyed great part of the raveline; the garrison and burghers flew in crowds to the breach, where the baron *de Leda* fought in person with amazing intrepidity, and after a bloody action drove the besiegers back to their camp. Several women, mixed with the men, distinguished themselves, and extremely galled the assailants with their hand-grenades. Above 300 *British* soldiers, and about 80 of the besieged, perished; several women likewise were slain and wounded. But this success served only to protract the siege; it could not determine the fate of the garrison. The breach was stormed a second time, and carried sword-in-hand; which so alarmed the burghers, that in a body they besought the baron to save their lives and effects by a capitulation. After using some fruitless arguments to persuade them to continue their defence a few days longer, he signed a capitulation, and obtained the most honourable conditions; those respecting the town differing but little from the terms granted to the magistrates of *Venlo* and *Ruremonde*. Thus was the important city of *Maestricht*, in despite of the utmost efforts of three armies, that of *Spain*, under the marquis *de Santa Cruz*; of the palatinate, commanded by *Cardova*; and the imperial army, led on by the brave and experienced *Pappenheim*; obliged to surrender. The states lost 6000 men in the siege; but the importance and glory of the conquest obliterated every other consideration, and made the reduction of *Maestricht* be regarded as one of the most memorable events of a war abounding in battles and sieges¹.

Maef-
tricht sur-
rendered.

H E N R Y having bestowed the government of *Maestricht* on the duke *de Bouillon*, left a strong garrison in the town; and secured from all attempts from the imperialists

¹ *Vie de prince Henry*, p. 94. 96. Ibid. p. 103, 104.

on the side of the *Rhine*, sent 70 large barks filled with troops to the mouth of the *Scheld*, to spread terror along the coasts of *Flanders*. *William* of *Nassau* advanced likewise with 8000 men to *Lillo* and *Safflingen*, by which means the catholic provinces were beset by sea and land. Count *Stirum* was likewise detached to reduce the few remaining towns of *Spanish Guelderland*, most of which submitted rather to the influence of the count *de Berg* than to the arms of the *Hollanders*. The archduchess apprehended that the prince would next point his vengeance against the few towns held by the *Spaniards* in the duchy of *Cleves*. Unable to protect them with her own forces, she wrote to *Pappenheim*, requesting he would claim them as imperial towns, or rather as places sequestered in the hands of the emperor. Glad of an opportunity of extending the influence of the court of *Vienna*, *Pappenheim* wrote to the prince of *Orange*, exhorting him to distinguish between the places in the duchy of *Cleves*, under the protection of the emperor, and those held by *Spain*; but *Henry*, perceiving the artifice, returned for answer, that, provided his imperial majesty would observe an exact neutrality, and prevail on the *Spaniards* to withdraw their garrisons, he was ready to comply.

WHILE this affair was negotiating, prince *Henry* detached lieutenant-general *Stakembroek* and colonel *Pinsen*, to invest *Limburgh*, the capital of the duchy of that name. As the town was but indifferently fortified, it surrendered upon the first summons. *Stakembroek* then penetrated to *Namur*, and laid the whole surrounding country under contribution. Heavy contributions were likewise raised in the territories of the duke of *Newburgh* and the elector of *Cologne*, because they had violated the neutrality, in assisting *Pappenheim's* expedition to *Maestricht*. In the month of *October*, *Orsoy*, a town in the duchy of *Cleves*, was surprised by a *Dutch* party; but the avarice of the soldiers, and their eagerness after plunder, exposed them to the enemy, and occasioned the loss of their conquest. They were attacked, and driven out of the town, by a detachment of the garrison of *Rhimberg*. *William* of *Nassau*, however, soon after recovered the place; with which the campaign, so glorious to the prince of *Orange*, and advantageous to the republic, concluded.

S E C T.

S E C T. IX.

Containing proposals for a truce between Spain and Holland ; propositions concerning the re-union of the seventeen provinces ; the siege of Breda ; and a variety of other military operations, to the death of the prince of Orange, and the treaty of Munster.

A. D.
1633.
*Proposals
made by
the court
of Brus-
sels for a
truce.*

CONFOUNDED with the rapid conquests of prince Henry, and the progress of the Dutch conquests, the court of *Brussels* had no other resource than the renewal of their negotiations for a truce with the states general. Necessity rather than the love of peace dictated this measure. The *Spaniards* were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant what the *United Provinces* required ; but they were forced to temporise, and gain a little respite, by establishing conferences, whose sole object was to procrastinate. It had been the policy of *Philip II.* to set negotiations on foot whenever he found his treasury exhausted, and his arms unfortunate, with no other view than to break them off as soon as the *flota* arrived from the *Indies*, and he had recovered himself ; this policy was imitated by his successors. The archduchess now dispatched a deputation to *Maestricht*, with proposals to the prince of *Orange*, which he transmitted and referred to the states general. The states declared they could enter upon no conferences with the *Spanish* ministry ; but that they were willing to begin a negotiation with the catholic provinces, on condition they would detach themselves from the *Spaniards*. This proposal was accepted by the archduchess, who accordingly sent the archbishop of *Mechlin*, and the duke d' *Arschot*, to the *Hague*, to open the conferences. Seven other deputies from *Brabant*, *Hainault*, and *Flanders*, assisted. They were acknowledged as the ambassadors of the court of *Brussels* by the states, and they declared they were come entirely in the name of the states of the catholic provinces. As the states general were bound by the treaties with *France* and *Sweden*, to enter upon no negotiations without the consent and participation of their allies, they drew up a scheme of preliminaries so unreasonable, that the deputies declared it exceeded their instructions to give any answer. It is, however, supposed, that had the proposals been more favourable, they must have made the same declaration:

this

this at least is asserted by *Dutch* writers*. Upon this the deputies returned with more ample powers ; and the prince of *Orange*, unwilling to be diverted from his military operations by conferences, the fruitless issue of which he foresaw, marched at the head of his army, and laid siege to *Rhimberg*. This town, standing upon the *Rhine*, between *Wessel* and *Orsoy*, was regarded as a place of great importance to the *Hollanders*. It commanded the whole navigation and commerce of the *Rhine*, was a key to the *Spaniards* into *Friseland*, and enabled them to levy contributions in the *Dutch* territories on the hither side the *Rhine*. This important town the prince of *Orange* invested on the 11th day of *May*, pitching his head-quarters towards the south-side. *Diesdorff*, an officer of reputation, commanded in the town, having under him a garrison of 2000 men. He defended himself with so much judgment, that notwithstanding the prince carried on his approaches with the utmost vigour, only nine soldiers of the garrison were killed at the end of the month, but the fortifications were considerably damaged. His spirits were kept up by the prospect of relief from *Moncada*, who was marching to his assistance with an army of 20,000 men ; hopes that were soon cut off by the judicious measures of prince *Henry*, who detached a body of horse and foot to oppose the enemy, to cut off their convoys, and harass them in their march. The duke *de Bouillon* and colonel *Pinsen* commanded this detachment, and effectually executed their commission ; *Moncada* was unable to advance, and *Diesdorff*, destitute of all resource and expectation of relief, his garrison fatigued, and his provision and ammunition consumed, surrendered the town upon obtaining the honours of war, and certain favourable conditions for the inhabitants.

THE reduction of *Rhimberg* was the most important service that could have been performed, relative to the provinces of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, who were obliged, while this place remained in the hands of the *Spaniards*, to maintain large garrisons at a vast expence. It procured, likewise, another advantage to the *United Provinces*, by diminishing the duties upon all merchandise going up or down the river. In a word, the place was deemed of such consequence by the court of *Brussels*, that *Diesdorff* was sent prisoner to the citadel of *Antwerp*, and afterwards cashiered, for not having defended himself to the last extremity. *Henry's* expedition to *Cleves* diminished greatly the public expectation from the

* *LE CLERC*, tom. ii. p. 174.

conferences,

Twelve
thousand
Swedes
join the
prince of
Orange.

conferences, which still were pursued. Though the *Flemish* deputies continued at the *Hague*, the archduchess thought herself authorised, by the example of the states general, to continue her hostile preparations. Levies were accordingly made in all the territories subject to the government; a considerable army took the field in three divisions; and every thing promised that the campaign would be conducted with the utmost vigour. The count *de Mottery*, with one division, marched into the district of *Liege*, to revenge the breach of the neutrality, and that partiality of the chapter and states, shewn for the *Hollanders* during the siege of *Maastricht*; but he was twice defeated by the duke *de Bouillon*, and forced to abandon the enterprise. Prince *Henry* marched to *Brabant*, and encamping at *Botel*, was joined by 12,000 *Swedes*, under general *Melander*. Now was the most formidable army in the field, which the states general had beheld since the origin of the republic; it was composed of 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. *Spanish Brabant* regarded itself as already conquered, and the terror of the allied army had spread to the remotest extremities of the catholic *Netherlands*. After conferring with the *Dutch* deputies upon the operations of the campaign; after observing a strict fast, and offering solemn prayers for the prosperity of his arms, the prince of *Orange* began his march, at the head of all his forces, towards *Endybove*, in the month of *September*. A deluge of rain, which poured incessantly during the whole month, and the excellent disposition made by the *Spanish* general *Moncada*, frustrated, however, all his designs. The country was destitute of forage, the lands were overflowed, sickness appeared in the army, the peasants deserted their habitations, to avoid bringing provision to the *Dutch* troops, and every thing contributed to disappoint the great projects of the prince of *Orange*, and the vast expectations of the states general from so formidable an army^b. Unable to penetrate farther, he retired, and distributed his troops in winter-quarters.

THE naval armament under count *William* of *Nassau* was somewhat more fortunate, though greatly short of expectation in point of success. After alarming the *Spaniards* in different quarters, and keeping them in suspense where the stroke would fall, he at last made a descent on the coast of *Flanders*, near *Cadfant*, and took a little fort in the neighbourhood of *Sluys*, which he garrisoned. Perceiving that his progress was vigorously opposed by *Fontaine*, governor of

^b Mem. de prince Henry, p. 179.

Bruges,

Bruges, he reimarked his troops, and fell suddenly upon fort *Philippine*, near *Sas de Gand*, where he found abundance of ammunition, provision, and several pieces of beautiful cannon. To the fortifications of this place he made vast additions, strengthening the counterscarp, in particular, with seven great bastions, and a variety of out-works, that rendered it almost impregnable, and formed a convenient inlet to the *Hollanders* into *Flanders*. While he was thus employed, his other conquest was lost, owing to the misconduct and cowardice of the garrison. They surrendered after a faint resistance, and upon their return to *Holland* were broke, and rendered incapable of farther service. Some of the officers were banished, and the name of *Cut Head* was given to the fort, because it proved fatal to a variety of governors, *Spanish* and *Dutch*, who lost their heads for not defending it with more vigour and obstinacy. The *Spaniards* perceiving the effects of losing fort *Philippine*, that, instead of laying waste the territories of the states, as usual, their own dominions were now subjected to contributions to the very gates of *Ghent*, exerted their utmost endeavours once more to gain possession of a place so important. The governor of *Antwerp* made draughts from his own and the neighbouring garrisons; *Colonna* joined him with a body of cavalry, and *Gonzales* with several companies of infantry. In a short time such a force was assembled, as extremely pressed *William de Nassau*, and obliged him to apply for a considerable reinforcement. However, by a stratagem, he forced the enemy to drop their design of attacking him, of retaking fort *Philippine*, and of returning the insults they had lately sustained. Ordering several boats, with a trumpeter in each, to land in the night, sounding their warlike instruments, he persuaded the enemy that a strong reinforcement was arrived, and obliged them to decamp with great precipitation, leaving behind their baggage, provisions, the utensils brought for carrying on the siege, and several pieces of artillery.

WITH this transaction the campaign ended, upon which the negotiations for a truce were again resumed. The conferences at the *Hague* had been interrupted by hostilities committed in the field, and by a variety of difficulties started by the *Hollanders*, but not wholly broke off; for some of the deputies constantly resided in *Holland*, while others went to *Brussels* for farther instructions. It was the intention of the court of *Spain* and the states general both to amuse; the archduchess alone was serious in her endeavours to restore tranquillity and the blessings of repose to the

Netherlands. Possibly she might have effected this sooner, had she not been curbed, traversed, and disappointed by the intrigues of *Olivarez* and the *Spanish* ministry, who were too weak to execute their designs upon the *United Provinces*, and too proud to grant them peace on the only conditions they were resolved to accept. Her wise conduct broke all the measures concerted by the *Hollanders* for procuring the reunion of the *Seventeen Provinces*, upon such a footing as would entirely exclude the *Spaniards*. The count *de Berg's* desertion first suggested the idea of this reunion, to which great numbers of the *Flemish* nobility seemed well-disposed. Indeed the people in general were not averse to the scheme of a new republic, under the same laws and government, except in matters of religion, where perfect liberty of conscience should be tolerated. The design was noble, but it was too vast for practice; so many persons were interested to oppose it, that it was impossible it should ever be carried into execution. The archduchess was to be maintained in all her dignity and authority during her life, out of respect to her wisdom, and that general esteem which her sweet and amiable disposition attracted; but unfortunately she could not accept the offer, without betraying the confidence reposed in her by the court of *Madrid*. Some writers ascribe the ruin of the project to the duke *d'Arfshot*, who betrayed the negotiation between the *Flemish* nobility and the count *de Berg*. The states general perceived, that it was not with the court of *Brussels* they had to treat, but with that of *Madrid*; they altered their tone, spoke a different language, seemed more indifferent about the truce, but, however, did not positively refuse to listen to the proposals, with which the deputies returned to the *Hague*. Cardinal *Richlieu* now interposed, and omitted nothing to keep open the breach between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, so necessary to the designs he had formed. With this view he sent the baron *de Charnesse* to the *Hague*, who acquitted himself with so much address, promised so largely, and flattered the states with such agreeable prospects, that they precipitately broke off the conferences, and intimated to the deputies the necessity of their immediate departure^c.

Negotiations for a truce broke off.

It must be confessed that this measure was by no means agreeable to the majority of the people, who ardently wished for a solid pacification, whereby they might be at full liberty to give their whole attention to commerce; but the states of *Zealand*, and the prince of *Orange*, in par-

^c *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. p. 17.

ticular,

ticular, entered so warmly into the interests of the *French* ambassador, and represented so strongly the utility of continuing the war, that the states general declared in their favour, in despite of all the remonstrances made by *Holland* and *West Friseland*, the most concerned of all the provinces to bring about a respite of the enormous expences of supporting large fleets, armies, and numerous garrisons. *Char- nesse* surmounted these difficulties by the gold which he promised to shower down from *France*, and the powerful diversion the king's troops would make, by an irruption into *Lorrain* and *Alsace*. The states relied on the effects of these promises, the people were brought into good-humour, and all coincided in the resolution to prosecute the war with such vigour as should compel *Spain* to sue for peace, upon such terms as *France* and the republic should think fit to prescribe. This determination was scarce formed, when the *Netherlands* were deprived of their most excellent princess *Isabella-Clara-Eugenia*, archduchess of *Austria*, infant of *Spain*, daughter to *Philip II.* of *Spain*, grand-daughter of *Henry II.* of *France*, and still greater by her extraordinary merit, than her elevated birth and connections. She died at *Brussels*, on the first day of *September*, lamented by all degrees of men, and equally esteemed by the *Spaniards*, *Flemings*, and *Dutch*, for her prudence, moderation, humanity, piety, and every other quality which could adorn her sex, and reflect lustre upon her high dignity. To a capacity and courage altogether masculine, she joined the softness, the tenderness, and amiable delicacy of the female; but it was her truly moral and rational piety that, of all her qualities, shone with the brightest radiance: in her religion, even the *Hollanders*, the enemies of her faith and person, believed she was sincere; though the catholics blamed that moderation, which she recommended, and always observed, in regard to the reformed religion^d.

A. D.
1634

Death of
the arch-
duchess.

THE death of *Isabella* was an irrecoverable loss to *Spain*; it furnished an opportunity of displaying those ideal strokes of policy which seldom succeed, on account of their excessive refinement. We have seen *Philip* the Second's views in marrying the princess to the cardinal archduke, brother to the emperor *Rhodolph*. The *Netherlands* and *Franch Comté* were her dowry; and the contract of marriage stipulated, that the elder male issue should succeed, and in case of failure of such issue, the oldest of the female line; but that the provinces on no account should be divided or

^d Idem. ibid.

alienated. Now the whole scheme of *Philip* was frustrated, and the *Netherlands* again reverted to the *Spanish* monarchy, without producing any of the effects proposed. Among the papers in the cabinet of the archduchess was found a commission, signed in 1630, appointing the archbishop of *Mechlin*, and the duke *d'Arfchat*, don *Carlo Colonna*, and the marquis *d'Ayetone*, regents, during the absence of *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, brother to the catholic king, destined to succeed the archduchess, not in the property, but the government of the *Netherlands*. The death of some, the absence of others, and the contempt into which the duke *d'Arfchat* was fallen, so changed the regency, that the whole management devolved on the marquis *d'Ayetone*. As the cardinal infant was deeply engaged in *Germany*, a new commission was granted to the marquis, constituting him governor of the provinces, and captain-general of all the *Spanish* forces acting in the *Netherlands*.

Conduct of
the mar-
quis
d'Aye-
tone, the
new go-
vernor of
the Ne-
therlands.

He began his government with seizing upon the persons of the nobility suspected of holding any correspondence with count *Henry de Berg*, and the states general of the *United Provinces*. The prince *de Barbançon* was committed prisoner to the citadel of *Antwerp*; the duke *de Bournouville*, called likewise count *Hennin*, and the prince *d'Espinai*, saved themselves in *France*: an attempt was made to seize upon divers other noblemen; but they had notice of the intention of the governor, and made their escape. Some however were carried prisoners to *Antwerp*, while others took refuge in the *United Provinces* and *Brabant*, with the counts *de Berg* and *Warfuse*. As to the duke *d'Arfchat*, he fell under suspicion, and was detained prisoner at the court of *Madrid*. Sentence of death was pronounced against the count *de Berg*, which greatly alarmed all the *Flemish* nobility, who had any way connived at his desertion. The consternation became so general, that, dreading a revolt and an immediate insurrection, the marquis *d'Ayetone* found himself obliged to quiet the fears of the people, by publishing an amnesty of all that passed before the 16th of *April*. He saw the consequences of the rigorous treatment of the duke of *Alva*, and that iron scourge which he held over the *Flemings*; a conduct to which may justly be attributed the loss of the *Seven United Provinces*, and the union that took place at *Utrecht*.

NEXT he visited the coasts of *Flanders*, reinforced the garrisons of the frontier towns, built several forts, to restrain the incursions of the *Hollanders*, and concluded a treaty, on the 12th of *May*, with *Gaston de France*, duke of *Orleans*, and brother to *Lewis XIII.* in the name of his catholic

catholic majesty ; whereby the duke engaged to declare war against the *French* monarch. This treaty was opposed to the new alliance formed between the king and the republic, by which the king stipulated to augment his forces in the service of the states, to pay two millions yearly, and to declare war against the king of *Spain*, should he attack the *United Provinces*. After his negotiation with the duke of *Orleans*, the marquis d'*Ayetone* ordered his army to file towards the *Meuse*, leaving the counts *de Fontaine* and *Feria*, governors of *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, to oppose *William de Nassau's* designs upon *Flanders* ; to effect which they had a corps of 6000 foot, besides a considerable body of cavalry. Immediately the duke *de Lerma* and the marquis *de Leda* were detached to lay siege to *Argentau*, a place of strength and importance, situated between *Maestricht* and *Liege*, and founded upon a rock washed by the waters of the *Meuse*. Notwithstanding its great strength, *Argentau* surrendered after the exchange of a few shot ; the garrison, consisting of 25 soldiers, not chusing to wait for the expected succours from the prince of *Orange*. The governor, who was son to *Junius* the prince's secretary, was committed prisoner to *Maestricht*, by order of the states ; but the chief blame fell on the prince of *Orange*, justly censured for leaving a fortress so important in a condition so defenceless.

FROM *Argentau* the *Spaniards* marched to *Limburgh*, a city of which they made sure, in consequence of a secret treaty with the governor. He had agreed to admit the enemy upon receiving 30,000 pistoles ; but his treacherous design was discovered, and frustrated by the lieutenant-governor, who obliged him to take refuge among the *Spaniards*. The disappointment did not hinder the marquis from investing *Maestricht* in the month of *July*. This alarmed the prince of *Orange*, who had hitherto been seduced into a state of inactivity, by the negotiations carried on by the states with the *French* king, the *Swedish* queen, the *German* protestants, the duke of *Newburgh*, and the malecontents in *Flanders*. Now he advanced to the frontiers of *Brabant* and *Guelderland*, in such a manner as to penetrate into either, as circumstances might require. The duke *de Bouillon*, governor of *Maestricht*, apprehending that *d'Ayetone* formed designs upon that city, threw himself with 4000 men into the place, and made so furious a sally on the besiegers, that they were constrained to convert the siege into a blockade. Upon receiving a strong reinforcement, the marquis again began to make his approaches. He battered the town with the utmost fury ; but all his ef-

Maestricht in vain besieged by the Spaniards.

forts gave no inquietude to the prince of *Orange*, who relied upon the courage of the garrison, and the intrepidity and skill of the duke *de Bouillon*. Perfectly secure in this well-reposed confidence, *Henry* did not quit the *Hague* before the month of *August*, contenting himself with sufficiently reinforcing the garrisons of *Ruremonde* and *Venlo*. Now indeed he resolved to invest *Breda*, rather to make a diversion in favour of *Maestricht*, than with hopes of succeeding in the reduction of so well-garrisoned and strong a city*. It answered his expectation: he had scarce begun to work upon the trenches, when *d'Ayotone* raised the siege of *Maestricht*, and marched with all his forces to *Breda*, upon which the prince retired on the 8th of *September*, leading his army in good order along the *Meuse*, and closing the campaign with this transaction.

THOUGH the marquis *d'Ayotone* had been fairly overreached by *Henry's* feint upon *Breda*, yet he assumed the airs of a conqueror, and entered the place in triumph, as if he had defeated the enemy, and delivered the city from the pressure of a close siege. This policy was necessary to quiet the minds of the people, who murmured at the expences fruitlessly bestowed on the siege of *Maestricht*. It answered *d'Ayotone's* purpose, the multitude being amused and dazzled with the public rejoicings, and bonfires kindled in *Breda*, to celebrate an imaginary victory. *Henry's* prudence had cut off all possibility of gaining any real advantage, the garrisons being all put in a state of defence, and the troops so judiciously cantoned, as effectually to cover the whole frontier. This security of the provinces was matter of great chagrin to *Ayotone*, who hoped to signalise his government by some very important blow; and his uneasiness was augmented by the motions of the *French* army, under the marshal *de la Force*, on the side of *Luxemburgh*. The duke of *Orleans* likewise broke his engagements with the court of *Spain*, and was reconciled to the king his brother. All these circumstances involved the court of *Brussels* in the utmost confusion, when the cardinal infant *Albert* arrived, to take upon him the government, to dispel by his presence the gloom that overspread the face of affairs. At *Brussels* he was received as a conqueror, with all the pomp, magnificence, and honours, formerly shewn to *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* It was immediately published, that he meditated nothing less than the reunion of the seventeen provinces under his government, and the greatest

* *Ferdinand*
The cardinal infant arrives in the Netherlands.

* *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. *ibid.*

hopes

hopes were entertained from a prince known to be of a warlike disposition, and confessed by all to possess the talents of a sound politician.

THE cardinal's arrival announced to the states general the necessity of keeping strict watch, and putting their troops and garrisons into the best posture. They beheld with disquiet and jealousy the compliments that were paid to the cardinal by the neighbouring states and princes; especially the king of *England*, and the elector of *Cologne*, who were the earliest in their congratulations. It was also matter of great offence that the duke of *Newburgh*, with whom they had lately been upon terms of friendship, should not be satisfied with meeting the cardinal upon his way, but must escort him with a numerous train to *Brussels*. Their resentment, however, against this prince was soon turned to compassion, when they saw his territories desolated, on the one hand, by the duke of *Lunenburg*, as the ally of *Sweden*, and on the other, by the imperial general count *Manfueidt*. It was for this reason they sent him a deputation, exhorting him to continue firm in his neutrality, promising, in that case, to afford him all possible protection. This extraordinary change at the court of *Brussels* determined the states to send an embassy to the court of *France*, pressing the execution of the late treaty, and exhorting the king to declare war against the *Spaniards*. The consequence was, the renewal of the same treaty, with this addition, that an offensive alliance was now contracted between the king and the republic, from which the states expected nothing less than the entire conquest of the *Spanish Netherlands*. A scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the towns were to preserve their privileges, and the people their religion. The duchy of *Luxembourg*, the earldoms of *Namur*, *Hainault*, *Courtray*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, as far as *Blakemberg*, *Damme*, and *Rupplemonde*, were assigned to *France*; while *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, the territory of *Waes*, the lordship of *Mechlin*, and all the rest of *Flanders*, should be annexed to the republic. We have since that period seen other equally unjust and unsuccessful partitions of the *Spanish* monarchy, in which *France* and *Holland* were to have been principal sharers. Providence, however, did not wholly abandon the *Spaniards*, or suffer the ambitious, iniquitous designs of their enemies to take effect. The vast projects and sanguine hopes of the allies were disappointed, chiefly by their own blunders, and by the jealousy which the *Hollanders* entertained of the grow-

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Feb. 8.
An offensive alliance between France and Holland.

ing power of *France*, and the vicinage of so powerful a monarch as *Lewis*. The prince of *Orange* likewise was greatly instrumental in defeating the intention of the league. He could never forgive cardinal *Richlieu* the attempt made on the principality of *Orange*; and he sought his revenge by embracing every occasion to mortify that naughty prelate, and crafty minister.

The Spaniards defeated.

LEWIS XIII. now wanted a specious pretence for coming to a rupture with the court of *Spain*, and declaring war against the cardinal governor of the *Netherlands*, as the first step towards the execution of the treaty with *Holland*. The seizure of *Triers*, and the unjust detention of the elector, sent prisoner to *Brussels*, and thence to *Vienna*, afforded the opportunity he wished^f. The elector was under his protection; he demanded his release; and not obtaining it, he solemnly denounced war, by the mouth of a herald sent to *Brussels*. It was concerted, that the prince of *Orange* should enter *Brabant* with his forces, while a *French* army, of 20,000 foot and 7000 horse, advanced to the frontiers of that province, to effect a junction; the combined army to be commanded in chief by the prince of *Orange*. It was the business of the cardinal infant to prevent this union: he accordingly detached prince *Thomas*, with the counts *Burgoi* and *Feria*, to give battle to the *French*. On the 20th of *May* the two armies met near the village of *d'Avein* in *Luxemburgh*. An engagement ensued, and the *Spaniards* were totally defeated, after an obstinate engagement that continued for five hours, and was sustained with astonishing intrepidity. They left 4000 dead upon the field, 800 prisoners were taken, and several pieces of cannon, with standards, colours, and other military trophies. The conquerors advanced to *Maestricht*, to join the prince of *Orange*, who lamented that he was deprived of a share in this glorious victory, and complained to the *seigneur de Pontis*, that the marshals *de Brezè* and *Chatillon* should have presumed to give battle without the orders of the *generalissimo*^g. This is the insinuation of *French* writers; we find not the least blame thrown upon the marshals in the prince's own relation of his campaigns; and it is certain he received them with great civility, and bestowed the highest encomiums on their valour, when they met at *Maestricht*. It must, however, be confessed that no great

^f *Mem. de prince Henry*, p. 199. *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. lib. viii. cap. 3.

^g *Idem ibid.*

harmony subsisted, though this arose from motives more worthy of the prince of *Orange*: they related chiefly to his country; he seemed to penetrate into futurity, and clearly to predict all the consequences of suffering the *French* king to establish a footing in the *Netherlands*.

WHEN the armies of *France* and *Holland* were united before *Maestricht*, they exceeded 50,000 men, commanded by the best officers in *Europe*, and generals who had drawn their first breath in the camp, and been nursed in the arms of *Belona*. Such an armament was sufficient to swallow up the *Spanish Netherlands*, already under the utmost consternation, from the defeat at *d'Aven*. *Henry* passed the *Meuse* above and below *Maestricht*, on the 1st of *June*, and penetrated into *Brabant*, accompanied with a train composed of 150 pieces of cannon. The cardinal infant was encamped at *Demer*, having secured all the passes in the best method he could, by throwing up entrenchments, building redoubts, and cutting down great trees; but on the approach of the allies he was forced to retire with precipitation, to desert all his works, and leave a free passage. In consequence *St. Tron*, *Landen*, *Tillemont*, *Hallem*, and several inconsiderable places fell into their hands; and *Tillemont*, because the governor and garrison were intrepid enough to resist, experienced all the horrors which the brutal incensed soldiers could devise. It was summoned on the 8th of *June*, and *Francisco de Bargas*, with a garrison of 1100 men, replied, that he would endeavour to merit the prince's esteem by his conduct. He made the most vigorous defence, but the town was at last forced by escalade, the houses pillaged, the churches destroyed, and the priests murdered; a barbarity which is entirely attributed to the *Hollanders*, and even to the prince of *Orange*, who did not take sufficient precautions to restrain the fury of the soldiers. The *French* alledge, that the few who escaped owed their safety to a guard placed over them by the mareschal *Brezè*; but the cruelty here charged upon the prince of *Orange* seems to be fully refuted by all his former conduct, which breathed nothing but humanity, and the most generous feelings for the unfortunate ^b.

ON the 10th of *June* the two armies separated, the prince of *Orange* taking the route of *Brussels*, where the cardinal infant expected the succours which *Piccolomini* was bringing from *Germany*, and the *French* directing their march towards *Diest*, which surrendered at the first summons. They afterwards joined between *Louvain* and *Brussels*, and now that

^b *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. p. 8. cap. 6,

jealousy betwixt the prince and the *French* marshals which, say the *French* writers, had its origin in the victory at *A-vein*, became more open and declared. Debates took place of action, and instead of profiting by the enemies consternation, and besieging *Louvain* at the time proposed, several days were consumed in fruitless altercation, and the provision necessary for the execution of the design was exhausted. The garrison had time to repair the fortifications, and the cardinal to throw in a reinforcement of 5000 foot and 200 horse. He entered the town in person, resolving to defend it to the last extremity; and to draw him to *Brussels*, the prince of *Orange* moved towards that capital, as if he intended to be-

The allies siege it, which effectually answered his purpose. The cardinal, terrified for the seat of the wealth, the archives, and of *Louvain*. all that was valuable in the *Netherlands*, flew to *Brussels*, leaving 2000 men in *Louvain* under the conduct of the baron *Groobendenck*, and the allies made a sudden turning, sat down before *Louvain*, and broke ground on the 25th of *June*. By next day their batteries played vigorously on different quarters of the town, and all the generals seemed unanimous that the governor would make but a short defence. He had however, since the reduction of *Tillemont*, been preparing for a siege, and had amassed great store of ammunition and provision. The fate of that place determined him upon making the most obstinate resistance; and his views were seconded by a brave veteran garrison, accustomed to all the hardships and fatigues of a siege, who were admired by *Henry* himself for the intrepidity exerted at *Boisleduc* and *Maestricht*. The skill and courage of the garrison, joined to a certain languor and inactivity in the allies, protracted the siege. *Henry* is accused of an intention to ruin the *French* army. Provisions grew short in the camp; several parties of foragers returned without being able to find grass or corn for their horses, whole convoys came back empty, or were interrupted by the enemy; dissensions arose, the *French* murmured, and soon complained openly that they were betrayed; disease swept off great numbers of the troops, *Piccolomini* was advancing to give battle with a fine army, and the result was the breaking up of a siege, which gave the first turn to the fortune of the allies, and laid the foundation of numberless disappointments. The armies now separated, and the *Dutch* went to *Brabant*, where they found abundance of refreshment; while the *French* unhappily quartered in the neighbourhood of *Ruremonde*, in which nothing but hunger, disease, and accumulated misfortunes offered. Above 6000 men died in the space of a few weeks, and

and the camp was in so wretched a situation that it rather resembled a hospital than the army of a powerful monarch sent to extend his conquests¹.

ALREADY the enemy's affairs began to assume a more benign aspect. Hitherto nothing but ruin and disgrace had succeeded the death of the archduchess; but the want of harmony in the confederate army afforded the cardinal the fairest opportunity and the happiest prospects. One army was now wholly destroyed by sickness, and the other was too weak to face the powerful forces drawn from Germany, joined to the army already formed in the Netherlands, composed of Spaniards, and the best troops of the provinces. The reduction of the strong fortress of Schenck was the first fruits of this favourable change in the cardinal's situation. Adolphus d'Emholt, a lieutenant-colonel of the Walloon guards, formed a scheme to surprise the garrison, and succeeded by dint of vigilance, address, and intrepidity. He was rewarded with the government of the fort, a gold chain presented by the cardinal's own hands, and a present of 50,000 livres. The states-general regarded fort Schenck as the key of the United Provinces; they were alarmed at the loss of a place so important, and immediately sent instructions to the prince of Orange to use his utmost art in recovering it. He obeyed the mandate, and thereby left all his conquests a prey to the enemy, who were at liberty now to pursue every method to obstruct the return of the allies. To succeed in the recovery of fort Schenck, it was thought necessary to reunite the French and Dutch armies. Accordingly the prince of Orange pitched his quarters on the side of Betau, while the marshals Brezé and Chatillon encamped towards Emmerick and Cleves; however the necessary preliminaries for conducting the siege could not be got ready before the month of August. To shorten matters, and abridge the expedition, prince Henry formed a plan to surprise the garrison; but the vigilance of the governor baffled the attempt, and obliged him to recur to the first scheme of operations. It was settled that the Dutch should carry on the approaches, while the French should cover the siege, and oppose the enemy's succouring the garrison. This they performed with great intrepidity, obliging the cardinal after a sharp action to retire, notwithstanding their numbers were greatly diminished, and the army in general in a wretched

The Spaniards surprise fort Schenck, which is retaken by the Dutch after a tedious siege.

¹ Mem. de prince Henry, p. 201.

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condition (A), owing chiefly to the excessive heat and drowth of the summer-season, and the deluges of rain that poured down for the whole autumn. So miserable indeed was their situation, that the marshals were forced to lead back the poor remains of the army to *France*, while the prince of *Orange* continued the siege with invincible perseverance, and in despite of all the rigours of a severe winter. The *Spaniards* were no less obstinate in the defence of *Schenck*, they exerted their utmost diligence to throw in succours, and the prince was equally vigilant to prevent them, and force the brave garrison to submission. At last the *Hollanders* took the castle of *Billand* by assault; they ruined all the outworks of the besieged, except the halfmoon, which was defended with incredible intrepidity; the intrepid *Emholt* was slain by a musket-bullet; all communication between the fort and the *Spanish* territories was cut off, the garrison was greatly reduced and dispirited by the death of their leader, and every thing drawing to a crisis favourable to the besieged, when the cardinal determined to send baron

(A) The picture drawn of this army by *Nuville* is extremely affecting. After the battle of *d'Arvein* it was augmented to 40,000 men, all well clothed, vigorous, and eager for action: now, says he, by the artifices of the prince of *Orange*, it was reduced to a third of the number, naked, starving, and covered with sores, or emaciated by coughs and consumptions. Under pretence of feeling for their misfortunes, the prince assigned them quarters in *Holland*; but such as completed their misfortunes. Even the officers were forced to sell their cloaths for bread, and to beg their way back to *France*; insomuch that cardinal *Richlieu*, incensed at *Henry's* treachery, would have declared immediate war against the states-general, if he had not been deterred by the circumstances of the court, and other weighty considerations. But *M. Nuville* equally displays his

gross partiality and ignorance. The mortality in the *French* army arose solely from the nature of the climate, which later experience has fully demonstrated will ever prove fatal to *French* soldiers. Scarcity of provision and bad cloathing likewise contributed; but this proceeded not from the treachery of *Henry*, but the poverty of the *French* court, unable to remit the sums necessary for supporting so numerous an army. This much we thought necessary in vindication of a prince vilely traduced, only because he first penetrated the ambitious views of *France*, and predicted the consequence of giving them a footing in the *Netherlands*. It is certain he opposed the late treaty, it is allowed he detested *Richlieu*; but it does not appear from any authentic proofs that he acted contrary to the duty of a great commander.

Groobendenck, who had so successfully defended *Louvain*, to succeed *Emholt* in the government. The prince of *Orange* attended the business of the states at the *Hague*, leaving the conduct of the siege to *William* of *Nassau*, who performed all that could be expected from courage combined with conduct, and ardor tempered by prudence and judgment. He took his measures so well, that he greatly augmented his army, and obliged prince *Thomas*, detached with a strong body of forces to raise the siege at the hazard of a battle, to remain a tame spectator of his successful operations, giving a general assault, and becoming master of a place which cost so much blood and treasure, without granting a capitulation to the garrison*. He concluded the campaign with some other advantages obtained in the territory of *Cleves*, all of which however were insufficient to ballance the consequences of the retreat of the *French* army, and the number of soldiers lost by keeping the field for almost a whole rigorous winter.

THE remainder of this year passed in mutual expeditions into each other's territories, which produced nothing decisive. The *Spanish* arms were chiefly employed in *Picardy*, under the conduct of prince *Thomas* and *Piccolomini*. As to the *Hollanders*, they struck their most important blows on their own proper element, the ocean, having defeated a fleet of *Dunkirkers* in sight of *Dieppe*. In this engagement the *Dutch* were commanded by *Evertzen*, who began already to distinguish himself; the *Spaniards* had two ships sunk, one burnt, and two taken, with their admiral *Antonio Collardo* on board. In consequence of this victory, the commerce of the provinces was secured, and trade flourished extremely, notwithstanding it had suffered greatly by the enemy's piracies the succeeding year. The chief advantages however were obtained by the *East India* company, who extended their trade far beyond what it ever before attained, and made such returns as astonished *Europe* and enriched the provinces. As to the *West India* company, it was less fortunate. All the attempts of the company had lately miscarried in *Brasil* and on the coast of *Africa*, where the *Portuguese* were greatly superior in numbers. Chagrined with disappointment, they resolved to commit their affairs to some general, whose established reputation, valour, prudence and experience, might retrieve their losses, and extend their settlements in *Brasil* and the *West Indies*. No person appeared more likely to answer all their purposes than count *John Maurice de Nassau*, who

Maurice
de Nassau
made go-
vernor of
Brasil.

* *Idem. ibid.*

had

had for many years faithfully and eminently served his country. The offer was made of appointing him governor-general and commander in chief of *Brasil* and *South America*; an employment which the count accepted with the consent of the states-general and the prince of *Orange*. His authority was directly the same vested in the governor-general of *Batavia*, a fleet of 32 sail, twelve of which were men of war, with 2700 land-forces on board, was equipped; and he quitted the *Texel* on the 25th day of *October*, having already conquered in imagination the whole *Portuguese Brasils*.

Of the fourteen provinces into which *Brasil* was divided, four were subject to the *Hollanders*, *Fernambuco*, *Temeraca*, *Paraiba*, and *Rio Grande*. Since the year 1630 the court of *Spain* sustained incredible damage by the efforts which the *Dutch* made to establish settlements in *South America*. Of 800 ships fitted out by the king of *Spain* for that service, 543 fell into the hands of the enemy, were burnt or destroyed, the loss amounting to forty-five millions of florins. The *Dutch* had seized upon the island of *Curacao* on the northern coast of *America*; they had pillaged the opulent town of *Truxillo* in the gulph of *Honduras*, with a variety of small settlements on the coast of *Mexico*; they had defeated in divers engagements, the *Spanish* generals *Albuquerque*, *Bagniola*, and *Lewis de Rocca de Bergia*; they had by force and fraud gained over to their interest several nations, who ardently wished for the expulsion of the *Portuguese*; but at the time *Maurice* was appointed governor, their efforts had been faint and fruitless, and *Christopher Artichoffi*, a *Polish* socinian, of all their officers, met with any degree of success. When the count arrived at *Brasil*, his first step was to relieve all the garrisons, and form his army of troops acquainted with the country, and seasoned to the climate. His little corps, amounting in all to 3700 men, he led against *Porto de Calco*, the garrison of which had almost entirely cut off the communication betwixt the *Dutch* settlements. *Bagniola*, the *Portuguese* general, marched with a superior army to oppose him; a battle was fought, and the *Portuguese* totally defeated, *Bagniola* saving himself and a few troops with great difficulty in a city built on the river *Porto Calco*, and fortified in such a manner that it commanded all the adjacent country. *Maurice* pursued, and immediately invested the fortress. The *Portuguese* general defended himself bravely, but was in a few days forced, for want of provision, to surrender at discretion.

FLUSHED with conquest, the count marched against *Ope-nada*, a town situated upon the same river, within six miles of its

its opening into the ocean. This place surrendered with little trouble, *Maurice* strengthened it by a citadel which he erected, and called after his own name. At the mouth of the river he built another fort, which obliged the *Spaniards* on both sides to take shelter in *Seregippa del Rei*, and abandon their habitations. Leaving the greater part of the army with *Artichoff* for the defence of the frontiers, he returned to *Reciff*, to establish the government and religion of the *United Provinces*, in all the country subject to the republic, treating however with great moderation the natives and foreigners who had been bred in a different faith, and under a different policy. He also equipped two squadrons, one of which he sent southwards under admiral *Lichthart*, beyond the bay of *All Saints*; the other sailed north-east to the coast of *Africa*, under colonel *Coine*, whose exploits and reduction of *St. George de la Mina* we have seen in a former volume¹.

WHILE these conquests were making in *Africa* and *America*, the plan of a general pacification was laid in *Europe*. The pontiff, as the common father of all christians, offered his mediation between *France*, *Spain*, and the empire. The states-general rejected an umpire whom they justly suspected of partiality to the court of *Spain*; however he still continued to press the other powers to accommodate matters, sensible that the public would not long chuse to support a war singly against the power of the house of *Austria*. Cardinal *Richlieu* did not fail to make his advantage of the disposition of the states-general, notwithstanding the grudge he bore the prince of *Orange*. He urged the states-general to continue the alliance with *France*, and his remonstrances were followed by a renewal of the treaty between the two powers. By this treaty *Lewis* engaged to supply the states with a yearly sum of 500,000 livres, over and above the usual subsidy of 2,000,000, on account of the great expences of the former year, spent chiefly in the reduction of *Schenck*, and opposing the *Spaniards* in *Picardy*. Two days after the states-general renewed their ancient alliance with the elector of *Brandenburgh*.

A. D.
1637.]

THE strong connections between *France* and *Holland* The prince evinced cardinal *Richlieu* of the necessity of suppressing his own personal dislike to the prince of *Orange*, the better to promote the interests of his sovereign; he therefore laboured to gain the friendship of prince *Henry*. He knew his influence in the republic, and was sensible that the operations of the field could never prove successful, unless he

¹ Vid. Hist. of the coasts of Africa, vol. xvii. Un. Mod. Hist.

The prince
lays siege
to Breda.

concurring heartily with the views of the *French* court. For this reason it was that he directed *Charnasse*, the ambassador, always to bestow the title of *Highness* upon the prince, instead of that of *Excellence*, with which he had been formerly complimented. He perfectly understood the character of *Henry*, and that though he was superior to corruption, inviolable in his attachment to his country, and invariably fixed in the paths of virtue and honour; yet he was not insensible to the irresistible charms of ambition. He gained his point, and established a perfect harmony, to all appearance, between the king and the states-general, and between himself and the prince of *Orange*. Both sides now prepared to execute their engagements with punctuality, and repair the losses consequent on the former discord that subsisted. *Henry* never lost sight of *Breda*, in the reduction of which he was especially concerned, though the conquest would likewise prove of the last consequence to the common cause, and to the republic in particular. He planned a scheme which he hoped would greatly facilitate the siege. Near 4000 boats of different burthens were collected in the port of *Flushing*; an armament which gave great disquiet to the *Spaniards*, who believed it was destined against *Bruges*, *Dunkirk*, or some of the maritime towns in *Flanders*. In this state of uncertainty, and not knowing where the storm would break, the cardinal infant assembled all his troops, and distributed them round the frontiers of *Flanders*, and in all the places which he thought most exposed. This was precisely what *Henry* desired, who immediately advanced to *Breda*, when the *Spanish* army was removed to a convenient distance. By the 23d of *July* the siege was formed, which happened to be the same day on which *Landreci* and *Hanau* surrendered to the *French*. *Omer Fourdin*, an officer who had signalized himself on every occasion, especially at the defence of *Schenck*, when the *Dutch* themselves admired his conduct and valour, was governor. He had a garrison of 3000 men, whom he so animated by his precepts and example, that they became rivals for glory, and every soldier cheerfully offered to lay down his life in the service of his country, and for the honour of his beloved commander. *Fourbin* possessed the hearts of all his inferiors by his complacency, generosity, liberality and those other qualities of true greatness, which the most powerfully operate on the minds of the multitude, and in a particular manner on the soldiers. He punctually advanced the pay of the troops, carefully inspected their provision, saw them properly clothed, and whenever remittances happened to fail, generously

rously distributed his own money, coined his plate, and even sold his horses and apparel, to supply the wants of his garrison.

THE prince of *Orange*, accompanied by his son prince *William*, then but thirteen years of age, and the prince palatine, afterwards elector, pushed the siege with all imaginable vigour, to finish their work before the cardinal should have time to assemble a sufficient army to give battle. That prince, however, had detached count *John* of *Nassau*, with a body of 5000 foot, and 2000 horse, to throw himself into *Breda*. He had orders to attack that quarter of the camp commanded by his cousin count *William de Nassau*; but he found the works so exceedingly strong, that he dropped the attempt, and wrote to the cardinal that the prince's camp was impregnable; at least to force it would require the whole *Spanish* army. While he lay at some distance waiting the cardinal's orders, he met with an opportunity of throwing 300 men with bags of corn into the city. The garrison had made a vigorous sally, and the count so well managed the occasion, that, in despite of the diligence and courage of the besieged, he introduced such succours as helped to protract the fate of *Breda*. The whole *Spanish* army advanced to *Rhinberg*; but every pass and post was so stoutly guarded, that after fruitless attempts to draw the besiegers out of their lines, the cardinal was forced to retire, and confide solely in the valour of the besieged. However he found means to reduce *Venlo* and *Ruremonde*, publishing at the same time a report that *Nimeguen* was taken by surprize, *Knotsemburgh* by assault, and that he had forced the prince of *Orange* to raise the siege of *Breda*. Rejoicings were made in every town in the *Spanish Netherlands*, which so astonished *Maurice*, that he sent a message to *Fourbin* governor of *Breda*, desiring to know the foundation of these reports. *Fourbin's* answer became the sincerity and honour of a soldier. "He had rather, he said, the reports had been true and not published, than false and reported with so much ostentation."

FOURBIN'S courage did not abandon him on the retreat of the *Spaniards*; he sustained the redoubled efforts of the enemy with his usual vigour. A variety of brisk sallies were made, in one of which fell, among other considerable personages on the side of the besiegers, the baron *Charneffe*, ambassador from the *French* king. The incessant fire and perpetual attacks from the town, obliged the prince to alter his manner, and carry on his approaches

Breda surrenders.

under cover ; which though more slow and expensive, saved the lives of great numbers, and enabled him at last to arrive at the foot of the walls. This at length shook the constancy of the brave *Fourbin*, who saw himself destitute of powder and provision, without hope of succour, his garrison diminished to a third of their original number, and the remains broken, fatigued, and exhausted. He was besides teased with the clamours of the townsmen, oppressed with a malignant fever, that swept the people off by hundreds. All these circumstances determined him to propose a capitulation ; he sent it to the prince of *Orange*, and it was immediately accepted, without alteration, though the prince's generosity and regard for the brave garrison occasioned loud clamours against his conduct. The governor and soldiers were allowed all the honours of war, and the officers of the city placed on the same footing as in the year 1625, before it was reduced by *Spinola*. *Fourbin* paid his compliments sealed in a letter to the prince ; he was received graciously, loaded with praises and honours, and dismissed with valuable presents, which reflected equal credit on the generosity of the prince, and the valour of the governor^m.

THE conquest of *Breda* was attended by consequences the most important to the states-general. It secured commerce on the coasts of *Zealand*, and frontiers of *Holland* ; it delivered the provinces from the incursions of the enemy, quite to the gates of *Bergen-op-zoom* and *Boisleduc* ; it gained a valuable addition to the dominions of the republic ; it depressed the spirits of the *Spaniards*, disconcerted their projects, gave fresh courage to the *Dutch*, and greatly augmented prince *Henry's* reputation. To put so valuable an acquisition beyond all danger of being again lost, the prince laboured with diligence to repair and augment the fortifications, in which he so happily succeeded, that *Breda* might be deemed one of the strongest cities then in *Europe* ; for as yet *Vauban* and *Coehorn* had not appeared to raise the art of defence and attack to its height of perfection.

THE rejoicings made for the reduction of *Breda*, had almost proved fatal to *Rhimberg*. The *Spanish* garrison in the city of *Guelders*, apprised of the vast consumption of powder at *Rhimberg*, in firing cannon and giving magnificent exhibitions, and imagining that amidst the joy and riot of public rejoicings, the defence of the town might proba-

^m Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 218.

bly be neglected, formed a scheme to surprise the place, and introduce a body of *Spanish* forces. That part of the walls where the enemy approached, was guarded only by one centinel, who immediately discharged his piece, and thereby alarmed the garrison. The governor was gone to the *Hague*, to be cured of the wounds he received at the siege of *Breda*, and *John Weeckens*, his deputy, had but a handful of soldiers. Resistance was vain, as the enemy had already applied ladders to the walls; he bethought him therefore of a stratagem, which was to desert with 17 men to the enemy, in order to prevail upon them to defer the attack, until the orders he had given within could be executed, and the place put in a posture of defence. The project was wild, but it partly succeeded. *Weeckens* was well received; his story was plausible, and he related it with such discretion, and gave so strong reasons for deferring the attack, that several hours were lost: however, being at last discovered, he was forced to fight his way back, sustained the whole weight of the enemy, and disappointed their design, by this equally bold and extraordinary measure. When they returned to the attack on *Rhimberg*, the garrison received them with so much bravery, as obliged them to abandon the enterprise^a.

As the *Spaniards* were not sufficiently strong on the *Meuse* to act openly, and lay siege to the towns lately taken by the *Dutch*, they made several attempts to surprise the garrisons. A deep design upon *Maestricht* was happily disappointed, on the point of execution; all the rest of their projects, most of which were extremely refined, had the same issue. At sea they were more fortunate. The *Dunkirkers* attacked a fleet of *Zealanders*, under convoy of a single man of war, which they took after an obstinate battle, during which the merchantmen escaped. Soon after they augmented their fleet to 40 sail, and attacked a *Dutch* squadron of 40 sail, whereof five were men of war. A bloody battle was fought, and the victory decided by the loss of one *Dutch* man of war, all the rest having escaped safe to port. Towards the spring hostilities were renewed on shore. Prince *Henry* resolved now to make use of the large fleet detained for the whole preceding autumn, in the road of *Flushing*, by adverse winds and the vigilance of the *Spaniards*. He meditated the reduction of *Antwerp*, and, to facilitate this scheme, advanced his cavalry to *Boisleduc*, *Bergen-op-zoom*, and *Lille*, leaving

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1638.

^a NUVILLE, tom. ii. lib. viii.

Henry de Nassau, count of *Friseland*, with a small army in the neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*. The infantry was embarked in thirty transports, under count *William de Nassau*, who arrived on the 23d day of *June* before *Fort Perle*, which he reduced. With a force not exceeding 6000 men, he laid siege to *Fort St. Mary*, and secured the whole country to *Fort Isabella*, which immediately communicates with the city of *Antwerp*; but the difficulty of breaking down the dykes, and other cross accidents, obliged him to content himself with blocking up *Fort St. Mary*, and directing his chief strength against *Fort de Verre Broeck*, about a league distant from *Calloo*. Meantime the cardinal arrived at *Antwerp*, and with a considerable body of horse and foot crossed the *Scheld*. The *Hollanders* were immediately drawn from their posts before *St. Mary*, and count *William* having taken *Verre Broeck*, and received a reinforcement from prince *Henry*, assembled all his forces near *Calloo*, where he made a stand. Here he was attacked by the cardinal, with an army double his number; but he defended himself with so much intrepidity, that, after an engagement of eight hours, the enemy were forced to retreat. On both sides the loss was considerable; but the *Dutch* chiefly regretted the death of the young count *Maurice de Nassau*, who had in an extraordinary manner distinguished all the virtues of a long line of heroic ancestors.

An unsuccessful attempt on Antwerp.

Dutch defeated.

THOUGH the *Spaniards* were repulsed in this attempt, they were neither defeated nor dispirited. A fresh attack was made in the count's quarters, before his troops had time to draw breath. The artillery at the same time played with fury, all the outworks were forced, and the *Dutch* in the utmost danger of being totally defeated, when the night seasonably interposed, under cover of which the count drew off his broken forces. He was pursued; and his rear, composed entirely of *Scotch* regiments, cut off, after a brave resistance. Great numbers endeavouring to gain the ships, plunged into the river and were drowned, while the *Spaniards* pursuing their victory, entered *Calloo*, and made prisoners the *Dutch* garrison. *Fort Verre Broeck*, surrendered upon honourable conditions to the conquerors, the prince of *Orange's* whole scheme was defeated, and the states were extremely mortified at the severest blow they had received since the cardinal came to the government of the *Spanish Netherlands* °.

° Mem. de Prince Henry, *ibid*.

PRINCE Henry was posted at *Bergen-op-zoom*, exerting his utmost diligence in collecting the fugitive remains of the defeated army. *Sfondrato* was detached, with 24 troops of horse, to attack his intrenchments. He surprised the centinels, and threw the *Dutch* camp into confusion; but the prince poured out his troops with such impetuosity, as entirely disconcerted the *Spaniards*, and repulsed them with great loss, the prisoners amounting to 400 men, among whom were several officers of distinction. Two days after, when the *Dutch* imagined themselves in perfect security, their camp was a second time attacked at *Wowen*, with such vigour, that having forced the intrenchments, the *Spaniards* began pillaging. In this situation, the *Dutch* having rallied, returned to the charge, drove the enemy out of the camp, and obtained a complete victory. Being superior in forces, the *Spaniards* resolving to keep the prince in continual perturbation, a third time fell upon his cavalry near *St. Vliet*, the contest was warm, and the advantage disputed; certain it is, that near a thousand men fell upon each side. It was after these sharp actions, that the prince of *Orange* made an unsuccessful attempt on *Guelders*, and that the *Spaniards* reduced *Kerpen*, with which transaction and some other less considerable losses on the side of the states, ended the campaign, in a manner more glorious to the cardinal than any of the preceding.

NOR were the *Dutch* more fortunate in *South America Affairs* in than in *Europe*. A fever that brought the life of count *South-Maurice* into great danger, proved extremely detrimental to *America*. their affairs in *Brasil*. After the reduction of *Porto Cavailo*, the *Portuguese* general *Bagniola* had assembled a considerable army, with which he fell upon the *Dutch* conquests, and desolated the country, putting all the natives to the sword, who had acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic. Colonel *Schruppen* marched against him, checked his ravages, but could not bring him to a battle. As soon as count *Maurice* recovered, he took the command of the army, and laid siege to *St. Salvador*, to which purpose he received express orders from the directors of the company. He had first, by a variety of feints, diverted the enemy's strength to another quarter, and now carried on his approaches without any external molestation. But the vigorous conduct of the garrison, and their first sally, supported by 400 men, boded an unfortunate issue to the enterprize. In this sharp skirmish the count lost near three hundred men, some of his best officers, and the only person

son who merited the appellation of an engineer in his whole army. Finding that his numbers were insufficient completely to block up the besieged, or prevent the enemy from throwing in succours, he broke up his camp, and retired with some precipitation, and great chagrin. This disappointment was succeeded by a fruitless attempt on the plate-fleet, made by admiral *Jol* in the gulph of *Honduras*. He attacked the enemy with great fury, but was deserted by his captains in the middle of the engagement, and left with three ships to encounter the whole force of the *Spaniards*. After extricating himself with great valour, he again collected his ships, punished some of the delinquents, animated the rest, and returned a second time to the attack; but with the same success. Just as victory was ready to declare for him, his cowardly officers, whom neither shame, honour, nor interest, could influence, sheered off, and again left him deeply engaged in the midst of the enemy. Once more his conduct and intrepidity prevailed; he broke the enemy's line, and opened a way to join his own squadron. Apprehending that his former severity might have alienated the minds of his captains, *Jol* had now recourse to arguments and entreaties. He set before them the vast riches in view, the infamy consequent on their cowardice and disobedience, with every other topic that could move their passions, or convince their reason. A few were drawn back to their duty; and supported by these, *Jol* determined upon a third attack; but now the wind had shifted in favour of the *Spaniards*. In despite of all difficulties, the brave *Dutchman* bore down upon the enemy, engaged them with redoubled vigour, and was a third time defeated. Thus after the noblest exertions of courage he lost his prize, but acquired a reputation which will transmit his name to posterity, enrolled in the long list of heroes produced by the republic. All his present satisfaction consisted in punishing the cowardly, and after having them superseded, sending them home in irons to be tried by the martial laws of *Holland* for cowardice and mutiny^p.

Bravery
of admiral
Jol.

A. D.
1639.

THE disgraces of the preceding campaign determined the states to make the most vigorous efforts to recover their losses. Early in the spring the prince of *Orange* was at the head of a formidable army, ready to oppose the cardinal's designs, and the vast projects entertained by the *Spaniards*, who were highly elated with their victory at *Calloo*, the re-

^p LE CLERC, tom. ii. NUVILLE, ubi supra.

duction

duction of *Kerpen*, and *Henry's* disappointment before *Gueldres*. Leaving a body of infantry at *Lillo*, and a few squadrons of horse at *Bergen-op-zoom*, the prince divided his army into two columns, one of which he embarked, to make a diversion in *Flanders*, and engage cardinal *Richlieu* to perform his part of the late treaty. Colonel *Alverdt* was left with seventeen companies of foot, to oppose the enemy on the *Scheld*; and the prince went in person to *Nimeguen*, where he was joined by 4000 *Hessians*, under general *Melander*. With this force he proposed renewing the siege of *Gueldres*; he had even detached part of his forces to invest the city, but finding that the enemy had thrown in powerful succours, he dropped the design, and removed to *Venlo*.

GREATER expectations were entertained from the fleet Van sent under *Martin Harpert Van Tromp*, lieutenant-admiral *Tromp's* of *Holland*, and one of the best naval officers that *Holland*, rise and fruitful in good seamen, ever produced. *Tromp* had accompanied the famous *Heine* in all his expeditions, was the great favourite of that admiral, and fought by his side at the time he was killed. In divers other actions he had so distinguished his intrepidity and conduct, that the states raised him to his present dignity under the prince of *Orange*, the highest officer in their navy. Having advice that a *Spanish* squadron, composed of ten large men of war, four frigates, and several smaller vessels, had quitted the port of *Randyke* on the 18th of *February*, *Tromp* immediately went in pursuit, came up with the *Spanish* admiral off *Graveline*, joined battle, and defeated him, after a bloody conflict, which lasted six hours. The *Spanish* admiral, and three more great ships, were driven on the sands, and taken; and the vice-admiral's ship was burnt, to prevent her falling into the hands of the *Hollanders*. Four frigates were besides taken, and the *Spaniards* were reported to have lost near two thousand men, of whom seven hundred were made prisoners.

THE most important consequence of *Tromp's* victory was, that four thousand men on board the *Spanish* squadron were destined for a grand armament equipping at *Cadiz* and *Corunna*, the most formidable that had been seen since the armada prepared to invade *England*. All the maritime powers were attentive to the object of this vast fleet. *England* and *France* imagined the court of *Spain* intended, in conjunction with the king of *Denmark*, to attack *Sweden*; while the states general trembled for the fate of the provinces. In fact, the catholic king had his own immediate

interest too strongly in view, to hearken to the suggestions of the king of *Denmark*. The armament was expressly equipped to annoy the provinces, and it set sail with 20,000 land-forces on board, in the month of *July*, under the conduct of don *Antonio d'Oquendo*, who had already experienced the valour and naval abilities of the *Hollanders*. To oppose this powerful fleet, amounting to 87 sail, *Van Tromp* weighed anchor with no more than a squadron of 18 men of war. His first design was, merely to obstruct the passage of the *Spaniards*; but having fallen in with their van, on board which was all the money and 4000 troops, he attacked it in the night with such fury, that the enemy were wholly dispersed, every ship crowding all the sail she could make, to get out of the reach of *Tromp's* cannon. Next morning *Oquendo* came up with the rest of the fleet, and immediately engaged *Tromp* yard-arm-and-yard-arm. After a violent conflict the *Spaniard* was forced to shift his flag; his ship was soon after sunk, and four more were taken; but the *Dutch* were prevented from pursuing their advantage by a thick fog, which effectually concealed the enemy. Before the weather cleared up, *Tromp* was strongly reinforced, which enabled him to pursue the enemy to the *Downs*, where they had taken sanctuary under the wing of the *English* admiral. It is probable he would have destroyed the whole but for the partiality evidently shewn in favour of the *Spaniards*. *Tromp* remonstrated upon the king of *England's* conduct as a breach of the treaty subsisting with *Holland*. To the *English* admiral's conduct he ascribed the safety of the enemy; his intelligence had misled the *Dutch*, and his motions had covered the *Spaniards*; but no redress was obtained. At length another reinforcement arrived, which rendered *Tromp* so powerful, that he resolved to face the enemy in the *Downs*, and even to give battle to the *English* rather than be diverted from his purpose. It was upon this resolution, say the *Dutch* writers, that the king of *England* ordered his admiral to withdraw his protection from the *Spaniards*, perceiving that otherwise he must come to an open rupture with the *Hollanders*. Thus it was that *Tromp*, after having for a month blocked up *Oquendo*, obliged him at last to come to an engagement. Rather than stand an attack in his present situation, the *Spaniard* resolved running the hazard of crossing the Channel under cover of a fog; but *Tromp* kept so strict watch that it was impossible to escape. An action ensued, and both sides fought with desperate fury. For the space of eight hours the *Spaniards* made an obstinate resistance; at last they were totally defeated,

defeated, with the loss of 14 men of war, burnt, sunk, taken, or driven ashore, among which were the vice-admiral of *Spain*, the admiral of *Galicia*, and the great galleon of *Portugal*, 1400 tons burthen, mounting 80 guns, and carrying 800 men, all of whom perished by the water or the sword. Twenty-one of the enemies ships put back to the *Dorons* in a wretched plight; fire-ships were sent to destroy them; but the *English* again interposed, contrary to their neutrality, and the express injunctions of the sovereign. That day thirteen ships more fell into the hands of the *Hollanders*, of which eleven only could be carried off, so miserably were they shattered. In a word, of this whole prodigious armament, only eight reached *Dunkirk*. *Oquendo's* own ship was so much damaged, that he owed his life to a frigate sent to his assistance by the generous *Van Tromp*. Eight thousand men were killed, four thousand wounded, and two thousand taken prisoners, and carried with the rest of the spoils in triumph to the *Texel*, *Brille*, and *Flushing*. All *Europe* admired the skill and intrepidity of *Van Tromp*, and the naval power of *Holland*. The states decreed him the same honours conferred upon admiral *Heine*, and the *French* king sent him particular marks of his regard; among the rest a patent, whereby he was enrolled among the nobility of *France*⁹.

HAVING entirely ruined the maritime power of *Spain*, the most vigorous preparations were making to carry on the war by land with equal success. With this view prince *Henry* took the field at the head of a powerful army, with which, in the month of *May*, he entered the bishopric of *Bruges*. He encamped at *Maldegheem*, in order to gain the command of the two canals that lead to *Ghent*, and the neighbouring forts. This march a good deal alarmed the cardinal, notwithstanding all the passes were in possession of the *Spaniards*, and strictly guarded. It was his fear that made him throw himself into *Ghent*, in expectation that his presence would encourage the garrison, and deter the prince from making any attempt on that important town. The effects corresponded; every where the *Spaniards* seemed invincible, driving before them the *Hollanders*, and defeating them in every encounter. *Henry*, however, was not dispirited by the unfortunate issue of skirmishes, which produced nothing decisive. He was in hopes that the valour of the enemy was a last effort of

A. D.
1640.
Prince
Henry i-
vades
Flanders.

⁹ La Vie de Tromp, p. 96. LE CLERC, tom. ii. NUVILLE, lib. ix.

despair,

despair, and therefore proceeded coolly in his designs, without suffering himself to be disconcerted by accidents, which necessarily eluded human foresight. He laid siege to *Damme*, and declined fortifying his camp in the usual manner, in hopes to draw the cardinal to a battle. But he could not succeed, nor did the reduction of the garrison prove a matter of so little difficulty as he imagined; the resistance within indeed was so obstinate, and the alarms from the cardinal's camp without so perpetual, that *Henry* abandoned the design, quitted *Flanders*, and disappointed the great expectations of the court of *France* and the states general. His retreat left the cardinal at liberty to penetrate into *Artois*, and take measures for succouring *Arras*, then besieged by the *French* army.

WHILE the cardinal was employed in *Artois*, the prince was endeavouring to profit by his absence, and cut off his return. With this view he formed an enterprise against *Hulst*, which he began with storming fort *Nassau*. This affair was happily and boldly executed by the *French* troops led on by the marquis *de Hauterive*. The surrender of the fort struck terror into *Hulst*, and even set the city of *Antwerp* upon arming the townsmen, and preparing against a siege. *Sfondrato* and *Cantelmo* with a body of troops flung themselves into the city, and the garrisons were withdrawn from all the adjacent fortresses, the better to secure *Antwerp*. *Henry's* object, however, was *Hulst*; to this place he laid siege, drew his lines, and gave the assault to fort *St. Anne*, during which his cavalry was attacked by a strong body of horse, under *Sfondrato*. After a sharp action the *Spanish* cavalry was defeated; but the infantry coming up, led on by *Saavedra*, sustained the fire with admirable constancy, and at last repulsed the *Hollanders* with the loss of the brave *Henry Ernest de Nassau*, governor of *Friseland*; a loss more regretted by the states general than the 200 men who perished in this unfortunate action. This repulse evinced *Henry* that he had committed a fault in amusing himself by an attack on a little out-fort, when he ought to have employed all his attention in blocking up *Hulst*. By this means he afforded the cardinal leisure to draw his troops from *Artois*; but it was too late to remedy the error; the enemy had assembled a superior army, and there remained no alternative, but to run the hazard of being defeated, or immediately to break up the siege and retire. The latter was his choice, and his retreat put an end to the operations of the campaign.

† *La Vie de prince Henry*, p. 222.

FORTUNE, which seemed, upon the whole, to favour the *Affairs of Spaniards in the Netherlands*, was less propitious to them in *the West America*. Philip had sent the count *de la Torre*, with a *India company in Brasil, and on the coast of Africa*. strong armament, the preceding year, to *Brasil*. On his arrival on the coast of *Africa*, the troops were seized with a pestilential disease, which swept off three thousand men before the fleet reached *St. Salvador*. The number that remained did not exceed two thousand soldiers, all of whom were too sickly to enter upon action. It was not doubted but the count *de la Torre* must have dispossessed the *Hollanders* of every foot of land they possessed in *Brasil*, as his fleet amounted to 46 sail of large ships, 27 of which were galleons double manned, and well provided with every necessary. Had this armament arrived safe, *Maurice* must necessarily have quitted the country; but the wretched situation of the land-forces and sailors, and the long stay made in *All Saints bay* for the recovery of the men, enabled the *Dutch* to make all possible preparations. In a short time their fleet amounted to forty-one sail of armed ships of different dimensions and strength, while *la Torre* used such diligence, that he collected ninety-four ships, transports and men of war, having 12,000 men on board, including the *Brasil* forces. His intention was, to fall upon the *Dutch* settlements; which count *Maurice*, and his admiral *William Looff*, used all their diligence to prevent. *Looff* came up with the enemy between the island *Tamaraca* and the river *Gojana*, and engaged them from noon till night, when he was unfortunately killed by a cannon-bullet. His death animated his seamen with a desire of revenge; vice-admiral *Huygens* took the command, and renewed the battle next morning, with the utmost intrepidity. He knew so well how to make his advantage of the size and swiftness of his frigates, that he terribly galled the large unwieldy galleons, and raked them fore-and-aft, without receiving considerable damage, as they could only bring their chace-guns to bear. Before night several *Spanish* men of war floated like useless wrecks upon the water; but it was dangerous to attempt boarding them, on account of their being filled with soldiers. *Huygens*, however, kept close all night, and by day-break again began the engagement with more success, notwithstanding several of the enemies ships that had been the most damaged, were towed away to the *Rio Grande*. For this whole day a running fight was maintained, the *Spanish* admiral making all the sail he could to the northward; but next day *Huygens* came to close quarters, and so admirably served his cannon, that a complete victory was obtained, with the loss, on his side, of

scarce an hundred seamen and soldiers, while the enemy, by their own confession, had four thousand killed and wounded. Ten of their largest ships were driven upon the sands, where they perished with their whole crews. The rest of the fleet was prevented from putting into harbour to refresh, in consequence of which a pestilential disease appeared on board, and destroyed more than half the soldiers. Some of their straggling vessels were every day falling into the hands of the *Hollanders*, and before the end of the year only four galleons and three merchantmen remained of all this formidable armament, which had once terrified count *Maurice* into the notion of evacuating the *Brasils*. Yet no important consequences resulted; *Maurice* contented himself with driving the *Spaniards* at a distance from the *Dutch* settlements, and desolating the country round the bay of *All Saints*. Admiral *Jol* cruised off the island of *Cuba* for the plate-fleet; but he had the misfortune of being terribly shattered in a storm, and reduced to the necessity of throwing himself upon the clemency of the *Spaniards*.

THE signal revolution that now happened in *Portugal*, produced great alterations in the affairs of *Brasil*. The *Portuguese* having thrown off the *Castilian* yoke, count *Maurice* doubted not but all the natives of that country in *South America* would follow the example, separate themselves from the *Spaniards*, and conclude a truce with the *Hollanders*. Meantime he determined to seize the happy occasion which the quarrel between *Spain* and *Portugal* afforded. With this view he repaired the squadron under admiral *Jol*, with the utmost expedition, and resolved to push the *Dutch* conquests not only in *South America*, but on the coasts of *Africa*. While he was employed with the land-forces in reducing *Seregippa del Rey*, and the province of *Ceriji*, *Jol* was sent to the coast of *Angola*, to secure the negro trade to the *Dutch* company. His force consisted of 21 ships, 900 mariners, and 2200 soldiers, commanded by colonel *Henderson*, who likewise acted as vice-admiral. The colonel, with the land-forces, was landed on the island of *Loanda*, on the coast of the kingdom of *Congo*, and immediately he invested the capital, called *Santa Paolo*. The negroes flew to the assistance of the city, gave battle at the foot of the mountains to the *Hollanders*, and were defeated. Nor was *Meneses*, the *Portuguese* governor, more successful. With a considerable body of *Europeans* he engaged *Henderson*, made an obstinate resistance, and disputed the victory until the greater part of his troops was cut in pieces. The city was abandoned

abandoned to the conquerors ; all had deserted it besides the aged and infirm ; the booty was considerable, consisting of 29 pieces of brass cannon, 69 of cast iron, great quantity of warlike stores, and 30 ships lying in the harbour, many of them ready to sail with negroes to the settlements in *America* and the *West Indies*.

ADMIRAL *Jol* no sooner found himself in possession of the capital, than he resolved to make it a place of strength, for which purpose he built one large citadel, and two upon a more confined place, but all with regular fortifications. This conduct astonished the *Portuguese* governor, who hitherto imagined that the *Dutch* only wanted booty, and would directly quit the island as soon as that purpose was answered. Perceiving the admiral proposed gaining possession of the whole island, he alledged, that this intention was a violation of the treaty subsisting between *Portugal* and the republic ; *Jol* denied his knowledge of any treaty, a second time defeated the governor, drove the *Portuguese* out of *Loanda*, and reduced the whole under the dominion of the states, which they kept, until it was surrendered to *Portugal* seven years after.

A. D.
1641.

FROM *Loanda* admiral *Jol* directed his course to the island of *St. Thomas*, lying immediately under the equinoctial, which divides the capital. This island was before reduced by the *Dutch* in 1610, but retaken soon after by the *Portuguese*. *Jol* debarked his troops near *Pavosan*, ordered them to march strait up to the walls of the citadel, but to commit no hostilities unless they were attacked, which soon happened. The negroes and *Portuguese* fell upon them tumultuously, and were defeated, but not before they had blown up a *Dutch* ship with her whole crew and cargo. To reinforce the army, the town and citadel had been left defenceless ; they consequently fell an easy prey. *Jol* had scarce settled the government of his new conquest, when he was seized with that endemial fever, which had before swept away numbers of his troops, and died much regretted by his soldiers, the directors of the company, and the states*.

THESE expeditions on the coast of *Africa* were succeeded by another undertaken by count *Maurice* against the province of *Maranhaen*, to the north of *Brasil*. The company earnestly wished to gain possession of a province so fertile in sugar, cotton, ginger, tobacco, and other valuable commodities, so rich in gold, and so conveniently situated to annoy

* NUVILLE, lib. ix. cap. 5.

the *Spanish* trade to the *Antilles*, the *Caribbees*, and all the islands in the neighbourhood of the gulph of *Mexico*. *Maurice* detached colonel *Coane* and admiral *Lichtirât* upon this enterprize, in which they succeeded with little difficulty. Having taken the island *Marignan*, and the capital *St. Lewis*, the rest of the provinces submitted, and thus half the *Brasil* acknowledged the sovereignty of the states general. Three provinces however revolted soon after, and gave much trouble to the company and vexation to count *Maurice*. At present a truce with *Portugal* was concluded. *John IV.* on his accession resolved to secure himself against the attempts of *Spain*, by re-establishing peace with all his other neighbours, and particularly with the republic of the *United Provinces*; for which purpose he sent *Don Mendoza Hurtado* to the *Hague*, to propose a cessation of hostilities. It was no difficult matter for *Mendoza* to demonstrate that the inveterate enemy of the provinces would be greatly weakened by concluding the desired truce; it therefore was signed on the 14th day of *June*, and extended for ten years to all the dominions of both powers on either side the equinoctial. Accordingly hostilities were to cease in *Brasil* as soon as the truce was published in that country, and the *Portuguese* and *Hollanders* were to join in the total expulsion of the *Spaniards*. Notwithstanding the truce extended to the *East Indies*, the *Dutch* never lost sight of their own interest, and seized this opportunity of chasing the *Portuguese* out of *Japan*^t.

THE principal transactions relative to the republic in *Europe*, were the marriage of *William*, the young prince of *Orange*, with the princess *Mary Stewart*, daughter of the king of *England*; a match brought about by *Mary de Medicis*. The siege of *Gennep* was the next considerable occurrence. No sooner were his son's nuptials celebrated, than prince *Henry* led his troops to the territory of *Cleves*, laid siege to *Gennep*, pushed his works with great vigour, and exerted himself so effectually that his trenches were finished, and a communication opened between all the different quarters of the camp, by means of bridges over the *Meuse* and *Niers*, in the space of a few days. The cardinal relying upon the strength of the place, the numbers of the garrison, and the courage of the governor, *Preston* an *Irishman*, attempted to surprise *Ardenberg* in *Flanders*; but failing in his design, he turned his whole attention to the relief of *Gennep*. Withdrawing the garrisons from all the towns in *Flanders* and

^t Mod. Hist. vol. ix. *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. p. 9. cap. 6.

Brabant, he detached almost his whole army under the count *de Fontaine*, and the marquis *de Leda*, together with a body of 3000 imperialists, to harraß the camp of the besiegers, throw in succours into the town, and, if occasion offered, to give battle to prince *Henry*. After all, this numerous army gave less disturbance to the *Dutch* than the garrison, which behaved with great gallantry. *Preston* made the most spirited sallies, nailing up the cannon, filling up the trenches, and destroying the works of the besiegers. This he repeated daily, notwithstanding his troops were greatly diminished and fatigued; but perceiving that the *Spanish* army undertook nothing, that the place was laid in ashes by bombs, that the course of the *Niers* was turned, that the town-ditch was dried up, that several mines were ready, and that a practicable breach was effected, he surrendered on being allowed the honours of war.

MEANTIME *Cantelmo*, elated with his victory at *Calloo*, continued in the territory of *Waes*, the theatre of his glory, and of all the trivial advantages he had gained over the *Hollanders*. He now attacked colonel *Alnaerdt*, and defeated him with considerable slaughter. Next he surprised count *Tillemont*, whom he entirely defeated, though with great loss on his own side. To put a stop to his insults, the prince of *Orange* assembled an army near *Hulst*; but *Cantelmo* joining the army under *Fontaines*, broke all *Henry's* measures, and with a corps of 8000 men obliged him to decamp, at the head of 26,000 chosen troops, and drop the design formed of laying siege to the city. With this transaction ended the campaign, about which time the cardinal *Ferdinand* yielded up his last breath, with the reputation of a wise, moderate and mild governor. The administration came into the hands of don *Francisco de Mello*, who with the marquis *de Velada* opposed the *French*, while the count *de Fontaine*, governor of *Bruges*, commanded in chief against the *Hollanders*. The death of cardinal *Richlieu* soon followed; and though it made no alteration in the treaty between *France* and the republic, it greatly obstructed the military operations of this year, and prevented the prince of *Orange* from undertaking any enterprise important enough to merit notice in a general history. A new treaty indeed was signed on the 8th of *March* between the two powers, whereby the states consented to maintain a squadron of 30 men of war to cruize before *Calais*, and to grant the king's troops a free passage over the *Rhine*, the *Wesel*, and the *Meuse*, into *Germany*; in consideration of which the king was to pay them

A. D.
1692. 4

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A. D. 1613. a subsidy of 1,200,000 livres. Before the treaty was ratified *Lewis XIII.* died.

Prince William defeats a body of Spaniards.

THE chief operations of the preceding year were directed to induce *Cantelmo* to give battle, which he always had the address to decline. He now retired under the cannon of *Antwerp*, where he watched an opportunity of again insulting the *Dutch* territories with impunity; but prince *William*, who was appointed general of the cavalry, by a bold and masterly stroke, drew him into an ambuscade, attacked him with impetuosity, and after a short engagement defeated him, leaving 900 men dead upon the field, and carrying off 600 prisoners, among whom were two general officers, with forty-five others of inferior stations. *Cantelmo* himself was once taken, but soon after rescued by the bravery of his own troops, and the negligence of the *Hollanders*. This action, the first in which prince *William* ever commanded in chief, spread his reputation, and convinced the world that he might one day equal the glory of his renowned ancestors.

THE truce with *Portugal* having stopped all hostilities in *Brasil*, count *Maurice* sent admiral *Brewers* with a squadron to attack the *Spaniards* on the coast of *Chili*; but the most important consequence of this expedition was, that the admiral discovered a more safe and easy passage to the *South Sea*, than either by the straits of *Le Maire* or *Magellan*, since called by his name, but scarce ever frequented. *Maurice* having now nothing further to transact in *Brasil* that required his presence, obtained leave from the company to return to *Europe*. He arrived in *Holland* on the ninth of *May* 1644, brought home a fleet richly laden, had particular honours conferred on him by the company and the states, and was appointed to the government of *Wesel*, and the rank of lieutenant-general of the cavalry by the prince of *Orange*. The year 1633 was distinguished by the memorable but unsuccessful attempt, to find a safe passage to *Europe* from *China* and *Japan* by the northern coast of *Tartary*; and by the discovery of *New Holland*, and other parts of the *Terra Australis*, or southern continent, of which we have already given a particular account.

A. D. 1644. NEGOTIATIONS for a general peace began about this time to be set on foot at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. The states general were sensible that now must be decided their title to sovereignty, and the issue of all those bloody wars, which they

^a Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xv.

sustained against the whole force of *Spain* for little less than a century past. To gain the other powers, it was necessary to link their interest inseparably to that of *France*; for which purpose, they concluded a new treaty with that court, the object of which was to cement the contracting parties in a still closer union. The fruits of this treaty was a resolution of the states to assist *France* in the siege of *Graveline*. A squadron under *Van Tromp* was detached to block up the harbour; and he performed his instructions with such diligence and conduct, as greatly facilitated the reduction of the place. The prince of *Orange* had likewise directions to co-operate with the *French*; with which view he penetrated into *Flanders*, and was advancing to *Bruges*, where he was stopt by the count *d'Issenburgh*, and forced to retire to *Maldegheem*. This retreat, though involuntary, proved fortunate; it enabled the prince to lay siege to *Sas van Ghent*, and carry the town before *Issenburgh* with all his diligence could come to the assistance of the garrison. Don *Andrea de Petrada*, the governor, made a gallant defence; but he was forced to capitulate on the 7th of *September*, after a siege of six weeks. This conquest was thought of so great importance to the security of the provinces, that the states sent an order for repairing and enlarging the fortifications with all possible expedition.

No sooner were the negotiations opened at *Munster*, than Negotiations at the states found themselves greatly embarrassed with respect to two points; the one regarded the honours to be demanded at the congress by their ambassadors; the other, the nature of their late treaty with *France*, whereby they were tied down from entering upon any conferences either of truce or peace, with any power, particularly *Spain*, without the consent and participation of the *French* court. Don *Francisco de Melo* was at this very time urging them to conclude a separate peace with *Spain*; and it was imagined that very advantageous conditions might be obtained, should they give ear to his proposals. His most christian majesty laboured to divert them from this measure. Cardinal *Mazarin* gave them to understand, that their deputies should have the same honours paid to them as the ambassadors of the republic of *Venice*. He likewise strenuously exhorted them not to depart from their own interest, by renouncing their alliance with *France*, as nothing could be more uncertain than the issue of conferences which might hold for years, and at last vanish in smoke. He assured them, that *Spain* desired nothing more than to dissolve the confederacy betwixt *France* and *Holland*, and to stop the course of the

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prince of *Orange's* conquests. Their proposals had no other object, and that once gained, the states would hear no more of advantageous offers made, merely from selfish motives. The states assented to the cardinal's arguments, and in consequence the alliance was renewed, both parties engaging to continue the war against *Spain* on the usual footing. Accordingly the *French* penetrated into *Flanders* on one side, while the prince of *Orange* opened a way on the other. His design was to lay siege to *Antwerp*, a city of which he had long earnestly wished making a present to the states. He spoke of it to *d'Estrades*, the *French* minister, and assured the mareschals *Gassein* and *Rantzau*, that if they assisted him with 3000 cavalry to oppose the enemy's horse, he would immediately undertake this arduous enterprize. This proposition occasioned an interview, but the mareschals would not join with the prince's opinion; each prepared a different plan of operations, and thus the whole project vanished. The *French* generals however advanced a few squadrons and battalions to disengage the prince's army, cooped up between *Ghent* and *Bruges* by general *Beck* and count *Piccolomini*. With this reinforcement *Henry* was enabled to cross the canal and the *Lys*, oblige *Piccolomini* to retire, and visit the duke of *Orleans* near *Courtney*, to concert the future operations of both armies. On his return general *Beck* opposed his passage over the *Scheld*, was repulsed, and defeated with great slaughter, the general himself receiving a wound in the shoulder, and narrowly escaping being made prisoner. *Henry* was in expectation that the mareschals would now have assisted him in his favourite project; but the siege of *Antwerp* was inconsistent with the measures of their court, and they excused themselves, by pleading the expiration of their commissions.

HENRY, though disappointed in his great purpose, resolved to employ the rest of the campaign to the best advantage; and in performing the engagements into which the states general had entered with the *French* court. With this design he passed the *Lys*, though opposed by the *Spaniards*, and detached prince *William* with the cavalry to invest *Hulst*, a place deemed one of the keys of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and among the strongest fortifications of that country. By the 5th of *October*, he began to work upon the trenches, and attacked the forts *Nassau* and *Verrebroeck* with such impetuosity, that they surrendered at the first assault. *Spinola's* fort, connected by four great bastions to *Hulst* and *Verrebroeck*, proving a great annoyance to his troops, this he likewise attacked, and carried after a sharp dispute

transaction ended the campaign on the side of the *Netherlands*.

*The war
resumed in
Brasil.*

It was otherways in *Brasil*, notwithstanding the *Hollanders* imagined themselves in perfect security by the late truce concluded with *Portugal*. They did not reflect that this was a measure dictated by the new king's necessities, and that the *Portuguese* in general bore with ill-will the temporary cession made to the *Dutch* of their conquests in *Africa*, *America*, and the *East Indies*. The *Portuguese* ambassador at the *Hague* complained, that since the crown of *Portugal* had been separated from *Castile*, and the truce concluded with the *United Provinces*, the *Dutch* governors had committed divers hostilities against the subjects of his most faithful majesty; but the *Dutch* deputies, far from giving him any satisfaction, vindicated the conduct of their governors, and asserted the company's legitimate claim to certain places in dispute, both on the coast of *Africa*, and in *Brasil*. Nothing could be obtained besides a provisional treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the parties should mutually restore all their conquests made since the 12th day of *June* 1641, when the truce for ten years took place. The instructions however sent to the governors of their conquests were not express; they therefore neglected executing them, and were well satisfied with any opportunity of retaining places which produced great advantages in point of commerce. During the last year of *Maurice's* government, all *Brasil* tasted the blessings of tranquillity and repose. The truce was rigidly observed, and the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* lived in perfect amity. The same harmony continued the year after the count's departure; and such was the confidence the *Hollanders* reposed in the fidelity of the *Portuguese*, that they suffered their fortifications to fall to ruin, admitting those who were lately their bitter enemies, into civil and military employments, and without scruple supplying them with arms and ammunition, for the sake of the excessive price they paid, without reflecting upon their designs, to use them to their destruction. Now the eyes of the company were opened by the complaints of the *Portuguese* ambassador. They rightly conjectured, that his remonstrances were calculated merely to palliate some scheme of violence then in agitation. In fact, it proved what they conjectured. *Antonio de Silva*, viceroy of *Portuguese Brasil*, meditated a project for expelling the *Dutch* out of the country, and seized the opportunity of the count's absence, the weakness of the *Dutch*, and their confidence in the *Portuguese*, to execute his purpose. He carried on a clandestine

destine correspondence with all the *Portuguese* under the *Dutch* government, and readily drew them over to his sentiments, particularly in the province of *Fernambuco*. The viceroy nominated *Fernandez Vieta*, a person of fortune, influence and distinction, chief of the enterprize; and *Vieta* embraced the offer with the more readiness, because, if the project succeeded, he should by that means clear off an account of 200,000 crowns with the *Dutch* merchants. A body of 1500 soldiers were secretly sent on board a galleon and ten transports, to surprise *Reciff*, a place of great importance, negligently guarded by the *Hollanders*. Other detachments were made to seize upon *Serinhaam*, *Nazareth*, and all the strong holds in the hands of the *Dutch*; while *Vieta* and other *Portuguese* emissaries were privately levying troops in the country, and cajoling the *Dutch* governors with all the appearances of the most sincere friendship and hearty good-will and esteem. They had been invited on the day appointed for the insurrection to celebrate the nuptials of a *Portuguese* lady; and while they were sitting at table, letters arrived from the directors in *Europe*, which gave them the first intimation of the conspiracy. All their address was scarce sufficient to extricate them out of this perplexed situation: with admirable presence of mind, they framed an excuse for retiring a few minutes, so plausible, that it even deceived the *Portuguese*. The governors immediately gave the alarm, and the conspirators finding they were discovered, fled with their arms to the woods. Both now had recourse to open hostilities, and the war was resumed with redoubled animosity. The *Dutch* fired at the treachery of the enemy, and the *Portuguese* resented their disappointment with as much rancour as if they had sustained a real injury. In the first engagement the *Hollanders* were worsted; but they ballanced this loss by a victory at sea, in which the enemy lost two of their best ships, and 500 mariners and soldiers. Upon the whole the *Hollanders* lost ground. *Cape St. Augustin*, *Reciff*, and *Olinda*, fell into the hands of the enemy, either by treachery, cowardice, or open force. Nothing but pillaging, stratagem and massacres, passed between the two nations. The news came to the *Hague*, and the people rose tumultuously to demolish the *Portuguese* ambassador's house. Incensed at the insidious conduct of the court and people, they would have torn him limb from limb, if the prince of *Orange* had not interposed. The ambassador protested, that the court of *Portugal* had no share in the insurrection, and that they would severely punish the conspirators; but the states, well in-

formed to the contrary, carried their complaints to the court of *France*, and represented to the most christian king the perfidy of his *Portuguese* majesty *.

By these means was laid the foundation of a new truce between *France* and *Holland*. Cardinal *Mazarin* reproached the *Dutch* with treating privately at *Munster* with the *Spaniards*, and said, that their sufferings in *Brasil* was the just punishment of their treachery and disregard of solemn treaties. At the same time, he promised them all possible assistance to revenge the insults received from the *Portuguese*, and encouraged them to use their utmost diligence in defence of their settlements in *Brasil*. This was proposed with a view to gain the entire confidence of the states. However, it was accepted in the literal sense, and accordingly a fleet of 52 sail was equipped under admiral *Baucher*, appointed commander in chief of the naval armament in *Brasil*, the *West Indies*, and the coast of *Africa*, having *Sigismund Schuppen* to assist him, and direct entirely the land operations. Thus a new war was commenced with great vigour on the further side the line, which after raging without remission for the space of ten years, ended with the expulsion of the *Hollanders* out of *Brasil*, and the almost total overthrow of the *West India* company.

DURING the whole winter the congress sat at *Munster*, without making any considerable progress in the scheme of a general pacification. The *French* king, persuaded that the *Spaniards* raised numbers of difficulties in order to divide the allies, resolved, by the advice of the queen-regent his mother, to prosecute the war for another campaign; for which purpose he continued the usual subsidy to the states general, on condition they should maintain an army of 20,000 foot, and 5000 horse, to lay siege to some important fortress in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and a squadron to block up the *Spanish* ports in *Flanders*. When the treaty was signed, the cardinal dispatched a messenger to the prince of *Orange*, to induce him to undertake the siege of *Ghent*, the reduction of which would facilitate the designs on *Antwerp*. It was proposed to march two *French* armies under the dukes of *Orleans* and *Enguhen*, the one to assist the prince, the other to invest divers other places; but *Henry* was so afflicted with the gout, and a complication of other diseases, that it was not possible for him to give a direct answer to the cardinal's propositions.

* NUVILLE, p. 19. cap. 13, 14.

MEANTIME the marquis de Castil Rodrigo, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, until the arrival of the archduke Leopold, having notice of the new treaty between the court of France and the republic, and the designs formed upon Ghent, powerfully reinforced that city, and wrote to the states general, demanding a suspension of arms, during the conferences at Munster. These letters answered one essential purpose; they augmented the dissensions among the provinces, some of which were for detaching the republic from France; but the states wrote back, that notwithstanding they were perfectly sincere in the negotiations at Munster, they could not grant the suspension required, consistently with their engagements to their allies; however, under pretence of the prince of Orange's illness, not above half the army took the field. A plan was laid for the reduction of Antwerp; but that was likewise frustrated by Henry's disease, which daily gained ground, and began now to alarm the provinces. It is indeed supposed that he grew jealous of the power of France, and advised the states to hasten the negotiations at Munster. Besides, he retained some of the old prejudices harboured against Richlieu, and convinced himself, that the new minister pursued the same system, and bent his whole policy to procure a secure footing in the Netherlands. As to what some writers mention of his jealousy of his own son, prince William, and his dislike to seeing him at the head of an army, it is too improbable, and injurious to the character of prince Henry, to deserve credit. Certain however it is, that the Spanish faction daily augmented in Holland, that the alliance with France was in the decline, and that Tromp's blocking up Dunkirk while the French army besieged the town by land, was the last instance of friendship that passed between the christian king and the republic. Venlo indeed was invested by prince William, but the siege was soon raised, by order of the states, under pretence that the season was too far advanced.

A. D.
1646.

DURING the whole winter, the prince of Orange lingered under a variety of chronical disorders, any of which were sufficient to render his life miserable, and his death certain. The gout, the stone, and dropsy, had reduced him to a skeleton, and the excruciating torture in which he had passed several months, not only made his temper harsh and peevish, but even affected his intellects. To this the French writers ascribe his falling off from the interest of France, though this measure may truly be regarded as a proof of his foresight, penetration and policy. At length, Henry yielded up his last breath, on the 14th of March, in the 67th year of his age,

Death of
the prince
of Orange.
A. D.
1647.

and was regretted as a martyr to his country, having brought on his illness by that assiduity, diligence, and anxiety, with which he pursued the interests of the republic. No prince of *Orange* was ever more universally or deservedly beloved. Affable, generous, noble, and above all suspicion of deceit, and that duplicity so much affected by statesmen, he was justly esteemed the best politician, and greatest warrior in the *United Provinces*. He loved virtue, cherished science, rewarded merit, maintained the utmost harmony among the provinces, set his soldiers an example of patience, vigilance, activity and courage, and fulfilled every duty of a general, patriot, friend, and father of a family. We speak not of the two last years of his life, in which sickness and disappointment would seem to have entirely soured his disposition, and changed his character. In justice therefore to his memory, we draw a veil over what prejudiced writers relate of his conduct during this period.

William
II. prince
of *Orange*

THE same day on which his father died, prince *William* attended the states general to take the oaths, on being appointed to all the employments held by prince *Henry*. Some of the provinces deferred acknowledging him stadtholder for a few days, in order to watch the bias of his policy, as he was supposed inclinable to continue the war, and the alliance with *France*. It was proposed in the states of *Holland* and *West Friseland*, to exact an obligation from him, that he would endeavour with all his ability to forward the negotiations at *Munster*, and detach the republic from the *French* interest; but some of the more prudent members, apprehended lest such rough measures might incense a young prince, full of fire, beloved by the nobility, the army, and the people: they therefore advised the states to content themselves, with sending a respectful message, requesting that he would not traverse the conferences at *Munster*, or any way obstruct the negotiations carrying on with *Spain*. *William* no sooner consented than they acknowledged him stadtholder, and he was immediately proclaimed by the acclamations of the people, stadtholder of six provinces, captain-general by land, and admiral-general by sea, of all the forces and fleets of the republic, with the same powers vested in his father and uncle.

ALL this time the *United Provinces* were labouring to effect a separate peace with the *Spaniards*, which was constantly obstructed by the vigilance and address of the *French* plenipotentiaries. Besides the deputies of the states general,

ral, and of the particular provincial states, the body of nobility was represented by eight deputies. It was now that the sovereignty of the states general, and the rights of the separate departments of the republic, were established. No other terms would be accepted, than an absolute independence on the house of *Austria*, and an universal acknowledgement of all the powers concerned in the negotiation, that the *United Provinces* should henceforward be regarded as a free and sovereign republic. The concessions made in 1609 were but provisional; they were indeed acknowledged by *France*, and other powers, whose interest it was to keep well with the provinces; but *Spain* retracted them on the renewal of the war, and other states might follow the example, as soon as any difference arose with the republic. The *French* minister at the *Hague* remonstrated to the states, on the ambiguous conduct of their deputies, and exhorted them not to give *Spain* an opportunity of accomplishing her views, by fomenting divisions among the allies. This obliged the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries to declare, that they had no intention to give weight or force to any articles, upon which they might agree with the *Spaniards*, unless they were sanctified by the concurrence of their allies. The most christian king, however, still doubted their intentions. In order to keep the states steady, he dispatched M. *Servien* to the *Hague*, where he was coldly received, and indeed affronted with the superior attention shewn to the *Spanish* minister, who was sent to ballance his influence. *Servien*, nevertheless, supported the dignity of his character with great address; but he could not alter the disposition of the states, or prevent the conferences carried on by the deputies *Knuyt* and *Pauw*, with the *Spanish* ambassadors at *Munster*. At length, after abundance of altercation between the plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, *France*, and *Holland*, after the darkest intrigues had been carried on, and the sources of the deepest policy drained, the following articles of peace were concluded between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*. That his catholic majesty should renounce all right and sovereignty, over the lords the states general of the *United Provinces*, who were henceforward declared a free independent republic. That both sides should remain in the unmolested possession of what they severally held, at the signing of the treaty. That the same regulation should take place in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, as in *Europe*, with respect to the conquests made since the expiration of the armistice. In the sixth article it was stipulated, that the *Spaniards*

Peace of
Munster.
A. D.
1648.

A. D. 1648. *niards* should not attempt the extension of their commerce to the *East Indies*, and that the *Dutch* should form no enterprises against the possessions and settlements of the subjects of that crown in *Asia*. This obligation indeed was reciprocal, and sufficient time allowed for transmitting the treaty to those distant colonies. Thus the sovereignty of the republic was at last acknowledged, and for ever established, by that power who alone disputed it, at the expence of her blood and treasure, with an obstinacy, hardly to be paralleled in history.

The
French
kingresents
the sepa-
rate peace
struck up
by the re-
public.

FRANCE, however, accused the republic of ingratitude, for defeating the interests of a nation, the chief instrument of her present felicity, opulence, and independence. The *Dutch* were upbraided with a gross violation of their engagements, to accept of no separate terms, until the demands of their allies were fully satisfied; but they justified themselves, by demonstrating the necessity of a peace; the private views of cardinal *Mazarin* in protracting the war, and the frivolous difficulties raised about *Lorrain*. The ambassadors of the states waited upon the *French* plenipotentiaries, and assured them, that had they one day longer deferred signing the treaty, *Spain* was resolved to break off the negotiation; but this would not appease their clamours. They insisted, that the republic ought, at least, to have waited the return of the courier dispatched to *Madrid*, by the count *de Pignaranda*. To remove this load of calumny, the states used all their influence to reconcile the two crowns; but they were told by *M. Severin*, that affairs had taken a new turn, and his majesty now thought himself at liberty to act without consulting the republic, whose conduct had absolved him from his engagements. He said, the mediation of the provinces would be suspected, and the only reparation of their error now possible, was to refuse ratifying the treaty, until the court of *France* had time to demonstrate that all the obstructions to a general pacification arose from the delays and intrigues of the *Spanish* ministry. *Spain* offered to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the states; but this the *French* plenipotentiaries declined, which served the more to confirm the republic, in the rectitude of her own measures, and the ambitious designs of the most christian king. Returning to the *Hague*, the deputies reported their proceedings, and received the thanks of the states general, for the perseverance, vigilance, and ability, with

v BASNAGE, Hist. p. 125.

which

which they had conducted the whole negotiation. Soon after their arrival, two letters from the *French* king were *Letters* presented to the assembly, wherein he reproached the states *from the* with perfidy, and the infraction of the most solemn en- *king of* gagements with the greatest benefactor of the republic. *France.* These remonstrances produced however no effect. The states imagined that *Spain* was now sufficiently weakened, and it was their business to prevent the *French* from growing too powerful, and extending their dominions on the side of the *Netherlands*. In vain therefore did *Lewis's* ambassadors solicit the provinces to delay ratifying the treaty; in vain did they endeavour to excite divisions, and foment discord among the members of the assembly: the same policy which had hitherto induced the *Dutch* to continue the war, amidst their civil dissensions, and under the pressure of poverty, fatigue, and famine, now impelled them to ratify the treaty lately signed. Accordingly the 15th of *May* was appointed for the exchange of ratifications, which was performed with the usual solemnities, to the great satisfaction of all the parties, except the king of *France*. On the same day, of the ensuing month, the peace was proclaimed. In this manner ended that tedious negotiation of *Munster*, by which tranquillity was again restored to the *United Provinces*, and that sovereignty established, for which they had struggled for near a century².

SCARCE was the peace of the republic restored, when she was almost involved in fresh difficulties with the elector of *Brandenburg*, who demanded restitution of certain places in the duchy of *Cleves*, now sequestered in the hands of the states general. He sent ambassadors to the *Hague*, under pretence of contracting a new alliance with the provinces, but in fact to make a demand, by no means agreeable to the *Hollanders*. The elector procured the emperor's mediation, but it was little regarded. The states peremptorily refused complying with the demand, because the claim of the duke of *Newburgh* was not yet adjusted, and they must be responsible for the places entrusted to their care. This was only a plausible pretext, as *Spain* had now wholly relinquished the interest of that prince, who was too weak of himself to support his pretensions, *Philip* now saw himself under the necessity of alone supporting a war against the whole monarchy of *France*. Deprived of the assistance of the emperor on the one hand,

² LE CLERC, tom. ii. sub. Ann.

he, however, found his enemies proportionably diminished on the other, by the peace concluded with the republic. His ambassadors loitered away their time at *Munster*, without renewing their efforts to finish a ruinous and disgraceful war. But *Philip* was now sketching out the rudiments of a more extensive project. He flattered himself that the *United Provinces*, having incurred the displeasure of the *French* king, would at least furnish him with money, and suffer him to levy troops in the *Netherlands*, by which means he might be able to reduce *France* to reasonable terms of accommodation. He even went so far as to propose an alliance; and when this was rejected, his minister at the congress, the count *de Pignaranda*, propagated such reports as rendered it necessary for the *Dutch* deputies to give *Severien*, the *French* plenipotentiary, the strongest assurances of their pacific intentions, and friendly disposition with respect to his master. *Pignaranda* resented his disappointment, and now complained of the commerce carried on with *France* by the provinces; declaring that the court of *Madrid* determined to have satisfaction. With this view the *Spaniards* stopped the *Dutch* shipping in the port of *Ostend*^a. The states general immediately took this delicate affair into consideration; but were greatly perplexed in what manner to determine. If they refused to satisfy the demands of the *Spanish* court, they apprehended their ships would be condemned as lawful prizes; and in forbidding a reciprocal trade with *France* the commerce of the republic would be greatly injured.

Intrigues
of the
court of
Spain.

WHILE the states were temporising, in hopes that a peace between *France* and *Spain* would remove all difficulties, cardinal *Mazarin* played every engine of the cabinet, to induce the prince of *Orange* to engage in his interest, and exert his influence again to involve the provinces with the court of *Madrid*. It is well known that the *Orange* party always opposed the late peace; but whether the prince listened to the propositions now made, is uncertain. The cardinal attacked the young hero on his weak side; he applied to his passions and his ambition; but the republic was so circumstanced, that the negotiation proved fruitless. Meantime after the defeat of the *India* company's forces in *Brasil*, the cardinal acted as mediator between the *Portuguese* and the republic, in hopes that if a peace was concluded between them, *Portugal* would then prosecute the war against *Spain* with redoubled vigour. It was soon, however, perceived that the *Portuguese* ambassador wanted

^a Mem. Siri, tom. xiii.

only to amuse the states, while he pretended to accept of their propositions; but the want of unanimity among the cities and provinces prevented their coming to any fixed resolution. Some were for avenging the late disgrace in *Brasil*; while others, less sanguine in their expectations, thought it better to put up with a small part, than run the hazard of losing all footing in this rich and fertile country.

S E C T. X.

Containing all the material transactions in which the republic was concerned, until the second rupture with England in 1665.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in *Holland*, while *A. D.* 1649. *unhappy England* was torn with civil wars; her soil fattened with the blood of her children, and her king brought to an ignominious death upon a scaffold. The republic had hitherto maintained a strict neutrality with respect to the factions in *England*, notwithstanding the close alliance between the unfortunate *Charles* and the house of *Orange*. It is true indeed that queen *Henrietta*, forced to quit the kingdom, passed over to *Holland*, but she could obtain no succours except the money raised upon the crown-jewels. The prince of *Orange* had taken some measures in behalf of the royal party; but they were of little consequence, and detached from the politics of the republic. Now, however, we see the situation of the states more delicate, and the provinces reduced to the necessity of denying refuge to the shattered remains of the royalists, or of coming to a rupture with the parliament of *England*. *James* duke of *York*, having escaped from his confinement, took refuge at the *Hague*, where his presence considerably embarrassed the states general. Their perplexity was increased by the arrival of the prince of *Wales*, who solicited the interposition of the republic for the king's life, and represented in such lively colours the danger of his majesty's being brought to an infamous death, that the states resolved to send ambassadors to treat with the parliamentary chiefs. *M. Pauw*, and *Joachim*, the latter of whom had long resided in a public character at *London*, were appointed to this delicate trust². These two were able servants of the re-

The republic ballances with great address during the wars in England.

² BASNAGE, p. 142.

public,

public, and had the courage, the one at the age of eighty-eight, and the other of seventy-eight years, to embark in the depth of winter, when the cold was intolerable, for *England*, where they arrived in the month of *February*. They were received with respect; they pleaded the royal cause in terms the most pathetic; but all their endeavours to stem the torrent of fanaticism, cunning and cruel ambition, proved fruitless. *Charles* lost his head upon the block, to the eternal disgrace of the *British* nation.

No sooner was the news of the king's execution come to the *Hague*, than the prince of *Orange* communicated the fatal event, by one of his chaplains, to the prince of *Wales*; while the clergy thought it their duty to wait in a body on that young prince, with compliments of condolence. This proceeding was condemned by the states, as equally impolitic and unconstitutional; their speech to the prince of *Wales* was forbid to be printed, but it soon became public, notwithstanding it was apprehended that the *English* parliament would take offence at certain flattering expressions, and that warmth of regard shewn to the royal family. But though the states general industriously avoided the publication of every thing which might disgust the infant commonwealth of *England*, the states of *Holland* could not dispense with the civility of sending a deputation of condolence to the prince of *Wales*; even the states general themselves waited upon the young prince, in deep mourning, and complimented him with the appellation of king, though they declined congratulating him on his accession to the throne of his ancestors.

It was next deliberated whether the republic should recall her ambassadors from *London*, and give audience to the envoy sent by the parliament of *England*. Mr. *Strickland* had long served the parliament with fidelity and capacity, in quality of minister, at the *Hague*. He now demanded audience of the states general, as public ambassador from the *English* commonwealth; in which he was opposed by Sir *William Boswel*, who had for several years resided in *Holland*, as envoy from *Charles I.* This gentleman's remonstrances were so powerfully seconded by the prince of *Orange*, and a party he had formed in favour of the king, that *Strickland's* credentials were, after violent contests, rejected.

Doristlaus,
envoy from
the parlia-

WHILE this business was in agitation, an accident occurred, which had almost destroyed all the prudent schemes of neutrality formed by the republic. *Doristlaus*, a civilian,

^b GUTHRIE, book iii. LE CLERC, tom. ii. sub ann.

and native of *Holland*, employed in conducting the charge *ment, is* against the late king, was now sent by the parliament to *murdered.* assist *Strickland*. The part he acted in the late horrible tragedy rendered him odious to all the royalists, who flocked in crouds to the little court kept up by *Charles II.* in the neighbourhood of the *Hague*. As he was sitting quietly at supper, certain persons, masked, violently forced open his lodgings, and after assassinating him, retired without being questioned, or at all suspected of the murder. The whole province was in motion at so flagrant a breach of the laws of nations; a reward was offered for discovering the assassins; but, however, the states acted so carelessly, that the parliament, harbouring suspicions of their fidelity, made complaints to *M. Joachimi*; and in truth, *Strickland* turned the whole with so much address to the advantage of his masters, that the leading men in *Holland* grew impatient for the king's quitting the province, and even the dominions of the republic. Yet still the states general persisted in refusing *Strickland's* credentials, under various pretences; upon which he threatened to retire. The states of *Holland*, apprehending a rupture with *England*, which could not fail of proving extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the province, sent remonstrances to the states general, charging them with all the consequences of *Strickland's* departure. Upon this they were forced to apologise to the envoy, and to gain time by referring the matter to the provincial states.

It was the true policy of the republic to keep clear of the civil divisions which, at that time, afflicted both *France* and *Great Britain*; but it was difficult to wave the solicitations of the *English* monarch, supported by the interest of the prince of *Orange*, on one side, and of the intriguing *Mazarin*, on the other. This busy prelate insinuated to the prince of *Orange*, that the royal family in *England* being entirely ruined, his influence and power must necessarily decline, unless he was strongly linked in alliance with the crown of *France*. His design was to involve the provinces in a fresh war with *Spain*; but the prince escaped his snare, and penetrated his views. He informed *M. Brasquet*, the *French* envoy, of the impossibility of carrying the project into execution, because it must pass through the provincial states, and the refusal of one city was sufficient to frustrate the whole design. Foiled in this attempt, the cardinal sent instructions to *M. Brasquet*, to exert his utmost endeavours to prevent the states from entering into any engagements with the parliament of *England*, and to conduct himself with such caution

The intrigues of cardinal Mazarin.

caution that it should not be imagined *France* at all interposed in the affairs of the republic, while the cardinal was negotiating with *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*.

WHILE *Brasset* was deeply engaged in this negotiation, *M. le Brun* arrived at the *Hague*, in quality of envoy from the catholic king. The provinces of *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, who had not yet ratified the treaty of *Ghent*, opposed his reception, notwithstanding which his public entry was allowed. Nothing indeed could be more glorious to the republic than this open declaration of her sovereignty, by an express embassy from the king of *Spain*; and the ambassador took particular care to sow his discourse thick with the flattering terms of *Mighty State*, *Flourishing Republic*, and *Sovereign People*, which produced a good effect on the minds of the states general. Yet this only regarded externals, and the civilities he met with; for as to the real intention of his embassy, he made no progress; the republic resolving, as long as possible, to observe the strictest neutrality. The affair of *Frankendal* was the most difficult part of his commission. The *Spaniards* had possessed themselves of that place, and the elector palatine, to whom it belonged, demanded restitution. The states general supported the elector, who was violently persecuted by the emperor, and the *Spaniards* were at a loss how to determine. At last they consented to the restitution upon those conditions, that the catholic religion should be established in the palatinate; that a free passage should be granted to the *Spaniards*; that they should be allowed a place of arms, and that the republic would guarantee these conditions. This, together with some depredations committed by the *Lorrainers*, in the neighbourhood of *Boisleduc*; certain disputes concerning *Rhimberg*; and an old quarrel with the bishop of *Liege*, were the subjects of *le Brun*'s negotiation.

*Treaties
with Den-
mark.*

It was about this time that the grand prior of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, arrived in *Holland*, to demand all the commanderies of *Malta*, situated in the provinces. First, a variety of difficulties arose about the honours to be paid to the grand prior; but this affair being adjusted, the states entered into a negotiation with him, which produced nothing but useless altercation. It was otherwise with *M. Ufeldt*, the *Danish* ambassador, who at this time concluded a treaty of alliance and redemption between the crown of *Denmark* and the republic of the *Seven United Provinces*. By the treaty of alliance they were reciprocally bound to assist the party attacked with 4000 men, and to use their utmost influence with the aggressor to lay down his arms, and submit to arbitration.

Arbitration. The treaty of redemption regulated the duties on all *Dutch* merchantmen passing through the *Sound* to the *Baltic*, about which there had been great disputes. Instead of rating each ship according to her tonnage, it was agreed to pay a certain sum yearly for the free passage of the *Sound*; however, this expedient was displeasing to some of the provinces, and highly resented by the *Hanse* towns, as injurious to their commerce, especially as a *Dutch* squadron, not exceeding four men of war, was allowed to pass unquestioned into the *Baltic*. *Sweden* likewise complained loudly of an alliance which must necessarily break off the good harmony between that kingdom and the republic, and queen *Christina* plied the states with remonstrances, which passed unregarded.

THE states having established the foreign concerns of the republic upon the most solid footing that the circumstances of affairs would admit, applied their attention to the finances, which were brought into great disorder by the long continuance of the war, and the confusion that reigned for a series of years in the provinces. The interest of public debts was reduced, because the province of *Holland* had offered to furnish money for the payment of all who desired to be reimbursed. However, the public credit was so well established, that not a single creditor sought to withdraw his stock; by which means the interest of debts became too large for the stated revenue. To remove this difficulty, certain taxes were imposed on the barony of *Breda*, and the district of *Boisleduc*, because those lands were exempted from taxes during the war. The inhabitants, who had paid heavy contributions to the *Spaniards*, complained of the hardship of being rated on a footing with countries that had paid nothing. Projects were delivered to the states, to obviate the objection, but none of the remedies applied penetrated to the bottom of the disease: one of the expedients proposed by the states of *Holland* was, the reduction of the troops; which the prince of *Orange*, supported by the council of state, warmly opposed, while all the princes and states were armed on the frontiers of the republic. The dispute rose high, and yet the whole difference of opinion was trivial; the prince insisting that a standing-force of 26,300 foot and 3000 horse should be maintained; while the province of *Holland* asserted that 25,000 foot and 2700 horse were sufficient for the protection of the republic. It is probable their animosity was more deeply

A. D.
 1650.
 Origin of
 the civil
 dissensions
 in Hol-
 land.

* BASNAGE, p. 161. AITZEMA, lib. xxx. p. 68.

*Disputes
between
the prince
of Orange
supported
by the
states gene-
ral, and
the pro-
vince of
Holland.*

rooted, and this occasion only seized as a cover to their real designs. *Holland* had taken certain measures respecting the payment of the troops, without consulting the prince and council of state; and this proceeding was not only resented by the prince and council, but by all the officers of the army, and the states general themselves, who regarded it as an infraction of the union. At this time a deputy from the province of *Holland* presided in the states general, and he laboured to prevent the assembly from taking any resolution contrary to his instructions from the states of his province; but finding he could not stem the torrent, he resigned the chair, and was succeeded by a deputy of *Guelderland*, who proceeded to revoke the order of the states of *Holland*, in consequence of a great majority of voices. Determining to support this decision, their high mightinesses sent express orders to all the officers of the army, not to obey any directions they might receive from the states of *Holland*, unless they were confirmed by the authority of the states general; the governors of the frontier towns had similar orders; and the deputies of *Holland* protested against this proceeding, as injurious to their liberties. In the end, the steadiness of the states of *Holland*, and the fluctuating councils of their high mightinesses, afforded the prince of *Orange* the opportunity of pushing his ambitious views. Attended by the council of state, and count *de Nassau* governor of *Friseland*, he waited upon the states general, praying their mightinesses, to forbid the governors from making the reformation in their garrisons required by the states of *Holland*, and to send a deputation to each town of that province, to oblige the magistrates to alter their sentiments. The deputies of *Holland* and *Guelderland* opposed this request, because the deputies of *Friseland*, *Groningen*, and *Overijssel* were absent; but a resolution passed in favour of the prince, and the desired deputation was dispatched. They proceeded first to *Dordrecht*, where they were badly received, and insulted by a resolution of the magistrates to hold no conference with the prince of *Orange* or his deputies. The prince in person joined the deputies, but no ear was given to his remonstrances; upon which he set out for the *Brille*, *Gorcum*, *Rotterdam*, and the other towns, where his reception was little better than at *Dordrecht*. *Amsterdam* sent two burgo-masters as far as *Tergau*, to request of the prince not to attempt entering that city, because they could not give him audience with his train, which was pretty numerous. As he still pursued his journey, a second deputation was sent to acquaint his highness, that if he proposed honouring the city

city with a visit as governor of the province, he would be received with all the respect due to his birth and the dignity of his office; but he could not be admitted as a deputy from the states general, because the design of his embassy appeared dangerous. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the city, he could procure no relaxation in the conditions, and therefore proceeded to *Haerlem*, where the magistrates displayed the same aversion for the resolutions of the states general. In *North Holland* the prince met with more civility; however, the magistrates of *Medemblic* sent to acquaint him that the roads were so bad, and the town so small for the accommodation of his retinue, that they could not hope for the honour of a visit.

On his return the prince complained loudly to the states general of the conduct of the cities, particularly of *Amsterdam*, against which he inveighed bitterly, ordering his speech to be printed, to render it more public, hoping, by this means, to enflame the minds of the people, and especially of the clergy, who were devoted to his interest. The deputies of *Amsterdam*, who were present when this speech was delivered, expressed their astonishment that the prince should have particularly aimed his resentment at their city, when several others had acted in just the same manner. They vindicated the conduct of the magistrates, and their measures were approved by the states of *Holland*, who, in a public manifesto, declared that the states general had no right to send a deputation to the several cities, which looked as if they wanted to gain them without the consent of the provincial states.

THE return of admiral *de Wit* with a sickly, shattered fleet, augmented the civil divisions. This officer, perceiving the impossibility of recovering the losses lately sustained in the *Brasils*, returned, without the consent of the council established in that country by the states general. Loud complaints were made by the council against the admiral and his officers, who were blamed for the miscarriage of the expedition. It was urged that he had formed not a single enterprise, that he let slip several opportunities of retrieving the affairs of the company, that he had quitted the coast against the express order of the council, and that he had carried off all the provision, and left the company's servants and effects in the entire power of their enemies. *De Wit* was arrested by the prince of *Orange*, as high-admiral; he was accused by the states of *Zealand*, and supported by the states of *Holland*, who feared that his *Portuguese* majesty would stop their ships in his ports, and prohibit their trading

Admiral
de Wit
imprisoned.

to the coast of Guinea, if the war was prosecuted in the *Brasils*. At the same time the states general issued orders to the admiralty of *Amsterdam*, to confine the six captains who accompanied *de Wit*; and this produced a violent altercation, the states of *Holland* insisting, that the order was a violation of their rights; it was an encroachment on their sovereignty to imprison by any other authority within the limits of their jurisdiction. The states general quoted precedents, and, besides, urged, that reason dictated that all officers who held their commissions from them, should be subject to their authority, in whatever province they might happen to reside. In a word, the captains were confined by order of their high mightinesses, and the prison-doors were forced by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, and the prisoners set at liberty. *William*, determined upon revenge, had the six deputies of *Holland* arrested, at the head of whom was *Jacob de Wit*, an old burgomaster of *Dordrecht*, and the father of the famous pensioner *de Wit*. After being some time confined in separate apartments in the prince's palace, they were sent under a strong guard to the castle of *Louestein*. Determined to support this bold attempt on the privileges of his country, *William* detached a body of forces under the count *de Nassau*, towards *Amsterdam*, in hopes of reducing the magistrates to his terms, by menaces and the terror of a siege*. His measures were concerted with so much secrecy, and pursued with such vigour, that the troops were in motion before the magistrates had any suspicion of his intentions. Had it not been for some unforeseen accidents, the city must certainly, without striking a blow, have fallen into his hands.

Amsterdam besieged.

WHEN the news first arrived at *Amsterdam*, that the army was on their march, of the four burgomasters regent, one was dead, two were absent, and *M. Bitzker* alone left to provide for the defence of the city. He was well supported, however, by *M. Nydecooper*, an infirm magistrate, whose diligence, gallantry, and public spirit, was now conspicuously exerted in the defence of liberty. So popular were these two magistrates, that the people flocked to them with offers of their service. Immediately the ramparts were mounted with cannon, the garrison put in arms, the ships cleared out for the defence of the harbour, and every other measure taken for making the most vigorous resistance. The council met, to deliberate whether the sluices should be opened, and the neighbouring country laid under water, in order to sweep away by one fatal stroke the whole army of the be-

* *BAGNAGE*, p. 177.

siegers;

siegers ; but a more moderate opinion prevailing, it was resolved only to drown such parts of the neighbourhood as led to the weakest posts of the city. Every inhabitant was in motion, and the sailors in particular contributed with the utmost alacrity towards the safety of this great emporium of Europe. On the count's arrival he found his project was disconcerted, and his force too inconsiderable to attempt investing so extensive a city. He gave notice of his disappointment to the prince of Orange, who was highly chagrined, to see a plan drawn out with so much care so unexpectedly foiled, and his honour and authority stained and despised: but imagining his presence would retrieve all things, he communicated his design to the states general, and instantly set out for the army, attended by great numbers of the nobility and officers of distinction. On his way he met with M. de Beeverwert, a gentleman descended from the house of Nassau, a friend to the prince, but an enemy to this attack upon the liberties of his country. Resolving, if possible, to obviate the fatal consequences which might ensue from the obstinacy of the parties, he led the prince to an eminence, and bid him from thence behold the vast body of water in the power of the magistrates of Amsterdam, with which they could overwhelm his whole army, if they resolved to push matters to extremities. This demonstration was equally concise and conclusive. William instantly felt its conviction, and entreated M. Beeverwert to go immediately to the Hague to acquaint the states general with his danger, and procure an order for recalling himself and the army; the only measure which could save his honour^c.

WHILE M. Beeverwert was employed in this affair, a negotiation commenced between the prince and the magistrates of Amsterdam. William had wrote to them, desiring they would send four deputies, to confer with him upon the subject of an accommodation. As the magistrates began already to feel the inconveniencies of a siege, they listened the more readily to the proposal. Dissension had thus early begun to shew itself in the city. A variety of libels were published, taxing the magistrates with holding a secret correspondence with the English parliament. This allegation was founded upon Pieterfon's voyage to England, to manage the affairs of the province with Cromwel, who had refused admitting an embassy from the republic. Nothing could render the magistrates more odious than such an accusation; besides, the merchants apprehended that a siege would

The siege raised.

^c LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 200.

stop the course of exchange, and hurt their credit. These were the motives which influenced the magistrates to enter upon a negotiation, and the prince artfully augmented the fears of the citizens, by threatening to convert the siege into a blockade. To this may be added the little dependance placed by the magistrates in the other cities, who contented themselves with murmuring at this attempt on their liberty, without entering upon any measures of resistance. In these circumstances the following articles were mutually signed : That the prince should be received in the city with all the honours due to his dignity, and paid to his ancestors in the same office. This condition was stipulated merely to save the prince's honour, for, apprehending the popular indignation, he never made his entry : that the city of *Amsterdam* should engage to pay the arrears due to the troops which the province had disbanded : that the magistrates should use their influence with the states of *Holland*, to effect a public reconciliation : and lastly, that M. *Bitzker* and his brother, notwithstanding the many services they had done to the house of *Orange*, and the state, and notwithstanding their present strenuous efforts in defence of freedom, should be stripped of all their employments, and rendered incapable of being ever again reinstated. The council obstinately opposed this last article ; but those two excellent citizens insisted upon resigning, offering themselves a voluntary sacrifice for the public tranquillity. In this manner terminated this dangerous civil war, which had brought the republic on the brink of destruction. *William's* designs were now obvious ; and all, with one voice, accused him of betraying his country, and using those forces entrusted to his care for the protection of the republic, to the purposes of ambition, and the suppression of public liberty. Happily, perhaps, for himself and his country, he was seized with the small-pox, of which he died on the sixth day of *November*, while he was projecting schemes of revenge, which might, possibly, involve *Holland* in a more dangerous civil war than what the provinces had just experienced. As his virtues were universally acknowledged, and his ambition dreaded, his death occasioned equal joy and grief in the provinces. The friends of the house of *Orange* lamented him as the worthy successor of his heroic ancestors, cut off in the bloom and vigour of life ; while the friends of liberty rejoiced at the event, as flowing from the immediate interposition of providence in their behalf. The people, who imagined themselves oppressed by the rigid exertion of his authority, were quite

indecent in their festivity and public rejoicings; bonfires blazed in every town almost in *Holland*, and medals were struck, insulting the memory of a prince who might have died loved and revered, had he known how to moderate those high passions which ever prove ruinous in a popular government^f (A).

WILLIAM had set at liberty the prisoners confined in the castle of *Louvestein*, on condition they should not be restored to their employments; but his remains were scarcely cold, when the deputies were reinstated with such distinctions, as could not but be regarded as an insult to the deceased. Even the court was divided into parties, and engaged in opposite interests. The princess dowager, mother to the late stadtholder, was less sensible of the death of her son, because under his government she lost that authority which she enjoyed in the lifetime of his father. As to the young princess his widow, already afflicted with the misfortunes of her royal father and family in *England* she became inconsolable, until it pleased heaven to revive her hopes, and moderate her grief, by the birth of a young prince, eight days after the death of his father.

As the states general had been strongly linked with the prince of *Orange* in the same interest, his sudden loss caused a general consternation in that assembly, of which he was the soul and invigorating principle, though he had no voice in the states. Their first resolution was, to notify this fatal event to all the provincial states. *Holland* was no sooner acquainted with it, than the states met to deliberate on the

^f BASNAGE, p. 177. *La vie de princes diemoisne du Orange*, P. 48.

(A) *William's* genius was vast and comprehensive. Though he had never been in the field, he was deemed a great general, inheriting the qualities of a hero from his ancestors, which he improved by the closest application and most intense study. His constitution was saturnine, his silence remarkable, and all his passions absorbed in that single one of ambition. His person was not only handsome and elegant; but the features of his face beautiful, and manly.

At his death, he was only in the 24th year of his age, yet he had made great progress in the mathematics, fortification, and all the sciences, at the same time that he spoke fluently the *Latin*, *English*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *High Dutch*. In a word, he was a prince, who, had he been seated on a throne, would equally have commanded esteem and respect. Vid. *La vie des princes du maison de Orange*.



contented themselves with a promise to the princess, that they would forward her letters to the provincial states, though they could not but think creating a new stadtholder unseasonable; as the youth of the prince required a lieutenant. *WILLIAM* the Third, like *Hercules*, was from his birth to encounter difficulties. The first disputes arose about his baptism, the next about his tutelage, and the third, which threatened the dissolution of the government, appeared on his entering upon the administration. Deputies from the states general, from the states of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and from the cities of *Amsterdam*, *Leyden* and *Delft*, offered themselves as sponsors for the infant. This honour was accepted with pleasure, and followed by magnificent presents to the young prince and his family. The princess royal, his mother, was for calling him *Charles*, in compliment to the memory of her father; but the grandmother objected to that unfortunate name, and preferred the name of *William*, as the most popular and auspicious. The pomp with which the child was baptised, was censured by the more prudent republicans, and many persons were offended at the old dowager's desiring that the duke of *York* might not be present at the ceremony.—With all her sense and manly ideas, that princess was tinged with a truly feminine superstition.

Disputes
for his
guardian-
ship.

THE ceremony of the prince's baptism had occasioned contentions only between the grandmother and mother; but the choice of his guardians was a matter of greater difficulty. The honour was claimed by a variety of princes, who hoped by this means to come in for a considerable share in the government of the republic, and to exercise the functions of the stadtholder. The candidates were don *Emanuel* and don *Lewis*, princes of *Portugal*, descended from a daughter of *William I.*; *Philip Lewis*, prince palatine of the *Rhine*, likewise descended from a daughter of the same prince of *Orange*; and the prince palatine, of the family of *Deux Ponts*, who claimed an affinity to the young prince. He offered to reside at his own expence at the *Hague*, should he be appointed to the office of guardian: his proposals were favourably received by the grand council; but they could not be complied with, out of regard to the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had married the eldest daughter of prince *Frederic Henry*. Both the grandmother and mother sent in their several claims on this occasion, as the most legitimate and natural guardians; but as they could come to no understanding among themselves, the council declined deciding in favour of either. At last, a will of the late prince's being presented by his secretary, turned the scale in favour of the



seat in the states general, he complained that the republic had violated the rights of nations, in obliging him to enter the *Hague* privately, and refusing him an audience for months. He recapitulated the services done the republic by king *Sebastian*, and said, that notwithstanding her ingratitude, the king was now taking measures for re-establishing the ancient amity between the states, not from weakness, but from an inclination to spare the effusion of christian blood. He concluded with giving an estimate of the forces and shipping of *Portugal*, and demonstrating to the republic, that this was the surest barrier against the encroachments of his catholic majesty. Immediately the deputies entered into several conferences with him, and demanded restitution of all the forts, settlements, and territories of which the republic was deprived in course of the war, from *Rio-real* to *Siara*, including all the slaves, cattle, sugars, and other effects; indemnification for the losses sustained by the interruption in commerce, and cession of the island of *St. Thomas*, and the *African* coast from cape *Lepo Gonzales*, to the river *Coanza*. Incensed at these extravagant demands, the ambassador quitted *Holland* precipitately, without the ceremony of taking leave, or notifying his intentions to the states.

THE disputes with the *Portuguese* minister were followed by violent contentions in the cities about the election of magistrates. *Dordrecht* in particular was all in motion, and the nobility augmented the public confusion, by chusing this particular time for reviving the claims to the ancient right of seats in the provincial assemblies. They produced several ancient acts, proving that the states were formerly composed of the nobility, clergy, and the deputies of the cities; and *Maximilian* of *Burgundy* pretended, that, as the most ancient of the nobility, he had a right to represent the whole body, to the exclusion of all the other members. This division among themselves weakened the weight of their influence, and the states gladly embraced this opportunity of rejecting their pretensions.

AMIDST all these civil dissensions, commerce flourished *State of* more than ever, and the republic engrossed the trade of *the Dutch* *Europe*, as *England* had not yet recovered the calamities con- *commerce.* sequent on the entire revolution in the government, and *France* was wholly employed in disputes between the crown and the princes of the blood, and the nobility struggling in defence of the relics of liberty. Yet it received several interruptions from the attacks of the corsairs of *Tunis*, and rovers of *Algiers* and *Salce*. Even the *French* privateers made
no

The states
take mea-
sures for
the security
of com-
merce.

Disputes
with the
English
envoy,

no scruple of attacking the *Dutch* merchantmen; but those piracies were soon suppressed by the public spirit of two merchants, who equipped a squadron of small men of war at their own expence, cleared the seas, and sufficiently reimbursed themselves by the great number of captures. But the greatest obstruction to trade arose from *England*. His catholic majesty had dispatched an ambassador to the parliament, offering to punish the murderers of the *English* resident at *Madrid*, to admit the *English* shipping into all the ports of *Spain*, and to exclude the fleet under prince *Rupert*. He likewise acknowledged the sovereign authority of the parliament; all which was construed into an oblique reflection on the dilatory conduct of the states general, who had hitherto declined punishing the murderers of *Dorislaus*, or acknowledging the sovereignty of the parliament. *Zealand* pressed with eagerness, that all manner of satisfaction should be given to the parliament, and the titles and authority of this illegal government acknowledged; but the arguments of the deputies made no impression on the other provinces. Determined upon revenge, the parliament, on various pretences, seized upon the *Dutch* ships trading to the ports of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*. They insisted likewise upon searching their men of war; they forbid their trading to the *Caribees*, and took other violent measures, which seemed to threaten an open rupture. To repel these injuries and protect the trade, admiral *Van Tromp* was stationed with a squadron off the *Scilly* islands, which raised apprehensions in the parliament, that the states had a design to seize upon them as a convenient station for incommoding the *English* commerce. In this situation, *Cromwell*, perfectly master of the art of dissembling, sent an embassy to *Holland* with overtures of a treaty offensive and defensive between the two republics. The duke of *York* was at this time at the *Hague*, where *St. John*, the *English* envoy, had the presumption in a public walk to dispute the precedence with him; which being observed by the prince palatine, his generous mind was fired at the indignity, he pulled off the envoy's hat, and bad him respect the son and the brother of his king. *St. John* put his hand upon his sword, refused to acknowledge either the king, or duke of *York*; but the populace taking part with the young prince, compelled him to seek refuge in his lodgings. Complaints were made by the ambassador to the states general, who advised the duke of *York* to retire to one of the prince of *Orange's* palaces in the country, and expressed their sorrow for the accident in an apology to the *English* minister. *Ommeren*, and six other deputies,

puties, were now appointed to deliberate upon the instructions sent to *St. John* and *Strickland*, who first demanded in high terms satisfaction upon the murderers of *Dorilaus*, which had been so long neglected, through the dilatory forms of the *Dutch* government. This the *Dutch* answered, by presenting a long list of debts due, on account of the depredations of the *English*. The *English* ambassador immediately rejected the account, because it chiefly consisted of *Dutch* vessels taken in an illicit trade with the revolted *English* plantations. A continuation of the queen of *Bohemia's* pension was likewise demanded by the *Dutch*, for the payment of which the states general stood engaged; but this was also refused, the ambassadors alledging, that the pension was granted by the late king, without the consent of his parliament. A variety of other demands were made; but all of them received with so insolent an air of superiority by the *English*, that nothing could be expected from this negotiation, as it was not imagined the *Dutch* would tamely recede from so many demands^b.

BUT perhaps the greatest obstruction to the treaty arose. Obstruction from cardinal *Mazarin*, who above all things dreaded the alliance mentioned in the lifetime of the late prince of *Orange*, between *England* and *Holland*. It is true, the prince was too intimately connected with the royal family of *England*, to suffer a project so detrimental to their interest to take effect; before his death, he concluded a treaty against *Spain* with the cardinal, on condition that the French minister should assist in the restoration of the *Stuart* family. Thus the intrigues of *Mazarin*, and the friends of the house of *Orange*, effectually impeded the proposed union between the two commonwealths, which was only proposed by *St. John*, and never taken into serious consideration. Irritated at this disappointment, at the disrespect shewn in many instances to their ambassador, at the partiality of the *Dutch* in their demands, at their refusal to make the required satisfaction for the unatoned barbarities committed at *Amberna*, soon after the establishment of the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, the parliament resolved to chastise the states general, and evince their superiority by the most vigorous measures. These notions were confirmed by *St. John*, who laboured to give *Cromwell* and the people a disadvantageous opinion of the *Dutch*, to persuade them that nothing was so desirable to *Holland* as an opportunity of

^b BASNAGE, p. 220.

disturbing

disputing the sovereignty on the ocean assumed by the *English*.

*The two
republics
on the point
of coming
to a rup-
ture.*

WHAT the *Dutch* regarded as the first step towards a rupture, was the act of navigation passed in *England*. This, though one of the most salutary laws ever proposed in the *English* parliament, was highly prejudicial to the *Dutch* commerce; and its taking place at this time, when the minds of the people were heated by a variety of other accidents, could not but be regarded as an harbinger to further declarations. Abstracted from other considerations, the act was in itself alarming to the provinces, as it prohibited all nations from importing any merchandise into *England*, but what was the produce of the country to which the ship belonged; and the commodities from *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, to be imported in any other than *English* bottoms. This blow levelled directly at *Holland*, as the *Dutch* traffic consisted wholly in transporting foreign commodities from one country to another. Ambassadors were immediately dispatched to *England*; and they were received with great formality by the new commonwealth, which had by this time granted letters of marque to divers merchants, who complained that their ships had been unjustly confiscated in *Holland*, though in fact they were only detained by way of reprisal. It was easy to discover from the tone of the *Dutch* ambassadors, that they were apprehensive of a rupture, and powerfully awed by the commonwealth. The *English* rose proportionably in their demands, insisted not only upon satisfaction for the barbarities at *Amboyna*, but on the sum of two millions, to repair the losses they had sustained from the *Dutch* in other parts of the *East Indies*, in *Persia*, *Muscovy*, and *Greenland*. They also demanded the punishment of the murderers of *Derislaus*, reparation of the insults offered to their ambassador, and an apology for the intercourse carried on with the late king, during the civil war¹.

*The Dutch
prepare
for war.*

DEMANDS so insolently made, and exorbitant, fired the republic, and convinced the states general, that vigorous measures alone could bring to reasonable terms the new commonwealth. They could not brook the homage required by the *English* at sea, and their vain-glorious pretensions to the sovereignty of the ocean. The mere striking to their flag was in itself trifling; but the uncertainty, whether they might not desire to extend their right, appeared to the states a matter of importance, which ought to be checked before precedents were established. The *English* had already

¹ GROT. lib. 6. p. 44. BASNAGE, *ibid*.

claime

claimed the right of examining, not only their merchantmen for illicit goods, but even the *Dutch* men of war; they might in course of time assume the power of directing the destination of their fleets, and even prescribing whether the republic should maintain any fleets at all upon the ocean. The tribute demanded by the *English* for the liberty of fishing on the *British* coasts, appeared unreasonable to the *Dutch*, though this perhaps was the justest demand of the parliament. For time immemorial, a fortieth herring had been granted; but now the number was augmented, and the tribute rendered exorbitant. To oppose those encroachments on the rights of nations, the states equipped with the utmost expedition a prodigious fleet, consisting of 150 ships of war, part of which they sent under the command of *Martin Van Tromp* into the Channel, to convoy their homeward bound merchantmen (A).

A. D.
1652.

THE first hostilities previous to a declaration of war, were commenced by the *English*. One of their ships of war falling in with a fleet of *Dutch* fishermen, demanded the usual tribute and homage; which being refused, the man of war sunk one of the *Dutch* ships, with all its crew; a fact that is variously related, just as it happens to suit the purposes of the different parties. Complaint of this action was immediately made to the *English*; and the states resolutely declared, unless the captain was punished, they should be forced to make reprisals. As no notice was taken of the demand, they immediately laid an embargo on all the *English* shipping in their ports, *Tromp*, before his departure, desired the minutest instructions with respect to his conduct towards the *English*. He acquainted the states, that, during the late king's reign, it was usual to pay homage to the *English* flag upon the *British* coasts, and in the Channel; but that scarce an instance occurred where this compliment was required on the open sea. To avoid therefore the necessity of entering upon any disputes, or of acknowledging the superiority of the parliament, the states ordered he should not approach the *English* coasts, unless forced by circumstances. Lord *Clarendon* alledges, that the admiral had in-

Hostilities
commen-
ced.

(A) Readers who would make themselves perfectly acquainted with the dispute about the sovereignty of the ocean, and the right of fishing upon the *British* coasts, may consult the learned performance of *Grotius*, intitled

Mare liberum, and the answer called *Mare clausum*, wrote by the learned *Selden*. To enter upon such a controversy would be exceeding the province of an historian.

Instructions

Instructions to answer the *English*, if they demanded a compliment to their flag, that the states had out of respect paid homage to the king's flags, from a desire of maintaining a good correspondence with that court; but that circumstances being altered, they now thought themselves at liberty to act otherwise. Should this reply prove unsatisfactory, his orders were to defend himself with vigour. These instructions, he says, were issued from the admiralty; but his lordship seems mistaken in the powers of that board *.

AFTER *Van Tromp* had cruised for some time on the coast of *Scheveling*, he was driven by a violent northerly wind towards *Flanders*, where, for the security of his fleet, he sailed for the Channel, and stationed himself between *Dover* and *Calais*; but in passing the *Downs*, where admiral *Blake* lay with a fleet of six and twenty men of war, he was saluted with a discharge of cannon, without shot, as a signal for him to pay the compliment of lowering his topsails to the *English* flag. *Dutch* writers affirm, that, previous to this, he dispatched two of his captains with compliments to *Bourn*, the *English* commodore, and to assure him that he had been driven to that station by stress of weather. Be this as it may, it is certain that *Tromp* paid no regard to the signal made by the *English* admiral, who upon this fired a ball at him, which he returned by a whole broadside. Immediately an engagement ensued, which was maintained for the space of four hours with the utmost fury and conduct. Commodore *Bourn* arrived critically with eight ships to the assistance of the *English*; upon which *Tromp* retired behind the *Goodwin-Sands*, with the loss of two ships, one of which was sunk, and the other taken. No *Dutch* writer of authority pretends to affirm that the loss of the *English* was equal, though they alledge, that the seasonable interposition of night probably saved the enemy from destruction. Nor is this at all impossible, considering the great superiority of *Tromp's* Squadron, and his own ability, which was in no respect inferior to that of the *Englishman*. *Van Tromp*, in his letter to the states general, reflects severely on the insolent carriage of *Blake*, which reduced him to the necessity of returning his fire; and alledges, that he bore two broadsides from the *English*, by which several persons perished, before he gave the signal to engage. In proof of this, his biographer quotes a letter from the *English* admiral, in answer to a message sent by *Tromp* to demand the prisoners; and it must be confessed, that here *Blake* has shewn his high, untractable

* GUTHRIE'S Hist. of Engl. book iii p. 1260.

spirit, assuming to himself such an air of superiority as afforded suspicion that he was the aggressor. It is however impossible to ascertain the truth, except on presumptive evidence, the accounts on both sides being so diametrically opposite and contradictory¹.

In London, the news of this battle so exasperated the populace, that they insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who were forced to shelter themselves under the protection of the parliament. They endeavoured to appease the public resentment, by demonstrating that *Tromp* had no orders to fight; that he stood only in his own defence, and could not, without hazarding his reputation, avoid repelling the gross insult offered. The states likewise sent *Adrian Pauw*, in quality of ambassador extraordinary, to confirm this allegation, by laying before the parliament *Van Tromp's* letter to the states, and likewise the insolent answer he received from *Blake* before the battle. He conjured them to enquire dispassionately into the particulars of the affair; assuring the commonwealth, that if it appeared their admiral had actually refused to compliment the *English* flag, he should be punished by the states general for his presumption. Certain it is, that now the *Dutch* sincerely wished an accommodation. They intreated the parliament, by the common ties of religion and liberty, to set on foot a negotiation; but possibly the boldness of *Blake* had shook their resolution, and convinced them by this first trial, that *England* was not to be reduced to reason by violence. No regard was paid to the ambassador's remonstrances; on the contrary, the government of *England* affected to slight, in the most contemptuous manner, the solemn assurances of the states general, and to construe their earnestness of avoiding a rupture into dread of the *English* courage. *Cromwel* and *Bond* were sent to *Dover* to encourage *Blake* and the seamen, to thank them for their delicate regard to the honour of the commonwealth, and to provide the fleet with every necessary.

This conduct, and the orders issued for augmenting the navy with forty more sail, could not be regarded by the states general in any other light than an open defiance, and declared resolution of coming to a rupture. In consequence they recalled their ambassadors, and published a manifesto, specifying the injuries they had sustained, which was answered by another from the parliament. Little stress can be laid on those declarations, in which both sides assert hardily, and suppress every circumstance that reflects light on their real

The states
send an
embassy to
England.

The Dutch
prepare for
war.

¹ La vie de Cornel Van Tromp, p. 16.

intentions. Sufficient it is, that *Cromwel* possibly imagined it necessary to divert, by a foreign war, the attention of the people, from considering the ambitious scheme of sovereignty he had projected; and that the *Dutch*, grown rich by commerce, elated with prosperity, proud of liberty, and insolently confident of their naval force, were rejoiced at an opportunity of asserting an equality with the *English* commonwealth.

THE *Dutch* ambassadors having, in their return met with *Van Tromp*, off *Ziriczee*, *Pauw* advised him to attack *Ascough* on his way from *Barbadoes*, with three *Dutch* prizes richly laden. This measure was embraced, but disconcerted by violent contrary winds, in which *Van Tromp's* fleet was shattered and dispersed, many ships not having been able to join him in the *Texel*, for several weeks after. *Van Galen*, however, was sent with a squadron to the *Mediterranean*, to oppose in that sea the *English* commodore *Bodely*. *Blake*, ever vigorous and alert, seized the opportunity of *Van Tromp's* absence, to assert his country's right to the *British* fishery. With this view he steered to the northward, attacked the *Dutch* fisheries off *Shetland*, took their whole convoy of twelve men of war, but suffered the fishing busses to escape, on a promise never to return, without leave from the *English* parliament; an act of generosity highly blamed by the historians of that country. *Van Tromp* pursued *Blake* to the north; but his squadron suffered a second time in a hard gale, just as he had given the signal to engage, as if the elements had conspired against the glory of this hero.

VAN Tromp's misfortunes rather animated, than discouraged the states general. They promoted *de Ruyter*, afterwards so famous in history, to the command of a separate squadron, consisting of fifty sail, ordering him to protect a rich fleet of homeward-bound merchantmen. *Ruyter* was of obscure birth, and he had raised himself to distinction by dint of extraordinary merit, from the rank of a cabin-boy, unsupported by patronage, or those specious qualities which sometimes secure the friendship of the great, to the undeserving. He now first appeared in quality of commander in chief, and his conduct soon justified the election of his countrymen. Near *Plymouth* he met with admiral *Ascough*, with whom he began a furious canonading about four in the afternoon, alone sustained the whole fire of the admiral and vice-admiral for an hour, and at length, by an extraordinary effort of intrepidity disengaged himself, joined the rest of his squadron, and

and renewed the attack with such impetuosity, as obliged the enemy to retire, after most of their ships had exhausted all their ammunition. *Ascough* had a Squadron little inferior to *de Ruyter's*; he behaved with the utmost gallantry, was once surrounded with nine of his ships by the *Dutch*, extricated himself by a desperate push, which broke the enemy; tore their ships, and gained the weather-gage; but still he was constrained to confess his inferiority by withdrawing from the battle. Next day, being reinforced, the engagement was renewed with redoubled eagerness, both sides suffered extremely, and at last the squadrons separated, as if by mutual consent; on the third day, each admiral claimed victory, with almost equal justice. Both laboured under disadvantages, *Ascough* wanted ammunition, and *Ruyter's* orders were disobeyed, either from want of skill or courage in his officers; but the greatest proof of the advantage gained by the *Dutch*, was, that the merchant-fleet under *Ruyter's* conduct arrived untouched at *Amsterdam*, and the *English* took shelter in *Plsmouth*. To this victory, if it may be called one, succeeded another, not less bloody, but more decisive. *Van Galen* had attacked *Bodely* in the *Mediterranean*, and with great valour fought and defeated his Squadron, though he lost his life at the close of the engagement*.

DeRuyter
fights the
English.

MEANTIME *Ruyter* was under great perplexity. The last action, though upon the whole to his advantage, was however a convincing proof of the enemy's skill, courage, and obstinacy; while it afforded but too strong conviction, of the want of discipline and valour among his own officers. He doubted not but *Blake*, with a superior fleet, would revenge the cause of *Ascough*; and that admiral's vigour and impetuosity were evinced sufficiently in the affair with *Van Tromp*. Under these apprehensions, he acquainted the states general with his situation, and the probability of his being soon attacked by the enemy's united squadrons. The states immediately resolved to send *Van Tromp* to take the chief command, and join *Ruyter* with a strong reinforcement; but *Tromp's* late undeserved misfortunes, had rendered him unpopular. Without being able to tax his conduct, the people had murmured against the event of his two last expeditions. The ruin of the herring fishery had excited commotions in *Zealand* and *Tumults Holland*; *Van Tromp* was like to fall the sacrifice of ignorance, while his character was adored by all men of un-land.

* La vie de Ruyter, par Brandt, p. 52.

derstanding. In despite of his services in quality of lieutenant-admiral for the space of fifteen years, it was with difficulty he could justify himself sufficiently, to be retained in the command. Fear of the people, or envy of his glory, had even raised him enemies in the states general, and the colleges of the admiralty. The public discontent was augmented by the great losses sustained in trade, the *English* having taken and destroyed a fleet of forty sail from *Spain* and *Portugal*, and six sloops richly laden from the *East Indies*. Now *Van Tromp* was divested of his command, without which the mob was not to be appeased, and *de Ruyter* was removed to make way for admiral *de Wit*. Even this promotion did not give universal satisfaction, the sailors loved their two gallant officers; and though they had the utmost confidence in their new leader, yet did they grumble at the sacrifice made of two heroes to a faction. Those who had set foot on shore, refused returning to their ships, unless half a year's wages were advanced, and their comrades on board mutinied against the orders issued to prevent their landing; all, in short, refused to obey the instructions of the admiralty, and the magistrates of *Amsterdam*. Vigorous measures were necessary to suppress a sedition of such dangerous consequences. A party of soldiers was marched against the mutineers, who were forced on board, after leaving two of the ringleaders in the hands of the magistrates, who immediately gave orders for their execution. This struck a terror into the seamen, and produced the desired effect, the sailors returned to their duty, and an amnesty was passed to secure their gratitude, by an act of kindness and lenity; but unhappily this well-timed act became the subject of fresh disputes, because the provincial states insisted, that the magistrates of *Amsterdam* had usurped their prerogative, by assuming the power of pardoning. It were easy indeed to justify the conduct of the magistrates, upon the principle of necessity. The exigency was pressing: it would not admit of time to assemble the states; yet after some altercation, they were obliged to make satisfaction, and acknowledge publickly that they had, in critical circumstances, presumed upon exerting an authority which did not belong to them¹.—One of the greatest inconveniencies of a a republican government, where the variety of different rights and departments render them perplexed and dilatory:

¹ BASNAGE, p. 258.

IN compliance with the humour of the seamen, and from a just sense of his extraordinary merit, *Ruyter* was again restored, and associated with *de Wit* in the command. Their fleets joined off *Dunkirk*, and it was conceived they should sail in quest of the *English* admiral, the intrepid *Blake*, who was equally impatient to come to an engagement. By this time the *English* admiral was returned from the north, and his fleet being refitted with astonishing dispatch, he was steering in pursuit of the enemy. The vast booty he had taken in his late fortunate cruizes, served only to whet his ardor; and as he had acquired immense wealth without danger, he now resolved to obtain glory, without the least view to private advantage, or sordid purposes. With these generous sentiments on both sides, the fleets came in sight of each other; which determined *Ruyter* to make use of a stroke of policy, which, if improved by his colleague, might have been fatal to the *English*. He drew up behind a sand-bank, in such a manner as secured him from the larger *English* ships, and obliged *Blake* to attack with manifest danger and disadvantage. The utility of this measure was apparent the moment the attack began. The enemy divided into three squadrons, bore down with the admiral, in the *Sovereign*, at the head, but this ship with three other first rates struck upon the *Kentish Knocks*. Encouraged by an accident which greatly diminished the *English* strength, *de Wit* abandoned his situation, and determined to engage on the open sea, where he hoped to give a better account of the enemy, than if separated from them by a mound. *Ruyter* objected to his proposal; but *de Wit*, who had more ardor and courage than naval skill, pursued his own resolution, and soon perceived his error. A furious battle was joined, during which the commanders on both sides performed the most gallant actions; the sailors too of each nation fighting with surprising courage and perseverance. The *English* ships got off the bank, and *de Wit* found that he had made a false estimate of their strength; but relying upon the ability of *Ruyter*, and the intrepidity of the seamen, he fought with the utmost obstinacy, until night separated the combatants. Though the *Dutch* beheld with horror the slaughter made by the *Sovereign*, in which *Blake* fought in person, and though they were equally astonished and abashed by the courage of the *English*, yet *de Wit* proposed renewing the engagement next morning, in hopes the superiority he had in point of number would in the end prevail. *Ruyter*, however, better acquainted with the disposition of

Another sea fight.

The Dutch worsted in another sea fight.

the *English*, opposed this resolution, and both, at last, agreed to make all possible sail for the coast of *Holland*, though they saw the enemy drawn up in line of battle. The *Dutch* rear-admiral was taken, but he had the satisfaction of seeing the captor sunk soon after; another *Dutch* man of war was shattered to pieces, and sunk by the *Sovereign*; their loss was greater, but both sides so artfully dissembled this circumstance, that to ascertain the truth, at this distance of time, would be impossible. Upon the whole, it cannot be denied, but victory declared clearly in favour of the *English*, who not only offered battle next day, but pursued the *Dutch* with their frigates, until they run into the *Goree* ^m.

Tumults in Holland. IN this, as in the preceding engagements, heavy complaints were made against the captains and inferior officers. The admirals no sooner touched the shore, than they accused their officers of cowardice and neglect of duty, while the officers recriminated, by charging *de Wit* with misconduct and rashness, to which they attributed the loss of their shipping. The states endeavoured to reconcile the parties, and restore peace and unanimity. They perceived that *de Wit*'s ardor occasioned his throwing blame on those whose caution he construed into timidity; that the admiral was chiefly in fault, but that his error arose from an excess of intrepidity, and a glorious resolution of signaling himself in the cause of his country; a spirit which, at this juncture, was rather to be cherished than repressed. It was therefore the endeavour of the government to excite an emulation, to remove all cause of contention, and preserve the utmost harmony among the officers. Their zeal proved successful; never did there appear such an universal spirit of revenge, and national honour; the crews of merchantmen offered their services to the republic; and in a few weeks the losses sustained from tempests and battles, were repaired by the equipment of a formidable armament, consisting of seventy-two fine ships of war. *Van Tromp* was restored to the command, both in justice to his reputation, and because *de Wit* was confined by illness; and he had orders to convoy a fleet of 300 merchantmen to the *Lizard*. Between *Dover* and *Folkestone* he descried the *English* fleet, amounting only to forty large men of war; he bore down; and *Blake*, with his usual intrepidity, seized the occasion of joining battle. On the 29th of *November* the fight began, at eleven in the forenoon, with inexpressible fury, and continued to six in

^m *La vie de Ruyter*, p. 58.

the evening. The first fire from the *English* admiral was sustained by vice-admiral *Evertzon*, and *Ruyter*, who were a-head of the fleet, and in the most imminent danger, when *Van Tromp* came up to their relief. The scale was now turned against *Blake*, who found himself surrounded, and in great danger of falling a victim to his impetuosity, had he not fortunately been rescued by the intrepid efforts of two of his captains, who broke through the enemy, sustained their whole fire, and carried the admiral out of danger. In the Van end, victory declared for the *Dutch* admiral; *Blake* was wounded, his own ship shattered, two others taken, as *defeats the* many burnt, and one sunk; and this with the loss only of *English* one ship of the *Dutch* squadron, which was blown up by *admiral*. an accident. *Van Tromp's* conduct was gallant; but his victory was obtained by numbers, and we may venture to say that he blighted his laurels by his vanity; having, after the retreat of the enemy, proceeded in his voyage with a broom fixed to his main-top-mast, intimating that he would sweep the Channel clear of the *English*.

As this war was wholly naval, the operations of the contending parties were not confined to the Channel. Both had armaments in the *Mediterranean*, and the *Dutch* supplied the loss of *Van Galen*, by appointing admiral *Cats*, an officer of merit, to the command of his squadron. On his arrival at *Leghorn*, *Cats* found that captain *Appleton*, with eight ships, had taken shelter in this neutral port. He desired the duke of *Tuscany* would withdraw his protection, and suffer him to attack the enemy in the harbour, or force them to the open sea. To this the duke answered, that he was at peace with *England* and *Holland*; both their squadrons were welcome to his ports; but hostilities committed there would be a gross violation of the laws of nations, and the highest insult to his sovereignty. Not satisfied with this, *Cats* was preparing to attack the *English*, when, under cover of the night, *Appleton*, who was greatly inferior in strength, quitted the port, and steered, with a favourable gale, clear of the enemy. But the *Dutch* were obliged to combat not only the open force of *England*, but the pirates of the *French* nation, to the incredible damage of their commerce. The civil disorders of that country gave existence to a swarm of privateers, who pillaged the ships of all nations without distinction, but chiefly of *Holland*, because the trade of the republic was the most flourishing, and the ships the richest. *M. Boreel* had orders to complain to the *French* court, to demand redress, and to intimate that a strong squadron was equipping to retaliate. At the same time admiral *Cats* had

B b 4

instructions

instructions to clear the *Mediterranean* of privateers, and protect the *Dutch* commerce, without respect to the flag of neutral nations. *Cats* executed, perhaps exceeded his orders; for, after taking several privateers, he drew up before *Toulon*, and menaced the governor with a bombardment, if he permitted *Dutch* captures to be carried to that harbour. The christian king resented the remonstrance of *Boreel*, and was highly incensed at the insolent conduct of admiral *Cats*; but, unable to redress himself otherwise, he demanded payment from the states general of several sums due to his crown since the war between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*. This demand was contested, as the money was advanced by treaties formed for the mutual advantage of the contracting parties; and, after some sharp altercation, dropped for the presentⁿ.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late victory gained by *Van Tromp*, the success of the *Dutch* arms was not answerable to the sanguine expectations of the republic. The sailors, accustomed to wealth and victory in all their encounters with the *Spaniards*, were disappointed in not reaping the same emolument from their bloody disputes with the *English*. Here fortune was various; they had been oftener defeated than victorious, and even their successes were diminished by the terrible slaughter with which they were obtained. Several of their richest merchantmen had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and an entire stop was put to the beneficial herring-fishery, by which so many poor families were supported. This begot discontent, which soon produced faction and discord. One party demanded a stadtholder, and another remained fixed in their resolution of opposing invariably the ambitious designs of the house of *Orange*. The former asserted, that the war could never be pushed with vigour until a stadtholder directed the operations; and the other asserted, that the restoration of that dignity would be the ruin of liberty. Tumults arose in *Zealand*, and in particular at *Middleburgh*, where the mob assembled in a riotous manner, and demanded a captain-general of the house of *Orange*. They were instigated by the clergy, the fast friends of that family; and the disorder came to so dangerous a height, that the magistrates of *Flushing*, *Middleburgh*, and other towns, were deposed. Nothing was worn but the *Orange* livery, and there was no security in the streets without a scarf of this colour. Necessity obliged the states of *Zealand* to fall in with the humour of the people; besides,

The popu-
lace in
Zealand
demand a
stadtholder.

* BASNAGE, p. 284.

the influence of the house of *Orange* was so considerable in this assembly, that it was supposed their inclination likewise led them to represent the necessity of this measure to the states of *Holland*. The infancy of the prince of *Orange* was, however, an objection to the proposal; but this might be removed by substituting his cousin, the count *de Nassau*, his lieutenant. Aware of the consequences of popular commotions at so critical a juncture, the states of *Holland* sent four deputies to *Zealand*; but before their arrival at *Middleburgh*, the states of *Zealand* had adjourned. They demanded that the assembly should be convoked; the people, apprehensive of the consequences, opposed it, and besieged the deputies in their houses. At length they were forced to retire privately in the night, to avoid being sacrificed to popular rage and fury^o.

WHEN the states of *Zealand* again met, the deputies returned, under the escort of a party of soldiers, who conducted them safe to the assembly, and took possession of the doors, to keep off the mob. They laboured, with all the powers of reason and oratory, to display the fatal consequences of vesting any single person with the executive power, and the command of the sea and land-forces, at a time when faction ran so high as to endanger public liberty; but they could not obtain the concurrence of the states of *Zealand*, who appeared overawed by the people, and influenced by the family of *Orange*. They departed with a general answer, and happily escaped being insulted by the people, who were brought into good humour by the resolute behaviour of the states. The dispute now lay between the two provincial states, and became so warm as to threaten a dissolution of the union of *Utrecht*. As to the other provinces, they appeared divided among themselves, some towns requiring one thing, some another, though a majority declared for a stadtholder, under limitations and restrictions, which were absolutely rejected by the *Zealanders*. At length, as if by mutual agreement, these civil contentions subsided, and yielded to the general ardor for prosecuting the war with vigour, and opposing the formidable armament equipped by the *English* to revenge the late disgrace.

TOWARDS the close of the year *Tromp* arrived in *Holland*, with a prodigious fleet of merchantmen under his convoy; and his gallant conduct obtained him the thanks of the states general. It was resolved to keep him in the command, and to augment his fleet with all possible dis-

A. D.
1653.

^o Idem. p. 293.

*A sea-fight
continues
for three
days.*

patch. The enemy had called forth all their force, and the best officers in the kingdom, *Monk* and *Dean*, assisted *Blake* in the command. *Ruyter* was joined to *Tromp*, and they set sail, to convoy through the Channel a vast fleet of merchantmen, homeward-bound. It was the intention of the *English* to intercept this valuable convoy; accordingly they steered towards the isle of *Rhé*, where, on the 8th of *February*, they discovered by break of day the *Dutch* squadron. The fight began under *Blake* and *Dean*, seconded by twelve more ships, and the charge was furious, this small division standing the whole fire of the enemy. Never was any engagement more terrible or obstinate: the honour of both nations depended; *Blake* sought to retrieve the reputation he had lost, and *Tromp* to maintain the laurels he had won in the last battle. Neither side would yield the victory; the engagement was renewed for three days successively; the sea was covered with wrecks, the sun obscured with smoke, and the air pierced with the dreadful shouts and shrieks of the combatants, and the terrible thunder of the cannon. For whole hours the ships engaged board-and-board, and a dead calm happened, as if nature had suspended her operations to attend the event of the battle. After the utmost exertions of skill and intrepidity on both sides, *Tromp*, towards the evening of the third day, drew off his fleet, but in such good order, that he seemed rather to decline the further effusion of human blood, than yield the victory. His loss, however, amounted to eleven men of war, two thousand men were killed, and fourteen hundred taken; but the *English* fleet was in so shattered a condition, as prevented the admiral's pursuing. Besides, his loss was nearly equal
* to the enemy's, and though he maintained his station, he could not be said to have gained a victory. The *English* however claimed it; and *Blake*, in his letter to the parliament, asserts, that, by the blessing of providence, he had gained a victory, and taken a great number of prisoners. Bonfires were lighted in all the towns, and the *Dutch* prisoners conducted in triumph to *Canterbury*: yet, after all, it must be confessed that there was little cause for rejoicings, or any pretensions to victory. *Van Tromp's* fleet was inferior in number, as he was forced to leave one division for the protection of the merchant-fleet, his powder and shot were exhausted, and the merchants clamorous to get out of the reach of danger: these were the reasons for his retiring; and he had sufficiently obtained his purpose, in frustrating the scheme of the *English*, to crush, at one blow,
the

the *United Provinces*, by the total destruction of their commerce P.

ON this occasion, *Charles* king of *England* wrote to *M. Boreel*, requesting, that the *States general* would supply him with a squadron, in which he would embark with the officers round him, and either gain a victory or a period to all his misfortunes from the hands of his rebellious subjects; but little regard was paid to this compliment, which promised no great utility to the republic. The *States* preferred the thoughts of peace to proposals from which nothing could be expected, besides the fruitless honour of having a king fighting their battles. A thousand difficulties, however, obstructed this laudable scheme. The *English* were endeavouring to draw the queen of *Sweden* into an alliance against the republic, and *Van Buiningen* found that princess and her ministers violently prejudiced against the *Dutch*, on his arrival in *Sweden*. He proceeded, however, to lay his instructions before the *Oxenstierns*, father and son, representing to them, that the treaties between the crown of *Sweden* and the republic engaged them mutually to support each other's interests. The *Swedes* replied, that the *Dutch* were the aggressors, and the authors of the war, by the treatment which the *English* ambassador had met with in *Holland*; an alliance purely defensive could, therefore, lay the crown under no obligation of engaging in this war. *Buiningen* endeavoured to set the chancellor right in this particular, and opposed with all his might the intention of the court to send an embassy to *London*. He even threatened to quit *Sweden* if this resolution was persisted in; but he was given to understand the queen was not to be directed where she sent, or to whom she paid her compliments. All that the *Dutch* ambassador could obtain, was, a kind of promise that *Sweden* would observe a neutrality.

Negotiations with Sweden and Denmark.

FINDING all his endeavours to procure a renewal of the treaty of 1640 fruitless, *Buiningen* turned his thoughts to the court of *Denmark*, where he promised himself more success; because it rarely happens but the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* embrace opposite interests. *Christina*, jealous of his negotiations with her rival, now offered her mediation to procure peace with *England* and the republic. *Buiningen* listened to the proposal, but at the same time privately pursued his application to the court of *Copenhagen*, in which he met with greater difficulties than he imagined, from the extreme circumspection of the king and ministry.

Treaty
with Den-
mark.

These the *Dutchman* strove to remove by a stratagem, which might have proved a severe blow to the *English* commerce. A fleet of above twenty ships of that nation was then to return from the *Baltic*, laden with naval stores. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the *Dutch* squadron cruising in the *Sound*, the captains desired permission of the king to shelter themselves in the harbour of *Copenhagen*. Leave was accordingly granted, and the *Dutch* envoy had influence enough over the sovereign, and so thorough a knowledge of his prevalent passion, avarice, that he persuaded the king to seize the ships, and confiscate their cargoes; hoping by this means to produce an irreconcilable breach between *Denmark* and *England*. Some writers indeed charge the whole transaction on the king's own perfidy and avarice; but *Basnage* affirms, and circumstances corroborate the allegation, that it proceeded from the persuasion of the *Dutch* envoy. The spirited conduct, however, of the parliament deprived the *Danish* monarch of the fruits of treachery; an *English* squadron appeared in the *Baltic*, and soon forced him to make restitution; which at the same time retarded his declaration in favour of the republic. *Christina* likewise co-operated to frustrate the proposed alliance, and used every intrigue and chicane of the cabinet, in favour of the parliament; but in the end, M. *Keiser*, the *Dutch* envoy, who succeeded *Buiningen*, surmounted every obstruction, and finished the treaty with *Frederick III*. In consequence, the king stipulated to equip 20 ships of war, and the states general to pay an annual subsidy of 180,000 rixdollars. The treaty was offensive and defensive, it being agreed, that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; and the *Dutch* drew this advantage from it, that the *English* were excluded the benefit of trading to the *Baltic*, and of buying up supplies of naval stores, the king of *Denmark* having the absolute command of the *Sound*, and of course of the *Baltic*. In other respects the alliance proved useless; for the king was so apprehensive of his own coasts, that he would never permit his ships of war to join the *Hollanders*, or proceed to any distance against the common enemy, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances and complaints of his allies. A number of other circumstances likewise contributed to destroy the expected effects; but we shall avoid mentioning them, as they will more properly be recited in the history of *Denmark*.

• BASNAGE, p. 301.

SUCH

SUCH was the situation of the republic with respect to the *North*, when *Cromwel* rejected the proposed mediation of the crown of *Sweden*, when it was generally believed that all thoughts of peace were laid aside; however, the universal discontent that reigned in the provinces, and the elevation of *M. de Wit* to the office of pensionery of *Holland*, in the room of *M. Pauw* deceased, made great changes in the politics of *Holland*. *M. de Wit* was the son of that burgomaster of *Dordrecht*, imprisoned by the prince of *Orange*. He was the staunch friend of liberty, a personal enemy to the house of *Orange*, and a strenuous advocate for peace with *England*, which he knew to be the most effectual method of curbing the ambition of this family, and silencing the public clamours for a stadtholder. On his first coming into the administration, he applied diligently to carry this important point, and to finish a war which answered no purpose but exhausting the finances, and ruining the commerce. For the greater security, he exacted an oath from all the deputies, that they would religiously keep secret the propositions he was about to make; after which he proposed entering upon a negotiation with the parliament of *England*, without imparting the design to the other provinces. *Holland* supported the great burthen of the war; it was therefore but reasonable this province should have a principal share in negotiating a peace; but it was necessary to take some steps, before the design should meet with obstruction from the other provinces. *De Wit's* proposition was admitted more readily than he could expect, on *M. Doleman's* shewing letters which he had received from general *Monk*, assuring him that overtures of peace would be well received at the court of *London*. *Leyden* alone opposed the measure, urging that it was a gross violation of the treaty of *Utrecht*; but this objection was superseded, and the states of *Holland* wrote privately to the parliament, lamenting that two powerful maritime powers, connected by the ties of liberty and religion, should employ their whole force in destroying each other. "What a triumph would this be to the enemies of the reformation, and to those who hoped to lay the foundation of a naval power on the destruction of the masters of the ocean." A variety of other reflections were added; and the states concluded with requesting, that the parliament would please to appoint the time and place for a negotiation; otherwise they must commit their cause to providence, and leave the event of a just and necessary defence to the Almighty, who would not fail to punish that pride and ambition which should occasion the effusion

Negotiations for a peace with England.

effusion of so much christian blood. All the *Dutch* writers unanimously deny, that the republic supplicated peace at this time, as is asserted by the *English* historians; they proposed it indeed, but spoke with the freedom and manly courage of equals, whose moderation, more than their inability or fear, rendered them desirous of terminating a ruinous quarrel, in which both sides were losers. They deny that any letter was ever sent to *Lenthal* the speaker, such as afterwards was privately handed about, under the title of, *The humble supplication of the states of Holland, praying the English parliament to grant peace*. This, they alledge, was an artifice of *Cromwel*'s, and an impudent forgery to answer his own particular designs upon the parliament. It is, however, a strong argument in favour of what the *English* writers relate, that no reason can be assigned why *Cromwel* should take the trouble of such a forgery, as it was certainly his interest that the war should go on, the army become necessary, and the legislative power subject to the executive; which accordingly happened about this time. Some *Dutch* writers also insinuate, that *Cromwel*, when this negotiation was set on foot, tampered with the envoys about a treaty with the states against the parliament. An insinuation that has not the least shadow of probability; for now *Cromwel* and the army had actually dissolved the old parliament, and substituted a wrong-headed set of fanatics, entirely at their devotion, as a nominal legislature. The truth is, the states of *Holland* wished for peace, *de Wit* proposed it, and the letter we have mentioned was sent; but the republic was not yet sufficiently humble to talk in the petitionary stile of that supplication mentioned by the *English*; it was not before the death of her brave admiral, and the destruction of her fleet, after the most obstinate and bloody battle recorded in history, that she had recourse to prayers, entreaties, and the clemency of the council of state: but as this event happened nearly about the same time, authors have confounded the dates, and mistaken the petition to *Cromwel* and his council, for the letter addressed to *Lenthal*, the speaker of the house of commons. This, however, we must allow, that the states appointed three deputies, *Beverning*, *Nieuport*, and *Vander Peter*, to negotiate a treaty with *Cromwel*, without consulting the parliament; but before the embassy set out, or the instructions were drawn up, admiral *Tromp*, with above 90 ships of war, fell in with an *English* fleet of the same number, but greatly su-

* GUTHRIE, tom. iii. lib. iii.

perior

perior in size and weight of metal, under the command of *Monk*, *Dean*, *Pen*, and *Lawson*. Before he set sail, he complained of the inequality of his strength, the chief part of his fleet consisting of light merchantmen, converted into men of war, and commanded by the very officers who had been taxed with cowardice in former engagements. To shew his obedience and desire of serving his country, *Tromp* accepted the command; but acquainted the states that he could not answer for the consequences of a battle. His remonstrance produced a resolution to equip with all expedition a squadron of thirty large ships; but before this armament was got ready, *Tromp's* fate, and that of the republic, were decided. His instructions were, to take under his convoy an outward-bound fleet of merchantmen, and to escort back to *Holland* another fleet of near 300 trading vessels. This commission he executed with so much address, that not a single ship fell into the enemies hands, though he was closely pursued to the height of *Aberdeen*. Piqued at their disappointment, the *English* recked their vengeance on a fleet of fishing-boats, and spread terror along the coasts of *Holland*. *Van Tromp*, determined upon retribution, sailed for the *Downs* to fight the enemy; but not finding them in that station, after sustaining a warm fire from *Dover* castle, he sailed for the coast of *Flanders*, where the *English* fleet was descried. They immediately engaged with equal alacrity, and fought with incredible fury till night interposed. *Dean* was killed in the beginning of the action, but his loss was concealed with admirable presence of mind, and the battle renewed next day with fresh vigour. *Lawson* charged with the blue squadron, consisting of forty stout ships, with such impetuosity as forced the *Dutch* line, and would have taken *de Ruyter's* ship, had he not seasonably been relieved by *Van Tromp*, who pierced thro' the thickest of the enemies fire to his assistance. *Tromp* was engaged by *Monk*, and the battle raged from morning to night, each party being ignorant of the loss they sustained amidst impenetrable clouds of smoke. At last ammunition failed, and the *Dutch* gradually slackened fire, and at last withdrew, all *Tromp's* menaces and persuasions being unable to bring his officers back to the charge. Their fury sunk beneath the well-conducted ardor of the *English*, the weight of whose metal gave them great advantages. *Tromp* had been twice taken, but his own and *de Ruyter's* bravery rescued him; six of his best ships were sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; yet only the want of ammunition, and of spirit in his captains, prevented his renewing the fight, and

and accepting the cartel offered next day by the *English*. All the *English* historians agree that the *Dutch* slackened fire and withdrew by three in the afternoon; but it is certain that night separated the combatants, and possibly saved the *Dutch* fleet from entire destruction, as it furnished *Tromp* with the opportunity of taking shelter behind the banks of *Willingen*, where he could not be pursued.

Com-
plaints of
the Dutch
admirals.

Now the victorious enemy rode triumphant before the *Texel*, until the *Dutch* fleet assembled at *Flushing*, from whence *Tromp* and *Ruyter* sent remonstrances to the states of the inequality of their strength. They desired either to be recalled, or put upon a footing with the enemy in weight of metal, and force of ships, and also that store-ships might attend the fleet, as the want of ammunition had caused the loss of the two last battles. They desired payment of the seamens wages, a recompence for the wounded, and rewards for those who had signalised themselves. *Ruyter*, in particular, declared, that he would no longer hazard his reputation, until the fleet was augmented with large ships; and vice-admiral *de Wit* expressed himself in the strongest manner in the assembly of the states of *Holland*; "Why," says he, "should I conceal from you, who are my sovereigns, that the *English* are our masters, and consequently "lords of the ocean?" The states promised to pay due regard to the remonstrances, and immediately sent to the other provinces, to borrow a sum sufficient for equipping thirty first-rate ships, for which the admiralty had orders to provide seamen, stores, rigging, and other necessities, and to be directed in those particulars by *Tromp*, *Ruyter*, and *de Wit*.

Tumults in
different
parts of
Holland.

YET could not these vigorous resolutions appease the murmurs of the people. The provinces were overwhelmed with consternation, on seeing the armament they deemed invincible, defeated, shattered, and blocked up in their harbours. *Van Tromp's* complaints, and the instigation of the *Orange* party, encreased the popular discontent; and it was insinuated, that the republic was betrayed, and an unequal force sent against the enemy, only to shew the necessity of making peace upon any conditions*. To this, the negotiation entered upon with *Cromwel*, by *Buiningen*, added fuel, and the flame now burst out with such violence as threatened the ruin of the provinces. The enemies of the house of *Orange* durst not presume to mention peace, for fear of exasperating the people; and the states, contrary to

* *La vie de Tromp*, p. 105.

inclination,

inclination, were forced to proceed with redoubled vigour in repairing the fleet, as the best means of appeasing the public discontent, and obtaining reasonable terms from the enemy.

BUT what chiefly excited public commotions, was the opposition made by *de Wit* and the *Louvestein* party to the creation of a stadtholder. This faction wished for a peace, for the protection of *France*, and the friendship of *England*; they were consequently enemies to the house of *Stuart*; but *Van Tromp* was popular, he espoused the house of *Orange*, wished for a stadtholder, and the continuance of the war upon such a footing as would give some chance to his talents, and an opportunity of retrieving his glory. An accident happened that gave vent to the popular discontent. The young prince of *Orange* was to return from *Breda*, and the children at the *Hague* formed themselves into companies, with *Orange* standards, and proceeded to meet the prince on his journey. As the prince did not arrive on the expected day, the young soldiers separated at night, and retired quietly to their several houses; however, that they might not entirely lose the expences bestowed in colours, standards, and military ensigns, they assembled next day, and appeared in arms before the palace. The magistrates gave orders they should be chastised; their parents flew to the assistance of their children; and, in revenge, attacked the house of *M. de Wit*, whom they imagined the most violent enemy of the house of *Orange*. The tumult could not be suppressed without application to military force. A party of soldiers was called in, and crowds of the mutineers, men, women, and children, were thrown into prison. Now the whole province was in a flame, and it was necessary to keep strong guards in the towns, to awe the multitude, who threatened destruction to all government. At *Sluys* all precautions proved fruitless; the herring-fishers, incensed at their being deprived of bread by the *English*, took arms, seized on the arsenal and magazines, mounted the cannon on the ramparts, fired upon the troops brought to quell the mutiny, and shut the gates against *Brederode*, marshal of the camp, sent by the states to apply effectual remedies to this dangerous disorder. In this situation stood affairs for several days, without any possibility of gaining admittance into the town. At last a happy stratagem put an end to a riot, which might have produced the most fatal consequences. A messenger from the states came to the gates, pretending that he was charged with a special commission, upon which he was introduced

to the town-house, and the people were summoned by the alarm-bell to attend. They all flocked from their houses and posts, eager to hear the propositions; and while the messenger was, in a loud voice, reading a paper he held in his hand, nine companies of foot seized on the gates, entered the town, took prisoners the ringleaders, without resistance, and terrified the inhabitants into submission before they had exchanged a blow. Some of the seditious gave out that designs were formed upon their privileges; but their voice was drowned in the general consternation, and the assurances given by the chief officer, that nothing more was intended than to restore the public tranquillity¹.

THIS tumult was no sooner suppressed, than another appeared in the *Texel*, where the count *de Nassau* arrived, on advice that an expedition was preparing in *England* against this island and the *Brille*. He was received by the people as their deliverer, and crowds of men and women went to meet him, strewing the way with flowers. These honours shewn the count, and the liberty he had taken of assembling some troops without their orders, gave umbrage to the states of *Holland*, who beheld with surprise the authority he assumed in a province where he had no legal power. The prudence, however, displayed by the count satisfied the states; for he retired upon finding his presence had given offence, and assured the states, that his intention was only to animate and rouse the drooping spirits of the people, terrified at the thoughts of an invasion.

THESE tumults had one very unexpected consequence. It inspired the magistrates of *Haerlem* with the resolution of electing a stadtholder. They accordingly instructed their pensionery to lay before the states their determination, to desire their concurrence, and to assure them it would not be long possible to withstand the eagerness of the people in favour of the house of *Orange*. The states were surprised at seeing a pensionery imprisoned by the late prince of *Orange*, charged with instructions which they believed inconsistent with his principles, and demanding the re-establishment of a stadtholder. But his conduct soon effaced their suspicions. He communicated his instructions to *M. de Wit* before he laid them before the states, and was so convinced by the arguments of that able statesman, that he changed his sentiments, and prevailed on the magistrates of *Haerlem* to drop their intention.

¹ BASNAGE, p. 308.

THE *Zealanders* were more firm and resolute in their proceedings. The preceding year they had demanded a stadtholder, persuading themselves they would be supported by the states of *Frisland* and *Groningen*. They even doubted not but these provinces would thank them for so reasonable a proposition. The dispute was carried on with greater violence than the preceding year ; but the address of *de Wit*, and the firm opposition of the states of *Holland* frustrated all the endeavours of the *Zealanders*. But to enter justly into the politicks of *Holland*, it will be necessary to take a short view of the state of *England*, and the intrigues of *Cromwel*. The old parliament was now dissolved, and the legislative power in the hands of *Cromwel*, and the council of state. *Beverning*, and the other *Dutch* deputies, had made him frequent overtures of peace ; but his behaviour was always supercilious, and his answers equivocal. Notwithstanding this, no sooner were the deputies gone from his presence, than *Cromwel*'s agents insinuated, that the *Dutch* were not to judge of his sentiments from his exterior appearance, which he adapted to circumstances. Ignorant of the true meaning of this duplicity, the deputies were, above measure, confounded to find, after a tedious negotiation, that all their pacific conditions were rejected, and they were told that no peace was to be expected, until the *Hollanders* consented to unite both states so closely, as that they might become one people, and form one united commonwealth. This proposition appeared equally absurd and insolent. One of the deputies, *Nieuport*, observed, that it seemed to be exactly copied from the parliament's instructions to their commissioners in *Scotland* ; concluding that *Cromwel* proposed treating the republic as the parliament had done the *Scottish* nation. It was *Cromwel*'s design to prevent the election of a stadtholder, and to procure the dismissal of *Van Tromp*, whom he knew to be a strenuous partizan of the house of *Orange*. He therefore intimated, that an accommodation might be effected on these conditions. He hinted, that if the *Dutch* consented to the union proposed, an immediate cessation of hostilities would ensue, a free trade be restored, and the privileges of fishing adjusted to the entire satisfaction of the *United Provinces*. Some writers pretend to treat this whole negotiation as ideal ; but what proves its reality, is the advice sent to the states by the commissioners, of all the proceedings with *Cromwel*'s agent, and the consequences of that notion, which had almost defeated the whole design. The correspondence was discovered by the *Orange* faction ; and *Cromwel* concluding it

The *Zealanders* renewed their clamours for a stadtholder.

Cromwel's politics.

could not be long kept secret in *England*, where it might ruin him with his party, assumed a more severe brow, and next time he met the commissioners, declared, that such was the situation of affairs in *Holland*, that *England* could have no security in treating with the republic. Nor was it long before the commissioners received from the council of state an explicit explanation of the former demands, in the following terms : That the two republics should coalesce, the whole united dominions be subject to one government, composed of the natives of both countries, in such a manner as should be to their mutual advantage ; and that each should, without any distinction, enjoy the same privileges and immunities with the natives and inhabitants of the respective countries, as to houses, lands, possessions, commerce, fishing, and every other particular. Such was the scheme of this political age, mad with projects, and inventive in plans of republican government, which, if possible, they would have established over the face of the whole earth^u. It is sufficient for our purpose, that the proposal was highly resented by the deputies, who regarded it as throwing ridicule on their character, or the scheme of an enthusiast. Without, however, giving *Cromwel* a definitive answer, they acquainted the states of *Holland* with the offered conditions of peace, and patiently waited for further instructions.

*A sea-
fight.*

It was during this suspense, that the famous battle was fought, which brought the war to a speedy issue. After the last action *de Wit* and the *Dutch* government made surprising efforts to recover the severe blow then received, and put the fleet in a more respectable footing than before. Several large ships were added, and all more completely manned and provided ; every pretext for quitting the service was taken from *Van Tromp* and the other admirals, who now took the command of a fleet of one hundred sail of fine vessels, all fit for action. No motives either of hope or fear were wanting to the sailors, their pay was doubled, the ships were crowded with volunteers of the first fashion, and nothing less was expected than that the enemy would be obliged to screen themselves in their harbours. Young *Van Tromp*, who had destroyed an *English* man of war in the *Streights*, and distinguished his intrepidity and valour, was ordered home with his squadron, and every measure pushed to the utmost, to oblige the haughty usurper to listen to reasonable proposals. The enemy still blocked up the *Texel*,

^u SMOLLET, tom. iii. GUTHRIE, tom. iii. BASNAGE, p. 312.

the coasts of *Holland* were besieged, and the harbours so narrowly watched, that all the merchantmen fell into the hands of the *English*. It was of the utmost consequence to oblige them to retire, as they equally distressed trade and the government, by exciting clamours among the people, who exclaimed, that they were sacrificed to the treachery of the states, and cowardice of the naval officers, a reflection that was pointed at the heads of those captains who had been accused of negligence in the last engagement. The *Dutch* armament was now in two divisions, under *Van Tromp* and *de Wit*, in different harbours; and the great difficulty was, how to effect a junction, without being separately attacked by the enemy. Before they set sail, great debates arose in the states, concerning the instructions to be given their admirals. Some opposed venturing another engagement, and urged it would be sufficient to convoy the homeward-bound trade, and particularly the rich fleet from *India*, which would enable the republic to equip such a navy as the enemy could not presume to face: others pressed hard for an engagement, affirming that the public murmurs were only to be silenced by the din of war, and the roaring of cannon; a victory, they said, would infallibly restore peace and tranquillity. The latter opinion prevailed, and *Van Tromp* had orders to fight, the first opportunity. With eighty-five sail this admiral steered along the coast of *Zealand*, and on the 31st of *July* discovered the *English* fleet, consisting of ninety-four fine ships, under the conduct of *Monk*, *Lawson*, and *Penn*, at the distance of five miles ahead. By the shifting of the wind, the enemy gained the weather-gage, which determined *Van Tromp* to avoid an engagement, make all possible sail for the *Texel*, and there join the division commanded by *de Wit* and *Ruyter*: happily for him a storm arose which prevented the *English* from forcing him to an engagement, and he embraced the opportunity to effect the intended junction. His fleet was now augmented to one-hundred-and-twenty sail, with which he proceeded in quest of the *English*, descried them on the sixth of *August* between *Scheveling* and the *Meuse*, and immediately gave the signal for battle. *Tromp* took his station on the right, *Ruyter* led the left, *Evertzen* was in the center, and the command of the rear was assigned to *de Wit*. At seven in the morning the two fleets engaged, with equal ardor, within sight of the shore, which was crowded with inhabitants, eager to be spectators of an action, which should determine the fate of the republic. Both behaved with wonderful address, and fought with such prudent and

**Tromp
killed.**

**Dutch
defeated.**

subdued courage as never before appeared in any sea-fight. The cannon of above two hundred men of war fired incessantly; the sea was covered with blood, and wrecks of ships, either burnt or shattered to pieces. *Tromp*; agreeable to custom, pierced the enemies line, and put it in confusion; but, on his return, encountered admiral *Goodson*; here he was surrounded by the enemies ships, and deserted by his own; but he fought with such desperate fury as would have extricated him from this difficulty, had he not been unfortunately shot dead with a musket-ball, as he was gallantly giving his orders on the quarter-deck^w. His last words were, *Take courage, my boys, I have run my course with glory.* *Brederode* took the command, concealed the admiral's death from the rest of the fleet, and behaved in a manner worthy of the successor of the brave *Van Tromp*. The *Dutch* fire-ships made great havock among the enemy, and a terrible conflict happened between the divisions commanded by *Lawson* and *Ruyter*. At last the *Dutch* admiral's ship was shattered to pieces, she was towed out of the line, and *Ruyter*, shifting his flag to a frigate, returned to the battle. But all his efforts could not restore the spirits of the seamen. It was now known that *Tromp* was dead, and an universal despondency succeeded, as if victory depended wholly upon his arm; several ships fell back from the line, the whole was in confusion, a rout ensued, and terrible slaughter of men, and destruction of ships. Agreeable to the best attested accounts the *Dutch* lost twenty-six men of war, four thousand men were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners, half of whom the humanity of the conquerors saved from being swallowed up by the ocean. In a word, the victory was complete, but purchased at a high price. Most of the *English* ships were disabled, some were entirely destroyed; they had six hundred men killed, and near a thousand wounded, many of whom never recovered, and the whole fleet was in so wretched plight as to be unable to pursue the blow, and destroy the broken remains of the enemy in their flight. The *Dutch* indeed assert, that the losses were nearly equal; but the consequence demonstrated that they were defeated. The *United Provinces* were overwhelmed with grief and consternation, while every town in *England* blazed with bonfires, and rung with rejoicings. The loss of *Tromp* was alone sufficient cause of mourning; but as that hero had many enemies, the universality of the

^w *La vie de Tromp*, p. 152.

despondency

despondency evinced, that it flowed from more general misfortunes than the death of a private man, as much feared and detested by one party, as he was adored by another (A).

THE republic had paid dear for the freedom of trade and navigation of the *Texel*; but they resolved to profit by it. The *English* fleet withdrew from the coasts of *Holland*, in consequence of the late battle, and *Ruyter* was now ordered to convoy a vast fleet of merchantmen out of the Channel. This prospect of reviving commerce fortified the *Dutch* against every misfortune, and the flattering promises of cardinal *Mazarin* inspired them with courage, under the pressure of a signal defeat, to dispute the terms prescribed by *England* before the last battle. Yet *Cromwel* was apprised how impossible it was for the *Dutch* government to continue the war, while the republic was divided by faction, and the people clamorous for a stadtholder. All their preparations gave no disturbance to the penetrating usurper. He beheld with unconcern their efforts to repair the fleet, the promotions among general officers, the rewards given to merit, the generous flame that seemed to warm every breast, and the appointment of the celebrated *Opdam*, to the command of lieutenant-admiral, in the room of the deceased *Tromp*. If he regained the advantages which *Mazarin* had lately acquired over the ballance of *Europe*, he was sensible that all his other wishes would follow. The states perceived his design; they knew his ability, perseverance, and courage. They saw his great preparations, and resolved to anticipate consequences. Accordingly two deputies were dispatched to *London*, with orders, however, positively to reject the scheme of union proposed by *Cromwel*. When *Nieuport*, *Beverning*, and *Jonquestal*, had laid their instructions before the council of state, they were agreeably surprised to find *Cromwel* relax considerably with respect to the coalition of the two nations, and in some other severe demands; particularly as to the right of fishing upon the *British* coasts: but

(A) No sooner did the fleet arrive in port, than the states ordered *Ruyter* and *Evertzen* to attend, in order to be minutely informed of the circumstances of the engagement, and the state of the losses. From the examination which passed on this occasion, it was obvious, that the *Dutch* believed all their officers

had not performed their duty, though the public thanks of the assembly were returned to *Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, and other admirals, for their gallant behaviour; and they were exhorted to continue their services, with the same zeal, intrepidity, and fidelity, they had hitherto displayed.

two very disagreeable articles were now added, *viz.* that the states should engage to exclude the prince of *Orange* from all the employments held by his ancestors, especially those of stadtholder and captain-general; and that they would limit the navy of the republic to a certain number of ships, not to be exceeded without leave from *England*. These points were disputed by the commissioners, with all the arguments in their power; but finding the protector inflexible with respect to the article regarding the prince of *Orange*, they desired leave to lay the state of the negotiation before their constituents; for which purpose *Beverning* returned to *Holland*.

A. D. 1654. PEACE with *England* was the wish of every dispassionate lover of his country, and the chief object of the attention of the states general. The *Zealanders*, however, still insisted on the re-establishment of a stadtholder, and a close union with *France*, by which they imagined the war might be conducted to advantage, and the haughty enemy reduced in a short time to the necessity of relaxing in the rigid conditions prescribed; but *Holland* constantly opposed this measure, as dangerous to liberty, and unprofitable to the republic. The states general perceived the difficulty of equipping an armament, able to cope with the *English*. They were aware of the inconveniencies under which a republican government laboured in all disputes with a despotic enemy. *Cromwel*, though his situation in the supreme power was unsteady and irksome, yet managed with such address, as to acquire an absolute authority. The legislative and executive power being vested in the same person, action was as quick as thought, and the measure no sooner dictated, than it was executed with the promptness peculiar to monarchy; for in this light *England* was now to be regarded. Besides the inability of bringing the war to a happy issue, they were sensible of the inconveniences of the attempt, which would be violently opposed by a strong party, unless their favourite views of restoring the stadtholdership were indulged. In a word, they had a moral certainty, that the prosecution of the war could only terminate in the ruin of the finances; in the destruction of commerce, and the harmony of the people, without a single counterpoising advantage. It was upon this account, the return of *Beverning*, with proposals of peace, gave great satisfaction; and the exclusive article respecting the house of *Orange*, was kept a profound secret. The mysterious behaviour attending this article, gave rise to an opinion that it was supported, if not originally proposed

posed by the pensioner *de Wit*; but when the affair came to be publicly known, he cleared himself of this accusation, and proved that peace was to be purchased on no other condition^h.

WHEN the commissioners arrived at the *Hague*, they found the states disposed to accept peace, even with this limitation, provided *Cromwel* would relax in the article which restricted the number of shipping which the republic was allowed to maintain; however the consent of the other provinces was absolutely necessary, though the negotiation had been set on foot without their knowledge. As the ceremony of assembling all the provincial states would be tedious, the states of *Holland* sent *Beverning* back in the same frigate which had brought him from *England*, that the ardor of *Cromwel* for peace might not cool, or any obstruction be thrown in the way of the negotiation. This measure gave offence to the other provinces, who thought themselves entitled to an equal share in the conduct of this important affair. They accused the states of *Holland* of an infraction of the treaty of *Utrecht*, by separating themselves from the other provinces in the close, as they had done in the commencement of the negotiation; and *Beverning* was regarded in *England*, not as the ambassador of the republic, but of one province only. Though he had been only a few days absent, the court of *Cromwel* put on a new appearance, and the general voice of the nation seemed to declare for the prosecution of the war. *Thurloe* complained, that the *Dutchman* was in no character, had no instructions, credentials, retinue, or compliment, in the name of the republic, to the protector on his elevation; and *Beverning* desired that this might be imputed to the earnest desire of the states, to lose no opportunity of promoting peace, and stopping the effusion of blood, and destruction of the human species.

IT was, perhaps, a lucky circumstance for the *Hollanders*, that *Don Alonzo de Cardenas*, the *Spanish* ambassador, endeavoured by all possible intrigues to thwart the negotiation. *Cromwel*, who had his designs upon *Spain*, proposed no advantage to that court, from the ruin of the trade and navigation of the *United Provinces*. The *Spaniards* offered large subsidies to the protector, and gave him hopes that *Dunkirk* would be put into his hands, if he continued the war. He doubted not but such propositions would prove flattering to *Cromwel's* pride; but he

^h BASNAGE, p. 329.

was mistaken. The protector amused with *Spain*, only to procure the better terms from *Holland*, and demonstrate to the republic, that he could ballance the alliance of *France*, by opposing to that nation the whole power of the *Spanish* monarchy.

WHILE matters were in this train, commissioners were appointed in *Holland*, to examine the propositions brought by *Beverning*; but after they had reduced them to tolerable order, and made them consistent with the articles drawn up at the *Hague*, *St. John* and *Strickland*, the *English* envoys, raised up fresh difficulties. New instructions were sent to *Beverning*, and he had orders to solicit the ratification settled at the *Hague*, and have it inserted in the treaty; and at length, the provinces finding that *Spain* had made overtures to *Cromwel*, determined to vest *Nieuport*, *Beverning*, and *Jongstal*, with the character of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, in order to flatter the pride of the new protector. The chief remaining difficulty, was the exclusion of the prince of *Orange*, without which *Cromwel* declared he could think no engagements with the states secure. The ambition of that house, and their connections with the *Stuarts*, would always give disturbance to the republic, and *England*, unless the prince was effectually cut off from all expectations of ever filling the offices held by his ancestors. So little hope was there, that the provinces in general would ever be brought to consent to this article, that it was religiously concealed from *Jongstal*, who was a *Friselander*, and transacted between *Cromwel* and *Beverning*, the latter promising in the name of the states of *Holland*, that they would never consent to the elevation of the prince to the stadtholdership. *Cromwel* thought himself secure of the republic, once he obtained the promise of *Holland*, the most wealthy and powerful of all the provinces; it was, however, certain, that *Holland* alone could not resist the other provinces, without a direct breach of the union, and exposing the republic to the most dreadful calamities of a civil war: if they strenuously persevered in having a stadtholder, *Holland* must yield, or the republic must fall; and possibly it formed a part of the protector's policy, to light the sparks of civil division, by which he might be able to extend his own influence over the whole¹.

AT length, after tedious conferences, the following articles were signed by the *Dutch* ambassadors; that the re-

¹ Idem. ibid. LE CLERC, tom. ii.

public should in no shape assist, aid, or abet, the house of *Conditions Stuart*, or the adherents of that unfortunate family; that *of peace*, her ships should pay the required compliment to the *Bri- whereby* flag; that due punishment should be inflicted on the *the prince* cruel perpetrators of the horrid massacre at *Amboyna*^k; that *of Orange* eighty five thousand pounds should be paid to the *English*, as an indemnification of their losses; that the island of *Poliron* should be restored to the *East India* company; and *from the* that commissioners should be sent to *London*, to adjust *stadthol-* farther particulars, relative to the tragical affair in the *East Indies*, for which reasonable satisfaction had never yet been made to *England*. The ratification immediately succeeded the signing the treaty; but now the mystery between *Cromwel* and the provinces of *Holland* was to appear, with respect to the exclusion of the prince of *Orange*. Some writers assert, that the secret lay between *Cromwel*, *de Wit*, and *Beverning*, having never been communicated to the deputies of the cities, who expressed the utmost astonishment when it was mentioned by the pensioner, for their approbation. The peremptory tone of *Cromwel* vindicated the conduct of the pensioner. His envoys told the states, that as they accepted or rejected this condition, they chose peace or war; either was in their option: such was the protector's categorical answer. *De Wit* enlarged upon the subject, with all the arguments of reason and rhetoric, he shewed the necessity of peace, and the impossibility of obtaining any mitigation in this article. At length he carried his point by a majority, and a solemn act was passed, whereby the prince of *Orange* was excluded the stadtholdership, and the other high offices, held with so much dignity by his ancestors. This act of exclusion was sent to *England*; but *de Wit*, foreseeing it would one day involve his country in civil dissension, charged the ambassadors to make one last effort to satisfy *Cromwel*, by a general treaty, without particularizing the exclusion of the prince of *Orange*; but all remonstrances on this head proved fruitless. The act was no less necessary to the politicks of *Oliver*, with respect to the *Stuart* family, than to the completion of his triumph over the house of *Orange*, and the republic of the *United Provinces*. In this manner was peace concluded; signed, and ratified, little to the honour or advantage of the republic, as it laid the foun-

^k Vid. Hist. of the English East India Company, Vol. x. Universal History.

dation of those unhappy divisions, which had almost involved the provinces in ruin.

The princess of Orange remonstrates against the act of exclusion.

THOUGH the exclusion-act was kept as profound as could possibly be expected, where the affair was entrusted to the discretion of near one hundred different persons, yet it could not be long concealed from the Princess Governante of *Orange*, who was so deeply interested. It even took air in the cities, and occasioned some popular commotions at the *Hague*. No sooner was the princess acquainted with this article of the treaty, than she presented a strong remonstrance to the states general, signed by herself, the grandmother, and all the guardians of the young prince. There they expressed their astonishment at the unprecedented, unprovoked injury done to the prince, in excluding him from an authority possessed with so much glory and advantage to the republic, by his ancestors. They represented, in the strongest terms, the violence offered to the treaty of *Utrecht*, the privileges of the other six provinces, and particularly the insult offered to the tender age of the prince, and to the sex of his female guardians. They exhorted their high mightinesses to interpose in behalf of the infant, and prevent so gross an affront to a child of his birth, expectations, and promising qualities, the representative of those heroes who had spilt their blood in the glorious cause of liberty, and defence of the freedom and religion of the provinces. They concluded with observing the applauses which such an act of justice would meet with from the world and their own consciences, the unhappy consequences which it might obviate, and the retribution they might expect as soon as the prince was of sufficient age to thank his protectors. To the same purpose was a letter sent to the states by his electoral highness of *Brandenburgh*, but neither produced any effect. The resolution was taken; it was powerfully supported, and was now irrevocable, unless they run the hazard of incurring the resentment of *Cromwel*, and of being taxed with levity and want of firmness and constancy.

The people discontented.

BUT the remonstrances of the princesses, though not to be disregarded, were of less importance than the discontent of the people, and the violent opposition of the provinces. All protested with one voice against the act of exclusion. The deputy from *Friseland* entered a protest, with the secretary to the states general, against the secret negotiation with *Oliver*, and the iniquitous exclusion of the prince of *Orange*, by which *Holland* had given a violent stroke to the liberties of the republic, the articles of the union, and had
shewn

shewn herself equally unjust and ungrateful to the house of *Orange*. This protest was, however, condemned by the states of the province, though they were prevailed on soon after, by the influence of the count *de Nassau*, to enter another more bitter and severe, in which they complained of *M. de Wit* personally, as the first author and projector of this iniquitous act, as they were pleased to term it. *Zealand* shewed no less vivacity and attachment to the house of *Orange*; *Guellderland* was more moderate, but in the same interest; *Overysfel*, though torn by domestic broils, entered into the sentiments of the other provinces, and *Utrecht* embraced the same cause, though with less warmth, and with more caution and reserve. As to *Groningen*, we are not told what part this province took in the dispute.¹

HOLLAND opposed itself vigorously to this combination, which threatened the dissolution of the union, the being of the republic, by exciting a general ferment in the minds of the people, and commotions which it would be difficult to appease. Before the states entered upon any opposition, they sent instructions to the ambassadors in *London*, once more to try their influence with *Cromwel*, to procure some mitigation in the act of exclusion, thereby to restore tranquillity to the provinces; but the protector was so incensed at further applications, and what he regarded as an equivocation of the treaty, that he threatened to renew the war unless the act was immediately put into his hands, which was accordingly done to prevent worse consequences. The next step was to procure a letter from *Cromwel* to the states of *Zealand* and the other provinces, demonstrating the necessity as well as the utility of the peace; but this epistle produced no effect, and it was fully answered by the *Zealanders*, and afterwards sent for the perusal of the states general. *Holland* objected to this unheard-of proceeding, affirming, that the protector's letter ought to have been communicated to the states before an answer was returned; presuming it now could answer no purpose, except that of blowing up the sparks of discord.

Negotiations with Cromwel.

In order to regain some degree of popularity, the states of *Holland* went to make an apology to the princess of *Orange*, assuring her highness that no disrespect to the family, but the urgent necessity of the state, had forced them into such a measure, equally disagreeable to them as to the warmest friends of the house of *Orange*. She received the apology in the most gracious manner, and returned such

¹ BASNAGE, p. 442.

an answer as gave the states the highest opinion of her moderation, prudence, and sweetness of disposition. Far from reproaching them with what was now irrevocable, she only lamented the unhappy circumstances that rendered such a measure necessary, and exhorted the deputies to apply their utmost endeavours to restore the public peace and tranquillity. Not satisfied with this, the states appointed commissioners more accurately to examine this affair; and, soon after, their apology was published, by the name of *Deductions, or Inferences from the state of affairs*. In this piece was examined, whether *Holland* had a power of entering upon a separate negotiation with *Cromwel*, and how far this province had the right of sovereignty, independant of the other provinces, included in the union? The whole design was to prove the affirmative from positive facts, and the particular declaration of the king of *Spain* relative to this province. Though the discourse was laboured, and the arguments specious, the wrong principle upon which those opinions was founded, was obvious to every attentive reader. By acknowledging that the abdication of the catholic king vested this province with sovereignty, they acknowledged the hereditary right of the kings of *Spain*, and which could not be destroyed by any act of a particular prince, who had no power to give away the right of his successors. Besides, what had this abdication to do with the article of the union of *Utrecht*, whereby all the provinces were bound not to enter upon any separate war or peace, treaty or alliance, negotiation, alienation, &c. without the joint consent of the other provinces. Such were the objections to these *deductions*, as they were called, though they at that time escaped observation. It is true, this writing was severely censured, and several bitter criticisms upon it were published; but no one thought of attacking the foundation and demonstrating the fallacy of the principles. *Guelderland*, *Friseland*, and *Zealand* taxed the states of *Holland* with ingratitude and arbitrary proceedings; they retorted the charge; the provinces were filled with factions; the republic on the brink of dissolution; and the ambassadors, who had carried on the negotiation, and signed the treaty, in the most ing disgrace.

Holland
sends depu-
ties to
apologize.

Affairs
with Den-
mark.

IN this situation of affairs, happily for the provinces, the conduct of the king of *Denmark* engaged a part of the public attention, and diverted it from a dispute, which, from its warmth and acrimony, threatened danger to the state,

mortify-

^b Idem ibid. & seq. Ibidem. LE CLERC, p. 84. tom. ii.

and

and particularly to *de Wit*, the ambassadors, and the projectors and agents in this new treaty. It was before observed, that king *Frederick* had not complied with a single article of the treaty of alliance formed with the republic, notwithstanding he received punctual payments of a large subsidy. He now added ingratitude to treachery. To extricate the king from the difficulties in which he was engaged with the parliament of *England*, by the seizure of a fleet of merchantmen belonging to that nation, the states general indemnified the *English* merchants, in hopes thereby of more easily attaching that monarch to their interest, and enabling him to execute the treaty with the republic. *Frederick*, however, not only evaded the treaty, but the payment of the money advanced for his use and conveniency; after which he entered into a close alliance with *Cromwel*, leaving the states general to exclaim against his injustice and perfidy. In a word, this double dealing of the king of *Denmark* proved of the greatest advantage to the *United Provinces*; it silenced their private animosities for a time, though it by no means removed the cause, or extinguished those sparks of discord, which flamed out with redoubled vigour after the prince of *Orange* came of age, and *Lewis XIV.* had invaded the *Netherlands*.

S E C T. XI.

The history of the United Provinces continued; the particulars of the second war with England, and other transactions, to the invasion of the Netherlands by Lewis XIV.

NOTHING occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the *United Provinces* until the year 1657, when a violent war was kindled in the north, and pursued with such inveterate animosity between the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as foreboded the destruction of one of the parties, and proved highly prejudicial to the commercial interest of the republic. *Charles Gustavus* had scarce ascended the throne of *Sweden*, when his politicks gave great uneasiness to the states general, at that time incumbered by a war with *England*, and a fruitless but close alliance with *Denmark*. Though the exclusion of the prince of *Orange*, and the little regard paid to the remonstrances made by the electress of *Brandenburgh* in behalf

A. D.

1658.

State of
the republic
with
respect to
Sweden,
Brandenburgh,
&c.

behalf of the young prince, had produced a coldness between the electoral court and the republic; yet that wise prince was sensible he could not more effectually fortify himself against the grasping views of the *Swedish* monarch, than by entering into an alliance with the *United Provinces*. The states general had one reason for embracing the overtures made by the elector. It was their interest with respect to the public trade, to provide that the *Swedes* did not gain possession of the ports of *Prussia*; and though the duke of *Newburgh*, and the emperor, advertised them that such an alliance would give umbrage to all the claimants to the duchy of *Cleves*, yet their regard to trade prevailed over every other consideration. In effect, an offensive alliance was concluded, whereby the states undertook to protect the elector's dominions, including his coasts, and the duchy of *Cleves*, against all enemies whatsoever; while the elector engaged, in return, to defend the republic and her commerce in the *Baltic* against all attacks, and to give the shipping of the republic free entrance into all his ports in *Prussia* and *Pomerania*. This treaty gave offence to the elector of *Saxony*, to whom the *Swedish* ambassador insinuated, that it tended to cut off his pretensions to the duchy of *Juliers*.

DURING these intrigues count *Koningmark* had great success in levying troops in the duchy of *Bremen*, which gave the alarm to the states general. To obviate danger, they formed a body of horse and foot, which they cantoned on the borders of the *Yffel*, under count *Brederode*. Another corps, led by the count *de Nassau*, was posted in such a manner as to cover *Embsen*, *Coeverden*, and other towns of *West Friseland*; but on *Koningmark's* passing the *Elbe*, and joining the *Swedes*, these troops had orders to return to winter-quarters. Thus the *Dutch* were eased from the apprehension of an immediate attack. After the *Swedes* had taken the capital of *Poland*, and forced king *Casimir* out of his dominions, the conquerors were penetrating to the provinces of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, which obliged him to enter into negotiations with the *Swedish* monarch. He offered to join his forces to the *Swedes*, provided the king would abolish the homage for ducal *Prussia* required by the *Poles*; but the treaty with *Holland* proved a great obstruction to his designs. At length a treaty was concluded, whereby the elector acknowledged himself a vassal of the crown of *Sweden*, for ducal *Prussia* and the ports of that kingdom and of *Pomerania* were opened to the *Swedish* shipping. Thus the treaty between *Holland* and *Brandenburgh* was rendered useless, and the republic was exposed to all the
vengeance

ngeance of *Charles Gustavus*, irritated at her engagements with *Denmark*, and the late treaty with the court of *Berlin*, formed evidently against the crown of *Sweden*. To prepare against accidents, oblige the *Swedes* to return to their own ports, and secure the navigation of the republic, the states general resolved to equip against the spring a squadron of fifty ships of war. The *Dutch* commerce in the north was interrupted by a *Swedish* fleet which blocked up *Dantzick*, where no vessels were suffered to enter, except upon certain conditions; and *Gustavus* had imposed a duty on all merchandise sent to *Pillau* and other sea-ports of *Prussia*. This conduct he justified by the example of the *Hollanders*, who had prohibited the *Swedish* ships from entering the ports of *Flanders* during the war with *Spain*, although they themselves were furnishing the enemy with ammunition and provision; and likewise by their conduct in the late war with *England*^a.

THIS last transaction it was that determined the states general to dispatch *M. Van Buiningen* to *Copenhagen*, to engage his *Danish* majesty to declare openly against *Sweden*; but that prince dreaded the victorious arms of *Gustavus*. They likewise made some overtures to *Cromwel* with respect to the situation of affairs in the north; but *Charles Gustavus* had anticipated them in their designs on the electorate. He had sent an ambassador to *England* to explain his reasons for declaring war against *Poland*, to propose means for preventing the *Dutch* from trading to the *Baltic*, under pretence that it was injurious to the *English* commerce, and to settle a treaty of commerce with respect to the imports and exports of the two kingdoms in their mutual trade.

An embassy to Sweden and Denmark.

ALL this time, *M. Nieuport* continued in *London*, in quality of envoy from the states, to regulate the affairs of the *Indian* trade, the disputes relative to *Amboyna*, and to study the protector's disposition towards *Sweden*. Commissioners were appointed by the two *East India* companies for adjusting their disputes; but the limited time elapsed without their coming to any agreement: upon which the protestant cantons of *Switzerland* were chosen arbitrators; the worst they could possibly have thought of in commercial affairs. The *Swiss* no sooner opened their mouths as umpires, than they betrayed their profound ignorance of trade and navigation; upon which the contending parties perceiving their error, prolonged the space allowed for the negotiation. It was not the desire of giving satisfaction to *England*, but of

The Dutch commerce disturbed by the English privateers.

^a LE CLERC, *ibid*.

obtaining redress, that made the *Hollanders* solicitous about this negotiation. The *English East India* company accused the *Dutch* commissioners of shuffling and duplicity in the restitution of *Polemon*, and indemnification of the losses sustained by the company in *India*; and the commissioners wanted to ballance this against the losses of the republic, in consequence of the seizure of their ships by *English* privateers before and since the war. They plied *Cromwel* with remonstrances upon this head; for still the grievance was sorely felt, and their merchants daily plundered in the high seas by swarms of privateers fitted out against the *Spaniards*, with whom *Cromwel* was now at war. In the end, these altercations subsided in a treaty between *France* and *England*, in which the republic was included; after which, both nations sent fleets to the *Mediterranean*, to suppress the *Algerine* corsairs, who had given abundance of disturbance to their commerce^b.

*Dissensions
among the
provinces.*

WHILE the republic was fortifying itself against the designs of *Sweden* on the one hand, and of *England* on the other, a variety of circumstances contributed to disturb the internal tranquillity of the provinces. One of the chief was the project concerted by *M. de Wit*, for bringing the revenue into proper order, by the reduction of interest paid by the government; but the great address of that statesman surmounted all difficulties in this affair, in a manner altogether unexpected, and convinced the creditors, that it was more to their advantage to receive four *per cent.* than to withdraw their money; because by this means the foreign debts might be paid off, and the interest of their own loans increased as the capital debt diminished. This was *de Wit's* project, and not what we are told by some *English* writers, of equal assessments on all the provinces, which would have proved the severest oppression, considering their inequality in point of wealth and ability. To this was added another subject of debate. The death of *Brederode*, marshal general of the camp, raised up a variety of candidates for that employment. Those of most consideration were both of the house of *Orange*. *Maurice* claimed it as the right of seniority and long services; and *William*, governor of *Friseland*, founded his expectations on his own influence and avaricious connections. All the partisans of the *Orange* family sided with the other; but the province of *Holland* patronized the former, out of personal pique to prince *William*. The states of *Holland* had not forgot the attempt upon *Am-*

^b *Idem*, p. 86. tom. ii.

Amsterdam, nor the violence with which *William* had opposed the exclusion-act. The count would have carried his point in the assembly of the states general, were it to be decided by a majority of voices ; but here unanimity was necessary, and *Holland* affirmed, that the office was dangerous in time of peace, as it constantly gave the command of the army to the same person, who might thereby acquire an undue influence. *M. de Wit* presented a memorial, which he hoped would reconcile all differences, but it rather served to quiet for a time, than remove the dissensions ; for the office in dispute remained vacant, and the candidates soon after resumed their pretensions. Next followed some altercation about the manner of educating the young prince of *Orange*. Some were for appointing a minister of the gospel for his preceptor, that he might be early instructed in the principles of the reformed religion. This opinion was supported by *Zealand* ; but the states of *Holland* opposed it, from an apprehension that the clergy would blend politicks with religion. The princess governante requested that the prince might be put under the tuition of certain members of the states general, and the courts of justice, that his tender mind might receive deep impressions of the constitution and form of government ; but the states general fearing that she intended by this compliment to gain an influence over the most considerable members of their body, declined the honour, under pretence that they could not decently interfere with the proper business of the prince's guardians. This debate renewed in some provinces the old affair of the stadtholdership ; particularly in *Overijssel*, where the towns and villages were filled with riot and confusion. As usual, a thousand other points of altercation arose from this single question ; and the point now was not, whether there should be a stadtholder, but whether certain cities enjoyed certain privileges ? It was a dispute between one city and another, about points which had no relation to the general plan of government, and therefore scarce worthy of notice in a general history^c.

We shall conclude the year, with observing that a violent plague appeared in *Leyden*, which swept off near four thousand of the inhabitants ; but was happily prevented by the diligence of the magistrates from spreading itself further into the provinces ; and next, the magistrates of *Amsterdam* laid the foundation of that immense pile of building, since universally known by the name of *Stadthouse*.

*A plague
at Ley-
den.*

^c BASNAGE, p. 455.

A. D.
1656.

The
Swedes
arrest the
Dutch en-
voy.

THE new year produced fresh causes of apprehension, that the *Dutch* commerce might suffer from the rapid conquests of the *Swedes*, as the states were upon very indifferent terms with that crown. They had fitted out a large squadron for the protection of the *Baltic* trade; but the assurances given by the *Swedish* ambassador lulled the states into security, and prevented the sailing of that powerful armament. Now the duties laid by the king on all *Dutch* traders to *Riga*, again roused the republic, and determined her to act vigorously. With this view, she sent ambassadors to *Copenhagen* and *Stockholm*; to the former, with intention to excite his *Danish* majesty against the *Swedes*; and to the latter, to remonstrate on the injury done to their commerce by the late unwarrantable and arbitrary impositions. The envoys were arrested at *Lauwenburgh*, through which they proposed passing in their way to *Dantzick*, but afterwards released, and apologies made to the states general: however, this conduct served only to inflame their animosity. In consequence, admiral *Opdam* received orders to sail directly for the *Baltic*, to protect all the *Dutch* shipping, and lay every possible obstruction in the way of his *Swedish* majesty, if he resolved upon the siege of *Dantzick*. *Oliver Cromwel* interposed, exhorted the states not to break with *Gustavus*, and offered his mediation to reconcile their differences, under pretence of a zealous regard for the protestant religion; but his intentions were suspected. *Cromwel* was well known to have used religion as a mask, to conceal the most daring and villainous designs; the states persuaded themselves, for this reason, that he must have some other object in view, than the good of the church. In their answer, therefore, to the protector's letter, they warmly applauded his piety; but in such a manner that *Cromwel* should perceive they were not blinded by his affected concern for religion; adding, that, far from having any intention of coming to a rupture with *Gustavus*, they had sent ambassadors to renew the ancient alliance between the crown of *Sweden* and the republic.

Disputes
with
Sweden.

ABOUT this time *Gustavus* turned his thoughts towards *Denmark*. He sent M. *Durell* to the court of *Copenhagen*, in hopes of persuading the king to join with him in opposing the entrance of admiral *Opdam* into the *Baltic*. Previous to this, the senate of *Denmark* had remonstrated to the court of *Sweden* on the consequences of the war with *Poland*; but their letter produced no effect, as the king was then absent. This affair M. *Durell* had instructions to take into consideration; but the king of *Denmark* declared, that he could not

not treat with *Sweden* without the consent of the *Dutch* ambassador, *M. Van Buiningen*. *Durell* insisted that no strangers should be admitted to the conferences; the *Danes* took the part of *Buiningen*, and the dispute rose high, about the time that *Opdam* arrived at *Dantzick*, where he was received as the saviour of the city. *Sweden* insisted that the republic could lend no assistance to the magistrates of *Dantzick*, without violating the treaty of 1640, and *Opdam* pleaded his instructions. At last, conferences were appointed at *Elbing*, where this affair was to be maturely discussed. In consequence, a treaty took place; the treaty of 1645 was renewed; the commerce of neither party was to be disturbed in the *Baltic* by the war between *Sweden* and *Poland*; a tariff was established, and the duties on trade regulated upon the former footing. The kings of *France* and *Denmark*, the protector of *England*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, were likewise included in this treaty. The city of *Dantzick* also had permission to continue subject to the king of *Poland*, provided the magistrates afforded no assistance against *Sweden*^d.

THE treaty of *Elbing* gave satisfaction only to the parties *A treaty immediately concerned*. The king of *Denmark* could not *at Elbing*. persuade himself that the *Dutch*, after the expence of equipping so considerable an armament, would return to their ports, upon no other security than general promises set down on paper. *M. Buiningen* took fire at *Dantzick's* being deserted, and wrote in the most pressing manner to the pensionery *de Wit*, to procure an order from the states general for admiral *Opdam* to seize upon some of the islands of the *Baltic*, where the fleet might winter, under the direction of the king of *Denmark*, who had it in his power to serve the republic effectually. Notwithstanding this application the fleet returned, the public exclaimed against the unnecessary expence of the armament, and the states vindicated it, by demonstrating, that to it was owing the treaty of *Elbing*, which they affirmed was equally advantageous and necessary to the republic.

WHILE the states were endeavouring to vindicate the measures they had taken for securing the trade of the *Baltic*, the loudest complaints were made to the several colleges of the admiralty, against the depredations committed by the *English* privateers. *De Ruyter* was ordered to put to sea with a respectable squadron, for the protection of the *Dutch* commerce; but he soon found the office extremely dis-

^d PUFFENDORF, tom. vii. lib. 7. octavo.

agreeable, and remonstrated to the states upon the liberty assumed by the smallest *English* frigate of searching the men of war of the republic. Alarmed at this report, *Ruyter* had orders to restrain the *English* from committing violence, or any way injuring the subjects of the states; but he was likewise cautioned to avoid, at all events, the necessity of coming to a rupture with *Cromwel*, by shewing the *English* the clearest proofs in his power, that none of the ships under his convoy were engaged in an illicit traffic. They likewise remonstrated to the protector; but *Cromwel* knew his own superiority, and gave no ear to their complaints. He was now deeply engaged in the means of gaining possession of *Dunkirk*, the price of the assistance given to the *French* against the *Spaniards*, and consequently not at leisure to examine trifling matters, regarding *Dutch* traders. As the states knew their inability to redress themselves, they were forced to support with patience insults which they could not repel^c.

A. D. **NEXT** year produced some new difficulties with respect to
 1657. the affairs of the *North*, and the treaty of *Elbing*, which the
The states states general, after long delays, refused at last to ratify.
refuse to The king of *Denmark* exerted his utmost influence to pre-
ratify the vail on the *Dutch* not to consent to a treaty so inconsistent
treaty of with their engagements to him; and the maritime provinces
Elbing. likewise exclaimed against it, as it disappointed their mighty
 expectations from *Opdam's* expedition. Neither were the
 Dantzickers at all pleased with a measure, which tied them
 down to the necessity of giving no opposition to the am-
 bitious views of *Gustavus*, although they had no other se-
 curity than a general promise for his not attacking their
 city. As to the king of *Denmark*, he resolved to profit
 by the present situation of *Sweden*, involved in a war with
 all her powerful neighbours, for executing certain designs
 he had formed on *Schonen*, *Norway*, and *Germany*. It was
 of the utmost consequence to engage the republic in his in-
 terest, and this he laboured by his ambassador at the
 Hague; but found the states little disposed to accept the
 proposed defensive alliance. However, the negotiations upon
 this subject retarded the ratification of the treaty of *Elbing*,
 and gave the *Danish* monarch hopes, that he might at
 length be able to succeed. There was, besides, another ob-
 jection to the treaty. It was, that some of the articles were
 by no means clearly expressed, particularly those relative to
 the duty on merchandise. The king of *Sweden* insisted on

^c BASNAGE, p. 477.

the execution of the tariff, and the regulations made in 1640. To this the *Dutch* answered, that all the subjects of the *United Provinces*, who built ships in *Sweden* at their own expence, were intitled to all the privileges of natives of that kingdom. This the king denied, unless they fixed their residence in *Sweden*, and became subjects of that crown. It would, he affirmed, be attended with the worst consequences to his people, to suffer strangers to cut down the finest forests to build ships, perhaps to fight against their own king and country. In a word, he reasoned this point so strongly, that the *Dutch* ambassadors were silenced, and forced to content themselves with a general reply, that they would wait for farther instructions from the states ^f.

THOUGH the states were unable to answer the arguments urged by *Gustavus*, they nevertheless withheld the ratification desired, and strongly insinuated that this could only be obtained on the conditions mentioned. It was not the business of *Gustavus* to drive the *Dutch* into the arms of *Denmark*. He was sensible of this, and tried every expedient to gain them to his own interest. He made divers specious proposals, all of which the states rejected, as they knew well the terms that would be expected. The true interest of the states consisted in suffering the northern princes to exhaust each other by wars and bloody battles; for this reason it was, that M. *Van Buiningen* was blamed for animating the states of *Holland* against the king of *Sweden*, by representing the advantage they might deduce from the alliance of the crown of *Denmark*. By his instigations the city of *Amsterdam*, of which he was pensionary, inclined strongly to the crown of *Denmark*, and had already supplied that kingdom with a great number of armed ships to serve against *Sweden* under *Danish* colours. Several deputies of the states general were accused of corruption, and this matter was put beyond doubt, by letters from the *Swedish* ambassador at the *Hague*, which were intercepted by the king of *Denmark*, and sent over to *Holland*. Here the *Swedish* minister appeared perfectly acquainted with all that passed in the assembly of the states general, and had likewise acquainted his master that divers of the deputies received pensions from the crowns of *Spain* and *Denmark*. He even went so far as to specify the sums, and the channels of payment and intercourse. Complaints were made of the *Swedish* ambassador for the liberties he had taken with the reputation of their high mightinesses; and he vindicated

^f Idem. *ibid*.

himself, by affirming, that he was only answerable to the king his master for the contents of his letters, and that his *Danish* majesty had violated the laws of nations, by intercepting the letters of a prince with whom he was not at open war. Not satisfied with this, he wrote a sarcastic epigram upon the states, which had more wit than prudence. Irritated at his conduct they refused to enter into conferences with him; upon which his *Swedish* majesty declared he would hold no communication with the deputies of the states, and accordingly refused them audience, though they bore the character of ambassadors extraordinary. This increased the animosity. The states resented his *Swedish* majesty's putting their ambassadors upon a footing with his minister, vested with no higher character than that of a resident; they wrote to the king, and he replied, that he was astonished to see a people who had but a few years before granted precedence to the envoys of electors, talk in so high a strain about the dignity of their ambassadors. The province of *Holland* immediately sent orders to the ambassadors to return, unless the king apologised for the conduct of his resident, or granted them an audience. Three of the provinces opposed this resolution, which they feared would produce an open rupture; upon which *Holland* relaxed, and consented that the resident should be referred entirely to his *Swedish* majesty, either to acquit or condemn his conduct, as he thought proper; in hopes that this instance of moderation would work a proper effect at the court of *Stockholm*. *Gustavus* did not fail to decide the dispute in favour of his resident, though he at the same time acknowledged the civility of the states, by immediately granting audience to their ambassadors. The truth is, he still regarded the republic as a concealed enemy, overawed by fear and interest; the event justified the king's opinion.

The difference compromised.

DENMARK having now come to an open rupture with *Sweden*, general *Bilde* traversed *Holstein*, passed the *Elbe*, and poured in with a *Danish* army into the duchy of *Bremen*. After *Wrangel* had defeated part of his fleet before *Stade*, he was more sensible than ever, that the assistance of the *Dutch* was absolutely necessary to the success of his measures. With these sentiments he offered terms to the states general, so advantageous as subdued all objections to coming to a rupture with *Sweden*, and entering on engagements with *Denmark*. The states were, however, so

§ PUFFENDORF, *ibid.* LE CLERC, p. 89.

cautious

cautious as to contract only a defensive treaty, whereby the parties agreed to assist each other, if attacked, with a body of six thousand men, and a squadron of ships, or a stipulated sum of money, as an equivalent.

IMMERSED in the politicks of the *North*, the states did not neglect their connections with the other maritime powers. Repeated complaints had been made to *Cromwel* of the depredations committed on the high seas by his privateers; but all were disregarded, at least no satisfaction could be obtained. The *Dutch* commerce suffered equally from the swarms of small armed vessels that issued out of the *French* ports, and preyed upon the vessels of the republic. The *Dutch* merchants computed that 328 of their ships had been taken by those privateers. *M. Boreel*, the *Dutch* envoy, applied to the *French* court for satisfaction, and above fifty arrets of council had passed, to oblige the captors to make restitution, but without effect. At *Marseilles* they attacked the *Dutch* consul publicly, covered him with wounds, and left him wallowing in his blood, because he had attempted to enforce the ambassador's orders, and the king's arrets. This last violence so incensed the states, that they sent instructions to *de Ruyter*, to take all ships coming out of *Toulon*. The admiral had not long received his orders before he met with two *Toulon* privateers, the one mounting forty, the other fourteen guns. These he took, removing all the prisoners on board his own ships, where they soon introduced a contagious disorder, of which the greater number of themselves, and many of the *Dutch* sailors died. It was well known that these ships had been built in *Sweden*; that they belonged to the *French* king, and that cardinal *Mazarin* had procured commissions for the reputed owners, on condition that he shared in the captures. They were the finest-going ships of *France*, and had made an infinity of prizes in this cruise. *Mazarin* was incensed at the presumption of *de Ruyter*, and the loss of his ships, and the immense sums of money on board. He represented him as a pirate who, under false colours, made prize of the *French* vessels. He said, that if the *Dutch* commerce had been injured by private subjects of the *French* king, the states ought not to retaliate upon the royal navy, especially as the king had issued arrets to oblige the captors to make satisfaction. It was urged in council, that such an indignity to the crown could only be washed out by the blood of those who had committed it, and that if reparation was not made, war ought to be declared against the republic, and the whole nation persecuted with the utmost rigour, for screen-
ing

Disputes between the court of France and the republic.

ing so notorious offenders, and thereby becoming parties in the offence. However agreeable to the dignity of the *French* monarchy this spirited conduct might appear, the advice was tempered by the prudence of the chancellor, and the moderation of M. *Villeroi*, who strenuously opposed the entering upon violent measures; however, they could not prevent the cardinal's issuing an order for seizing upon all the *Dutch* ships and effects in the ports of *France*. This was accordingly executed. Alarmed at so unprecedented a proceeding, the states ordered M. *Boreel* to represent their astonishment at seeing their ships arrested by the king's order, in direct violation of the laws of nations, and without any application to them, to know whether or not they approved of *de Ruyter's* conduct, without even reflecting, whether necessity did not require that a check should be given the privateers, as they had assaulted the *Dutch* consul, in contempt of the king's own authority.

BOREEL did not wait the orders of the state to fulfill the duties of his office. He demanded an audience of the king, which was granted. He remonstrated with great spirit and intrepidity, though he was thrice interrupted by the cardinal, who said, "His speech was not the declaration of a minister, but the declamation of a rhetorician." *Boreel's* reflections upon the minister were indeed so free and severe, that he could expect no extraordinary effects from his remonstrance. All he obtained was a tolerably silent hearing from the young monarch, guided entirely by his prime minister. Nor did *Mazarin* content himself with paying no regard to the representations of the *Dutch* ambassador. He sent M. *de Thou* to the *Hague*, to demand satisfaction for the insult committed by *Ruyter*, without so much as releasing the *Dutch* shipping. *De Thou* entered into a detail of *Ruyter's* conduct, which he affirmed, before the states, was contrary to the custom of civilized countries, and highly injurious to the honour of the republic. It deserved the severest chastisement, as treachery was added to injustice. He had hoisted the *English* flag, and deceived the *French* under false colours, which was never done, except by barbarous nations and *Turkish* pyrates, when they lay in wait for their Christian prey. He had likewise shewn the utmost treachery to the *sieur de Lund*, captain of the largest frigate, by writing him a civil letter, which induced the unsuspecting *Frenchman* to visit *de Ruyter* on board, where he was detained prisoner. He aggravated the offence by a thousand additional circumstances; and concluded with requesting their high mighti-

mightinesses to reflect well upon the consequences of such usage to the servants of a great king, and protesting that his instructions would allow him to enter upon no other business, or receive any propositions, until he received a definitive answer to his demands. To this *M. de Ghent*, who presided in the assembly of the states general, replied, That the *Dutch* had so evidently a right to make reprisals, that his excellency, who was himself a lawyer, if he would reason impartially, could not but acquit *de Ruyter*, and justify the conduct of the states. Two days after an order was issued for stopping all the *French* ships and merchandise in the ports of *Holland*. To be in a condition to maintain this vigorous resolution, it was proposed to augment the navy with twelve capital ships, and to block up the coasts of *France* so closely as to prevent all attempts of a revenge, and render useless the swarms of privateers with which the ports were crowded. The states of *Holland*, who had projected these spirited designs, represented them to the states general; they applauded the conduct of *Boreel*, who had supported his character with dignity, and even justified *de Ruyter*. Several of the provinces were for coming to an open rupture with *France*; but the states general were more moderate. Their first care was to guard strictly against corruption, as it was insinuated that *M. de Thou* was charged with large sums of money for this purpose. With this view an oath was drawn up and sent to the states of all the provinces, obliging the members to accept of no presents, strenuously to stand up in the interest of their country; to be biassed by no private designs, and not only to reject all overtures that had a tendency towards obtaining an undue influence, but to render public every such proposal. At last the states general and the states of *Holland*, each in a body, gave their final answer to the ambassador. They complained of the depredations, pyracies, and robberies, committed by the subjects of the *French* king, for which no satisfaction was made by the government. They demanded the execution of the arrears granted by the council, restitution of the ships and effects seized by order of the king, and an apology for the indignity passed on the republic in the person of her consul at *Marseilles*, particularly for the liberties taken by the commissioners at *Rouen*, and other places, of examining the papers, sealing up the chests, and taking possession of the warehouses of *Dutch* merchants.

DE THOU, finding he could effect nothing by a high hand, wrote to his court for more moderate instructions; and

and he was ordered to assure the states they should have ample satisfaction, upon restitution of the two frigates taken by *de Ruyter*, after which a treaty of navigation and commerce should be settled. Even this proposition was rejected; upon which the ambassador declared the king would be contented with a promise of restitution, as an equivalent for the ships, and he would in the mean time give all the satisfaction required. From such ample concessions it was imagined the affair was happily at an end; but the cardinal neglected the ratification of these preliminaries: upon which the states took fire a second time, prohibited all intercourse with *France*, and gave orders to the naval officers to take *French* ships wherever they were found. Never had the states displayed more firmness and intrepidity than upon this occasion; but though they bid defiance to all menaces, they were easily appeased by concessions. The king wrote them a letter, which entirely subdued by lenity that spirit which seemed to rise with opposition.

THE constancy of the republic was, in a great measure, owing to her ignorance of the treaty in agitation between *Cromwel* and *Mazarin*. Mean time, an accident happened, which had almost destroyed the effect of the king's letter to the states, and the treaty concluded in consequence. *Ruyter*, then upon a cruize, was informed by the *Dutch* consul at *Leghorn*, that five *French* ships of war had put into *Via Reggia*, a port belonging to the little republic of *Lucca*: thither he pursued them, but being driven out of his course by a storm, they had intelligence of his design, and made the best sail for *Porto Lunæ*, a harbour in the *Genoese* dominions. Here they were blocked up by *de Ruyter*, who, though he was not at liberty to attack them in a neutral port, found means so to distress them, that they were on the point of surrendering at discretion, when advice arrived from the states of the treaty signed with the *French* monarch. *De Ruyter's* conduct was so much approved on this occasion, that the states, to shew their sense of his merit, complimented him with a gold chain, in testimony of their regard.

Disputes
with Por-
tugal
about the
Brasil.

SCARCE had the republic got clear of these disputes with the court of *France*, when she was involved in others with that of *Portugal*, about their several pretensions in *Brasil*. Mess. *Tenhoven* and *de Wit* were sent envoys to *Lisbon* to adjust the affair, and present the overtures of a treaty of accommodation. The *Portuguese* ministry were equally astonished at the propositions made, and the powerful armaments with which they were accompanied. Not a mo-
ment

ment was lost in taking every measure for the security of the kingdom; the guards at *Lisbon* were doubled; all the captains of ships had orders to prepare for action, and a body of infantry was encamped on the shore to watch the motions of the *Dutch* fleet. After these vigorous steps had been taken, the ministers ventured to acquaint the *Dutch* deputies, that the court would not listen to proposals made with such an air of defiance, and with all the rigour of conquerors. This was highly resented by the *Hollanders*, who, in the heat of passion, expressed themselves in disrespectful terms of the royal family, and *de Solas*, secretary of state; upon which orders were issued to seize upon all the *Dutch* merchantmen in the *Tagus*. To such open violences a declaration of war must necessarily ensue; the deputies quitted *Lisbon* without taking leave, and *de Ruyter* took several *Portuguese* ships in the mouth of the river.

BEFORE their departure the *Dutch* commissaries had left a declaration of war, sealed up, in the hands of *Don Pedro de Sylva*. *Ruyter* now thought himself at liberty to act offensively: accordingly he divided his fleet into three squadrons, and resolved to cruise in certain latitudes for the *Brasil* fleet, daily expected in *Europe*. His own division fell in with a fleet of forty sail; but the haziness of the weather concealed them from his view. Only five ships were taken, and it was from the crews of them he learnt that the fleet was so numerous. Another fleet, homeward bound from *Brasil*, was every day expected; but the scarcity of provisions obliged *Ruyter* to quit his station, and return to *Holland*.^b

WHILE the states were thus engaged in an open rupture with *Portugal*, an affair happened, at first of seemingly trivial moment, but in the end of serious consequences, with the neighbouring princes of the *Rhine*. The electors of *Mentz*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, the duke of *Newburgh*, and the bishop of *Munster*, were desirous of entering into a strict alliance with the republic, for their mutual defence. Their overtures, however, were coldly received by the states of *Zealand* and *Friseland*, though the province of *Holland* approved of a treaty of commerce, respecting the navigation of the *Rhine*, upon the terms proposed a few years before by the elector of *Cologne*. This point was under deliberation when the bishop of *Munster*, quarrelling with his own subjects, interrupted the negotiation, and made the republic and the princes, instead of joining in an alliance, embrace

The states are involved in disputes with the bishop of Munster.

^b BASNAGE, p. 512.

opposite parties, and fight with all the bitterness of inveterate enemies. *Bernard Van Galen*, for so the bishop was called, had some years before got possession of the see of *Munster*, by a stroke of policy. His uncle, who had bred him up from his infancy, reckoned himself secure of being elected, when he found himself outwitted by his nephew, and disappointed in his expectations. The pope refused to confirm the election of *Van Galen*; but that bold, enterprising genius, spurning difficulty, maintained his ground, in despite of all opposition, rendered himself respectable, and even formed vast projects for extending his power and dominion. His wearing the mitre did not prevent his understanding the sword. By nature he was intended for a soldier, and he followed his inclinations as soon as an opportunity offered. He entered into all the intrigues of his neighbours, to whom he hired out his courage and his troops. When he was reproached for meditating such vast designs with such slender forces, he replied, *That little saints frequently wrought great miracles*. Besides the large sums he drew from the neighbouring princes, he levied heavy taxes upon his subjects for the support of the army, and, when they murmured at the oppression, was used to say, *That a warrior should have no more compassion than the devil*. He soon began to practise this maxim upon his own subjects. Like most other bishopricks in *Germany*, the see of *Munster* is subjected to the bishops in temporals as well as spirituals, the prelates uniting in the mitre, the crozier and the scepter. Some towns, within their jurisdiction, however, maintained their privileges, and among these was the city of *Munster*. The burghers insisted, that they were not obliged to receive the bishop's garrison, but that the sole command of the city belonged to the inhabitants. Two years before the bishop had introduced a body of troops, as necessary to the security of the place; the burghers complained loudly, and the dispute was referred to the assembly of the provincial states, who decided in favour of the burghers. *Van Galen* refused to stand by their award, submitted it to the imperial verdict, and obtained six months delay, to produce new arguments in support of his pretensions. Alarmed at this proceeding, which plainly indicated a bias in favour of the bishop, the magistrates sent a deputation to the *Hague*, requesting the republic to include them in the treaty lately made with the *Hans* towns. The grand pensionery *de Wit*, who foresaw the issue of entering upon such engagements, would do nothing without consulting the states, particularly those of *Overijssel* and *Groningen*;

gen ; but their deliberations were so tedious, that the opportunity slipped of strengthening the frontiers towards that quarter. The bishop invested the town with his own forces, and a body of auxiliaries, and bombarded it with such fury, that in the space of a few hours above two hundred houses were set on fire, two churches demolished, and a priest, as he was administering the sacrament at the altar, swept off with the consecrated bread, by a cannon-bullet. This terrible sacrilege, committed by a bishop, roused all the fury of the townsmen ; they sallied out vigorously on the besiegers, and slew great numbers of the prelate's forces, while their wives and daughters, forming themselves into companies, resolutely defended the walls. The electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony* interposed, as vicars of the empire ; the pope, as father of the church, reprehended his warlike son, and blamed the bishop's ardor to take arms upon so slight an occasion ; but more effectual remedies than pontifical exhortations were requisite.

WHEN it was known in *Holland* that a war broke out between the bishop of *Munster* and his flock, the republic immediately put her frontier into a posture of defence, and sent two members from the states general, and one from the council of war, with offers of her mediation. The deputies were received civilly by the bishop ; but their mediation was rejected, the prelate excusing himself, under pretence it would be an affront to the states of the country, and the princes of the empire, to submit to any other arbitration than theirs : nor would he suffer the deputies to enter the city, lest their presence might help to animate the burghers. This conduct incensed the states general, and determined them to succour the besieged ; but four towns in *Holland* opposed this resolution, which, however, did not prevent the troops from beginning their march. The command was given to M. *Rhingrave*, commissary-general of the cavalry, and governor of *Maestricht*, as prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* was at that time in *Friesland*.

VAN GALEN had minute intelligence of all that passed in the states general of the *United Provinces*. He perceived that this affair would soon take a very serious turn. He made some rigorous proposals to the besieged, which were rejected. However, the nobility, who feared to see their country made the theatre of war, used all their influence with the burghers to accept of an accommodation ; and the bishop, who apprehended he should in a few days be forced by the *Dutch* to raise the siege, relaxed in a variety of articles. A compromise was struck up, the gates were opened,

opened, and the prelate made his public entry in the beginning of *December*, but without being honoured with the usual rejoicings and acclamations. The *Dutch* were piqued that their mediation was rejected, and the bishop was irritated at not being received with the accustomed honours by his subjects, and at the march of the *Dutch* forces¹; he resolved secretly to embrace the first opportunity of being revenged on the republic, and the inhabitants of *Munster*. We shall see, in course of our narrative, how he accomplished his purposes.

Civil divisions.

THOSE foreign disputes in which the republic was engaged, did not prevent domestic broils. The province of *Overijssel* was involved in violent altercations about certain privileges, for some years past, and there appeared no prospect of an issue, when suddenly the parties came to a resolution of referring their differences to the prince of *Nassau*, stadtholder of the province, and M. *de Wit*, grand pensionery of *Holland*, by whom they were happily terminated. But this affair was no sooner ended, than the election of a mareschal de camp became a new subject of dissension in the provinces. The states general had appointed to this office, and the states of *Holland* opposed the election, insisting that the states general assumed an illegal authority. In fact, they apprehended that the influence of the house of *Orange* would be strengthened by the renewal of an office which had for years been abolished; and that was the true reason of their opposition. The affair was agitated with great heat, until the rapid progress of the *Swedish* arms, and the miserable situation of the king of *Denmark*, called for the interposition of the *United Provinces*, and diverted their attention from an object which might have laid the foundation of a civil war, and the destruction of the republic^k.

The states assist the king of Denmark.

FORMER engagements to the king of *Denmark*, the balance of power in the *North*, and the commercial interest of the *United Provinces*, all required that *Sweden* should not become too powerful. As *Copenhagen* was now invested, the states general proposed sending immediate succours to *Frederic*; but the provinces of *Zealand*, *Friseland*, and *Guelderland*, insisted upon first creating a mareschal de camp. However, this point was dropped, upon the general resolution that was taken of only sending a naval force. *Gustavus* had given the states the strongest assurances that he would never molest their commerce; he had likewise remitted large

¹ LE CLERC, p. 282. BASNAGE, p. 518. & 520.

^k Id. *ibid*.

sums of money to his ambassador at the *Hague*, to be duly applied, in order to retard the assistance intended for *Denmark*; but all his endeavours were frustrated by the vigilance of *de Wit*, and the spirit of the people, who unanimously resented the encroachments of this enterprising prince. A large fleet accordingly set sail, early in the spring, for the *Baltic*, under the conduct of admiral *Opdam*, who had orders not only to protect the ships of the republic, but to assist, by every possible means, the king of *Denmark*, and fight the *Swedish* fleet the first opportunity: if *Cronenburgh* and *Copenhagen* should be in the hands of the *Swedes* before his arrival, his instructions were, to assist, aid, and abet, all the enterprises of the *Danish* monarch, and with his fleet to block up such places as the king might chuse to invest by land. In a word, the republic seemed determined to keep no bounds with *Sweden*; and *Van Buuringen*, who still resided at *Copenhagen*, contributed to spur on the states, by representing the infamy and danger to the republic that would ensue, from deserting *Frederic* in his distressed situation, and the benefits she might receive from his gratitude, if a timely, vigorous diversion was made in his favour. That minister had great weight with the pensionery *de Wit*, who entered the more readily into his measures, because he was under no apprehensions from *France* or *England*.

AFTER *Opdam* had long struggled with adverse winds, he arrived in the *Sound*, where the *Swedish* fleet was immediately descried; upon which he assembled a council of his officers. It was carried by a majority to attack the enemy; but contrary winds kept the fleet back for four days, and the *Swedes* shewed no inclination to become the aggressors. At last a fresh gale sprung up, and *Opdam* advanced in three divisions, while the *Swedish* admiral, *Wrangel*, was drawn up in the same order to oppose his passage. *Gustavus* was in the castle of *Cronenburgh*, a spectator of the action, and witness to the conduct of his admiral, who had already won so many laurels. The heat of the engagement fell upon *Opdam* and *Wrangel*; both fought with equal skill and courage; their strength was equal, but not so their fortune. *Wrangel* was forced to retreat under the cannon of the fortrefs, and yield a victory which he sold at the expence of a multitude of lives. The carnage indeed was dreadful in both fleets: the *Dutch* lost two admirals, *de Wit* and *Florizzen*, they suffered greatly in their rigging, but the enemy lost more private men, and suffered greater damage in their hulls. *Wrangel*'s own ship was pierced through and through; and when he quitted the engagement, he had nine feet

Sea-fight
between
the
Swedes
and
Dutch.

water in his hold. Three *Swedish* ships were taken, the same number sunk, and four more were driven ashore; but what gave *Opdam* clearly the advantage, was, that he landed two thousand men, military stores, and provisions, in *Copenhagen*, by which the city was saved. *Swedish* writers have disputed the victory, only because it was not pursued, and because a process against *Opdam* was commenced on his return, for not having destroyed the *Swedish* fleet at *Landscroon*¹.

THIS engagement gave great disturbance to *Gustavus*, as it seemed the harbinger of a declared war with the *United Provinces*. It was debated in his council whether he should dissemble his resentment at this act of hostility, or denounce war openly against the states. A variety of opinions were offered in support of both opinions, and the arguments appeared so equal, that the king took more time to deliberate. In *Holland* the people reasoned differently. It was not thought sufficient to have afforded the king of *Denmark* the slender assistance of two thousand men, when by treaty they were engaged to assist him with double the number: it was therefore determined to augment the number of auxiliaries to six thousand effective men. Only one difficulty remained, and that was with respect to the payment of this corps. Some of the deputies proposed, that his *Danish* majesty should put *Glucstadt* into the hands of the *Dutch*; but *de Wit* answered, that this would excite the jealousy of *France* and *England*, who were already displeased with the conduct of the republic, as was obvious from the remonstrances of *M. de Thou*, the *French* ambassador.

*The states
jealous of
the pro-
tector of
England,
and the
king of
France.*

It was the first intention of the states, to leave only a squadron of six or seven men of war in the *Baltic*, because it was not doubted but *Copenhagen*, with the succours thrown in by *Opdam*, would be in condition to defend itself for the winter; but upon advice that *England* was about to declare for *Sweden*, the admiral had orders to remain with his whole fleet, to winter in *Denmark*, to follow the instructions of *Frederic*, to oppose the passage of the *Swedish* forces from *Holstein*, and pursue every measure which could contribute to the common interest of the allies, and disappoint the schemes of *Gustavus*. It is certain that *Cromwel* harboured designs against *Denmark* and *Holland*, but a variety of domestic occurrences prevented his carrying them into execution. He had now got pos-

¹ BASNAGE, p. 325. PUFFEND. tom. vi. p. 144.

session of *Dunkirk*, which had lately been taken from the *Spaniards*, by the joint forces of *France* and *England*. Surrendering *Dunkirk* to the protector, was equally irksome to *France*, *Spain*, the *Pope*, and the *United Provinces*; but *Cromwel* carried the point with a high hand. The *Dutch* in particular had reason to complain. They saw the *English* in the quiet enjoyment of a port, which would serve as a retreat for their privateers, and in a short time be filled with the pillage of the *Dutch* shipping. The states had rather see *Dunkirk* in the hands of the *Spaniards* than of the *English*; for the interest of the former, with respect to commerce, began now to be re-united to those of the provinces. They saw *France* and *England* now strongly cemented by this bond of union, and began to apprehend that *Furnese*, *Graveline*, *Menin*, *Ypres*, and *Oudenarde*, were likewise in danger. *M. de Turenne* was fixed upon by the cardinal, to quiet the emotions of the republic, and to assure the states, that the king had no other view in the conquest of the *Netherlands*, than to oblige the inhabitants to throw off the *Spanish* yoke, and to unite in a form of government, similar to that of the *United Provinces*. He added, that if a republican government was once established, the king would willingly restore all his conquests since the commencement of the war, not excepting the capital of *Artois*. The friends of *France* looked upon this proposal as so equitable, that they pressed the states to second the designs of the most christian king; but *M. de Wit* headed the contrary party, from a conviction that *Mazarin's* design was only to sow dissension among the provinces, and to extend the frontiers of the kingdom, at the expence of the *Netherlands*. But while this point was agitated with great warmth, the sudden illness of the *French* king introduced a great change into the politics of the court; and the states were relieved from their apprehensions on the side of *England*, by the death of the enterprising, the ambitious, the successful, and the splendidly wicked usurper, *Oliver Cromwel*; at the same time the horror, the terror, and the admiration of all his neighbours. The vacancy in the imperial throne likewise made considerable alteration in the state of affairs, and *Holland* was forced to change her system with the circumstances of *Europe*.

*Proposals
made by
the king of
France.*

It was evident that the *United Provinces* were deeply interested in the fate of the candidates to the imperial diadem, which was claimed by the archduke *Leopold*, the king of *Hungary*, the elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Newburgh*.

burgh. It was contrary to the interest of the republic, to see the power of the house of *Austria* enlarged, and the empire made hereditary in that family; because the states were not so thoroughly reconciled to *Spain*, but that some articles left undetermined by the treaty of *Munster* might still be disputed. On the other hand, it was apprehended that any opposition to the claims of this ambitious and powerful family, might kindle a war, which would necessarily spread itself to the provinces. The present situation of the republic, required that *France* should be assisted in setting upon the imperial throne, a prince less powerful than *Leopold*. However, all their designs, whatever they might be, were anticipated by the election of *Leopold*, without bloodshed, or scarce any opposition in the diet^m.

Leopold
chosen em-
peror.

LEOPOLD, immediately after his election, sent M. *Trequet* in quality of envoy to the *Hague*, to acquaint the states with his elevation, and to solicit their close alliance with the house of *Austria*. This minister hoped the more readily that his commission would be successful, because the union tended to assist *Denmark*, and oppose the growing power of *Sweden*. Besides, as the states were on the point of sending another fleet to the *Baltic*, he presumed they would have no objection to act in concert with the imperial arms; though indeed this proved diametrically opposite to their designs, which were to assist *Denmark*, but not to allow the house of *Austria* any footing in the islands of the *Baltic*. Yet the republic made no difficulty of renewing her treaties with the imperial court, and of compromising some disputes about certain frontier towns with the *Spaniards*.

It was not so easy to make up the breach with *Portugal*; as the republic continued to demand reparation of her losses, and satisfaction for the injuries sustained by her subjects. The king of *France* offered his mediation, and *de Thou* exhorted the states to consent to a suspension of hostilities, in order to settle the preliminaries of a treaty. Accordingly the states general granted an armistice for two months, on condition that his *Portuguese* majesty should send an ambassador into *Holland*, to treat with the states, and that in failure of his arrival, the war should go on with the usual vigour. In the mean time the admiralty was busied in preparing for the worst, and equipping such a fleet as it was hoped would oblige the *Portuguese* to listen to reason. This fleet set sail under *de Ruyter* in the month

^m LE CLERC, p. 304. tom. ii.

of *June*; but that admiral never met with an opportunity of exercising his valour; though his constancy met with severe trials in a terrible storm, which overtook the fleet soon after it quitted the coast of *Holland*. At length he arrived in a shattered condition in the *Tagus*, which rendered the *Portuguese* more averse to an accommodation, relying upon the divisions among the provinces, the incumbrances on the *India* company, and the engagements of the republic to the king of *Denmark*, that would prevent their paying the necessary attention to the affairs of *Brasil*. The commissioners met, and disputed, but settled nothing ⁿ.

STILL the war between *Sweden* and *Denmark* raged with unremitting fury. *Copenhagen* was besieged by land, and blocked up by sea, while the *Dutch* and *Danish* fleets were locked up by the ice, and the *Swedes* making vast conquests over every part of the *Danish* dominions. At last, the allies broke the ice, and made way for some of their ships to put to sea. Early in the spring, they encountered six *Swedish* men of war, who valiantly sustained their first attack, though pressed with the utmost vigour and impetuosity. After an exceeding obstinate engagement, they were forced to yield to the weight of a greatly superior strength, and retire with the loss of two ships of fifty guns each, one of which was taken, and the other sunk, leaving a complete and decisive victory to the *Hollanders*.

A. D.
1646.

THIS defeat, the vigorous descents of the *Dutch* fleet, and the treaty concluded between *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, to restore the tranquillity of the *North*, operated powerfully on the mind of *Gustavus*, who had still obstinately persevered in besieging *Copenhagen*, and ruining the dominions of his adversary. To give more weight to the treaty, the republic sent *de Ruyter* with another fleet to the coasts of *Jutland*, and communicated to him the articles entered upon with *France* and *England*, as the clearest explication of his instructions, and rule for his conduct. His *Swedish* majesty now entered into negotiations with the *Dutch* deputies; but the arrival of an *English* fleet in the *Sound*, and the ambiguous conduct of that nation, fluctuating, unsteady, and unhinged in its internal government, disconcerted all the measures of the *Hollanders*, and broke off the negotiation after it was far advanced. *Ruyter* and *Opdam* even apprehended an attack from the *English*, until they received the most solemn assurances to the contrary

ⁿ BASNAGE, p. 556.

from the lord *Montagu*; whose departure from the *Sound* disappointed all the hopes of the *Swedish* monarch. No sooner were the *Dutch* left there at entire liberty to act, than they renewed their operations, harrassing the enemy by descents on every side. It was by the desperate courage of a body of soldiers, headed by *de Ruyter*, that the victory at *Funen* was gained, which gave the first shock to the fortune of *Gustavus*; for as to the advantages gained over his fleets, those were regarded as of less consequence. In a word, the diligence, vigour, and intrepidity of the *Dutch*, first disposed the king of *Sweden* to listen to reasonable conditions, which he was on the point of accepting, when he was seized with a disorder that proved fatal.

THIS event produced various effects; *Charles Gustavus* was deeply regretted by all the *Swedes*, while the *Danish* monarch, and the city of *Copenhagen*, would not refrain from indecent transports of joy. In the end, however, it proved fortunate for both sides, who were almost reduced to the verge of desperation, by their obstinacy and implacable animosity. A peace, under the mediation of *England* and *Holland*, was concluded, and repose once more restored to *Denmark*, which for near the space of two years had been the theatre of a bloody war, productive of every species of distress and misfortune to the truly miserable inhabitants. Yet in one respect the people were losers, as their gratitude for the valiant and persevering defence of the king, moved them to compliment him with their liberty, and render him one of the most despotic princes in *Cristendom*.^o

*The Dutch
take the
island of
Ceylon.*

CARDINAL *Mazarin* now offered his mediation to reconcile his *Portuguese* majesty and the states general; but the negotiations proved more difficult than the preceding year. When this matter had been before agitated, the only obstruction was the indemnification required by the *Dutch* for the loss sustained in the *Brasil*s; now the *India* company had driven the *Portuguese* from the island of *Ceylon*, thereby engrossing the most valuable of all the *India* spices, the cinnamon, which constitutes one of the most essential articles of their commerce. This invaluable acquisition was due to the diligence and valour of *M. Gohens*, counsellor of state at *Batavia*, who first made an attack upon some of the smaller *Portuguese* factories in the island; and encouraged by his success, and the invitation of the natives, grievously oppressed by the tyranny of their old masters, ven-

tured upon an attempt in *Jaffanapatan*, the head settlement of the *Portuguese*. The situation of this place rendered a formal siege impracticable; however, by the force of bombs and red hot bullets, the *Dutch* forced the great lords of the country to abandon their magnificent palaces, and take shelter in the *Portuguese* fort, which was in a short time reduced by famine to extremities. In about fourteen weeks after the city was first invested, the besieged desired to capitulate, and the *Europeans* were permitted either to remove to *Goa* without their effects, or remain in the country in subjection to the conquerors. The king hated the *Portuguese*; but he was alarmed at the rapid progress the *Dutch* made, and the lofty manner in which they treated the vanquished *Portuguese* and the natives. He accordingly determined to crush them in the infancy of their establishment, raised an army for that purpose; but was overawed, and forced to relinquish his design, by the *Dutch* squadron. In the end, he compromised matters with the company, and left the *Hollanders* in full possession of whatever the *Portuguese* had claimed in this delicious island.

THOUGH the articles of pacification with *Portugal* were rendered more intricate by the late conquest in *Ceylon*, yet it contributed to make his faithful majesty more pliant. He found he could not with impunity attack the company, or avoid making restitution of the lands and merchandise taken from the republic in *Brasil*. Sensibly touched with the loss of the valuable settlements in *Ceylon*, he sent an ambassador to *Holland* with fresh proposals; and to facilitate the way to an accommodation, he applied to *Mazarin* for the mediation of the court of *France*. *Mazarin* committed this affair to M. de *Thou*, resident at the *Hague*; and that minister acted so warmly in the affair as to incur the displeasure of his eminence, who apprehended that *Spain* would reject his taking part in the affairs of *Portugal*, at a time when the two courts were settling preliminaries for a durable peace, after a tedious, bloody, and ruinous war. Such was the situation of *Holland* with regard to *Portugal*, when fresh occasions of discontent arose. The *Portuguese* jesuits traded, under a variety of shapes and disguises, to a prodigious extent in the *East Indies*. By a thousand arts and machinations they obstructed the *Dutch* commerce; and by the esteem in which they were held in the different countries of *India*, not only forestalled the markets, but even so far prejudiced the natives, that in many places they refused to hold any intercourse with the *Hollanders*. They not only insinuated themselves into the court of the emperor of

China, by their address and skill in geometry, astronomy, and mechanics, but made pilgrimages to every kingdom in *India*, particularly to *Dehli*, where the grand mogul resided, and to *Golkonda*, whence they returned loaded with diamonds of the best water and size, and the most precious jewels. The arts used by the *Dutch* to counteract them, were not very justifiable. They were, however, perfectly consistent with the genius of this people, who stick at nothing, to promote their interest. They are accused, and the charge hath never been disproved, of arresting clandestinely the jesuit pilgrims, and strangling them privately; they are even charged with using poison in the most base and insidious manner. We have already explicitly related the progress of the *Dutch* commerce in *India*^p, and it is not agreeable to us to repeat facts which disgrace humanity, and so deeply stain the character of a whole nation. Sufficient it is, that by a series of the darkest arts and intrigues, the *Dutch* firmly established themselves, ruined their adversaries, and formed a variety of advantageous treaties and alliances with the natives. (A)

The states
receive the
king of
England
with great
respect.

THE revolution which now happened in *England*, and the king's restoration, affected the politics of the states general, who had never been cordial with *Cromwel*, and since his death, were in a state of uncertainty about the conduct they were to observe to his son *Richard*. How differently now did they behave to *Charles* the Second, to what they had done some years before, when that fugitive monarch was in his deplorable condition denied the protection of the republic, and was forced to quit the court of his cousin the prince of *Orange*, without knowing where to find another retreat. The transactions in *England* were no sooner known than *Charles* set out for *Breda*, where the states dispatched a solemn deputation to congratulate him on his happy prospect, and welcome his majesty into the dominions of the republic. This deputation laid the foundation of a violent altercation between the states general and the states of *Holland*, the former insisting not only upon their precedency at *Breda*, but even in the province of *Holland*, as the representatives of the seven provinces, and

^p Vol. x. Mod. Hist.

(A) The treaty with the king of *Macassar* was not concluded till the year 1662; but we have here mentioned all the transactions in *India* under one

head, the better to preserve the connection, and avoid transitions to subjects that bear not the least relation to each other.

the

the sovereign authority in the republic. Both resolved to have the lead in the intended public entry of the king into the *Hague*; but *Charles* interposed and happily reconciled the contending parties. He was oppressed with honours and civilities during his stay in *Holland*, and upon his departure, was followed by a splendid embassy to his newly recovered dominions. *M. de Beverwert* was appointed the first in this embassy; and a present, which was made by the king to the son of that gentleman, became the subject of debate among the divines and politicians of the united provinces. *Beverwert* acquainted the states with the present made to his son; but he said, it could not be regarded as a gratification to the ambassador, in any way, contrary to the oath he had taken of receiving no bribes or presents, which would have the least tendency to bias his integrity. It was the king's unrelative gift to the son, from a mere regard to the person of that young gentleman, as some affirmed, while others were equally confident that the son and father were both included in the present, and incapable of being distinguished in any mark of respect. We mention this circumstance only to shew the delicacy of the government respecting the conduct of ambassadors. It is also a proof that the public had nothing of considerable importance to gain attention, else it would not have canvassed so rigidly a trivial affair, while the most flagrant corruptions had been winked at in the assembly of the states general, and in all the embassies during the protectorate of *Oliver Cromwel.* ^a

It was this year that the *French* king had taken violent possession of the principality of *Orange*, upon an antient claim which princes always find means to prove by the longest sword. The disputes between the princesses dowager furnished a pretext for resuming this claim, and *Lewis* did not chuse to lose so fair an opportunity of extending his dominion. He alledged, that the princess governante had shewn him many instances of disrespect during the minority of her son the prince of *Orange*. He likewise maintained that he was performing a signal service to the prince, by easing him of the load of useless expensive garrisons. This opinion was supported by the enemies of the house of *Orange*, who insisted that the finances of that family had been so mismanaged and misapplied since the regency, as to render the burthen of maintaining guards, garrisons, and fortifications, quite intolerable. They could not therefore conceive what

The king of France seizes on the principality of Orange,

^a *Wicquefort*, lib. xiii. p. 555.

design *Maurice* could have in fortifying, at the price of two millions, a place situated in the heart of the *French* dominions, which could prove of no use to the republic, as a barrier against the encroachments of *France*. Very little encouragement from the prince's enemies in *Holland* was sufficient to determine the king to undertake an enterprise to which he was before disposed. He was at that time in *Provence* upon other affairs, and resolved to seize this opportunity of making himself master of the principality of *Orange*. *M. de Milet* was sent to summon count *Dobna* to surrender his trust to the king, as mediator of the differences between the princesses dowagers, and legitimate tutor, and protector of the young prince. Upon *Dobna's* answering, That he would only act by the orders of the princesses who had vested him with the office of governor; *Milet* replied, That he was astonished at his presumption, in refusing obedience to the command of the king his master, adding, that the most christian king would support his right with the irrefragable proof of 20,000 men, who would make him repent his obstinacy. The count, without being moved at this menace, persevered in his duty, and sent notice of his situation to the *Hague*. The court of the young prince was instantly alarmed at the danger which threatened the hereditary dominions, and the friends to the family laboured to reconcile the princesses, as the only means which could ward off the impending blow; for as the king had made their differences the principal argument for his own proceedings, it was hoped their reconciliation would take away all pretext for so unjust and oppressive an invasion on the rights of a minor. Mean time the garrison was unprovided with stores and every necessary of a siege, while the king's army under the mareschal *Plessis Pralin*, advanced to the gates of *Orange*. The count *de Dobna*, unable to make any defence, capitulated; and, with the consent and advice of the magistrates, delivered the keys into the hands of the mareschal. The king promised to exercise justice in the prince's name, and to restore the principality, with all the stores, cannon, effects, &c. as soon as he arrived at age; or in case of his death, to the electress of *Brandenburgh*, or the nearest heirs: but he took care immediately to demolish the citadel, erected at a vast expence by prince *Maurice*. *Dobna* was accused of having yielded to the force of corruption, and the princesses exclaimed violently against the king's arbitrary proceedings, throwing themselves upon the protection of the states general, and imploring the aid and assistance of their high mighti-

mightinesses, in defence of an helpless injured minor. They had no bounds to their complaints; they wrote in bitter terms to the king, accused him of violating the laws of nations, and taking advantage of the infancy of a child, and the weakness of two women, his only protectresses.

LEWIS's designs were too evident, and the case of too much importance for the states to pass it over unnoticed; but they dreaded the effects of the king's displeasure. However, instructions were sent relative to the principality, to their ambassadors in *France* and *England*. The princess herself visited *England*, not only to congratulate the king her brother upon his restoration, but to intercede with him in behalf of her son, his nephew. Before her departure, the states of *Zealand* shewed their attachment to the family of *Orange*, by proposing that the prince should be declared the first nobleman in the provinces, and vested with the authority of stadtholder, captain-general, and all the other titles and prerogatives held by his ancestors, and a pension of one hundred thousand florins. They also demanded that he should immediately be admitted a member of the council of state, in order to be early instructed in the arts of war and government, and the other qualifications necessary to his high birth and rank in the republic. They however allowed, that he should not enter upon the functions of his office, until he attained the age of eighteen years; and that neither the stadtholdership, nor any of the other prerogatives, should in the mean time be exercised by a lieutenant. To give more weight to their proposal, the zealous states of this province went in a body to the *Hague*, and presented themselves in a cavalcade of twenty coaches to the states general. *M. de Wit*, their pensioner, recited in a long-laboured oration, the services done the republic by the house of *Orange*, and the reasons why the states of *Zealand* thought the acceptance of their proposal necessary to the security and quiet of the provinces. He did not omit a single argument that could enforce his subject; and his views were seconded by the states of *Friseland* and *Overyssel*. *Holland* however and the other provinces kept aloof; yet to shew their respect to the princesses and the king of *England*, they assigned the prince a yearly revenue of 40,000 florins, to support the dignity of his house, and the expences of his court and education. They even proceeded so far as to abolish the act of exclusion, which had raised such dissensions in the provinces, and was passed merely out of dread of *Oliver Cromwel*. In this manner did the complaisance of *Holland* prevent the other provinces from pushing their designs

signs further at that time, and open the way to the young prince of *Orange*, to all the honours and dignities of his illustrious ancestors^r.

A. D.
1661.
*Treaty
with Por-
tugal.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Dutch* had been extremely successful in the war against *Portugal*, though they had obtained all they could propose to themselves by the sword, and though the king had no hopes of recovering his losses by the continuance of the war, yet no peace had been concluded. As the hostilities were confined entirely to a distant country, it could not be expected to be carried on with the same vigour as if *Europe* had been the theatre of war. The difficulty of transporting troops into those remote regions, and of meeting with others fleets in that vast expanse of ocean, rendered their mutual operations languid, and decisive blows unfrequent; yet both parties were of opinion it was high time to sheath the sword, and turn their thoughts to a solid durable reconciliation. The *Dutch* especially gave way to these pacific sentiments, from a desire to taste the sweet fruits of their conquests, which could not be done with security, while the rupture continued with a kingdom still powerful by sea, though greatly declined; and the crowns of *France* and *England* promised their good intentions, from views widely different. His christian majesty rejoiced at having this thorn in the side of the catholic king, and was desirous by taking off the *Dutch*, to give *Portugal* weight in his negotiations for a peace with the court of *Spain*; while the king of *England*, who was upon terms with *Catharine*, the infanta of *Portugal*, was eager to render so signal a service to a family with which he was soon to be linked in the closest alliance. The news of this intended marriage was received with more chagrin than surprise in *Holland*. It was obvious that such engagements must necessarily cement the king of *England* to the interests of *Portugal*. The states represented to the king by their ambassadors, the injustice done them by his *Portuguese* majesty, in refusing to make restitution of *Brasil*; but their remonstrances were coldly received; *Charles* even declared, upon hearing that great preparations were making in *Holland*, his intentions to assist the crown of *Portugal*. Though he expressed himself in polite and friendly terms, it was plain that his answer contained a menace, if the *Dutch* should longer pursue their resentments. At the same time he offered his mediation, which however was too much suspected to be cordially accepted. The truth was, the crowns of *France* and *England*

^r SAMSON hist. de Guillaume III. p. 372.

were both meditating the means of supporting *Portugal*; while the minister of *Alphonso* the Sixth, was diligently negotiating a peace at the *Hague*, where he had gained over a great number of friends. The great obstacle was the restitution of *Brasil*. This the states had long demanded in vain; it was now determined to relinquish the project, rather than prosecute hostilities against a crown so powerfully supported by *France* and *England*, and on the point of being reconciled with *Spain*. Four provinces, however, opposed this resolution upon late assurances from the *Spanish* court, that they were determined to come to no accommodation with *Portugal*, and that *Brasil* should be restored to the republic, the moment his catholic majesty should again become possessed of the kingdom of *Portugal*. *Zealand* in particular insisted, that, by the treaty of *Utrecht*, this resolution could only be carried into execution by an unanimity of voices, which was requisite in all matters of so high importance as the making peace or war. The debate was pushed to a great length, but it never broke off the conferences with the count *de Miranda*, the *Portuguese* minister. At length a treaty was concluded, by which his *Portuguese* majesty promised to pay the republic 500,000 livres annually, in money, sugar, and salt; and a million of money to indemnify her losses in the *Brasils*. He likewise consented that the *Dutch* should enjoy the same privileges of trade to *Portugal*, *Brasil*, and the coast of *Africa*, as the *English*. Hostilities were to cease in *Europe* two months before the exchange of ratifications, and in the *Indies*, immediately upon public notice of the treaty in those parts.

ENGLAND had already manifested no favourable disposition to the interest of the republic, in the bias the king plainly shewed for the court of *Portugal*: the intentions of that court became still more obvious by the proposal that was now made, of a triple alliance between the crowns of *England* and *France*, and the *United Provinces*. It was the manner rather than the terms of this proposition, which gave offence. The coldness was increased by the reception which the *Dutch* ambassadors met with at the court of *London*, where they were treated with distant respect, and affronted with the revival of all the claims made by the late protector. They wrote back to the *Hague* soon after their arrival, that their negotiations were likely to prove tedious and difficult, because the king insisted upon the conclusion of a treaty favourable to him, before he en-

Transactions with England.

tered upon the subject of navigation and commerce. The first obstruction that occurred in course of the conferences, were the rights of fishing for herrings on the *British* coasts. The next, was the prerogative assumed by the *English* of visiting and examining *Dutch* vessels at sea, as well as in the ports of the kingdom. It was above all things the wish of the *Hollanders*, to abolish this custom, equally inconvenient to trade, and ignominious to the government; but it was a badge of superiority of which the *English* were extremely tenacious. The crown-jewels pledged in *Holland* by the late king, and the not delivering up to punishment all the murderers of the king's father, who had now taken shelter in *Holland*, together with certain hostilities committed by an *English* officer on the coast of *Africa*, all contributed to encrease the coldness between the two nations, and render the disputes of the commissaries fruitless. It was plain from the king's general behaviour, that his designs were rather to avail himself of the power of the republic, than live with her upon the ancient footing of friendship. His supporting the claims of his nephew the prince of *Orange* to the stadtholdership, his reconciliation with the princess of *Orange*, with whom he had been at variance, and his entering into a closer union with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, excited the jealousy of the states, and persuaded them that *Charles* was no way affected to *Holland*, or disposed to promote the interest of the republic. Both the king and the states courted *Mazarin*; but in doing this, *Charles* embroiled himself with the pensioner *de Wit*, and inflamed the populace of *Holland*, by distressing their fisheries, at the time too when his nephew most wanted their assistance. But what gave the greatest offence, was the king's insisting that the *India* company should allow free liberty to the *English* to trade to all the ports of *Asia*, not immediately in the possession of the *Dutch*, even with the kings and princes at war with the republic; and that the *English* factories should be an asylum for all the natives who sought protection of the *British* nation. Such demands from a prince, who pretended to court the alliance of the republic, could not but be regarded as acts of that authority which aspiring princes loved to exercise over their neighbours, as well as their subjects; but it was the business of the states to suppress their resentment to a more seasonable opportunity. In complaisance to the king, three of the regicides were to be seized, in order to be delivered up to punishment. *Downing*, the *English* minister, threatened the deputies with the king's resentment, if they refused to sign an order to that purpose. He obtained the order; but the
magistrates

magistrates of several towns interposed, affirming it would be the greatest injury to the republic to violate the protection granted to all refugees; and that, in this instance, it would for many reasons be base and insidious. In despite however of their opposition, the regicides were taken into custody, embarked at the *Brille*, and sent to *London*. *De Wit* was the principal manager in this transaction, which greatly astonished all his friends, who were no strangers to his declared enmity to the king of *England* and the house of *Orange*¹.

ALREADY the tutelage of the prince of *Orange* had given birth to various dissensions, which were now renewed upon the death of the substitutes appointed by the princess, upon her departure for *England*. That she should nominate the king her brother among the guardians of the young prince, gave umbrage to the rigid republicans. The enemies to the house of *Orange*, some of whom were the leading men in the republic, resented highly her substituting the king of *England*, who, they said, would educate the prince in despotic principles, fill all the vacant offices in the towns dependant on the *Orange* family with his creatures, and sap the batteries they had been for years erecting in defence of public liberty. In a point of so vast importance, they thought themselves justified in exerting any means to ward off the danger, and striking, what they called, a blow of state. Accordingly they seized upon a strong box which the princess dowager left in her apartment, where they expected to find the clearest information of the intrigues carried on by the late prince, to establish his own sovereign authority, of the enterprise against *Amsterdam*, and the secret intercourse he was supposed to hold with divers members of the states general. *Charles* complained that the laws of nations had been grossly insulted by this action; he likewise alledged that his own dignity was affronted, by a violent attempt to extort the secrets of a sovereign family so nearly allied to him, and under the protection of the crown of *England*. To this the states of *Holland*, which had authorised the courts of justice to execute this affair, could make no reply, besides the interest they had in all that concerned the prince, and the authority that devolved on them, in consequence of the princess's departure. They found means, however, to shift off the restitution of the papers demanded, and to lodge them in the secretary's of-

The states of Holland seize upon the papers of the princess dowager.

¹ BASNAGE, p. 651.

rice. It is probable, that the occasion which the princess had for the assistance and countenance of the states, in her proposed journey to *France*, to procure restitution of the principality of *Orange*, made the king her brother insist less strenuously upon this point.

State of
Holland
with re-
spect to
France.

THE death of cardinal *Mazarin*, which happened soon after the arrival of the *Dutch* ambassadors sent to demand restitution of *Orange*, occasioned great changes in the court of *Lewis XIV.* That prince was now, for the first time, actually a king. Every thing was conducted under his immediate direction. He used the assistance of his ministers, but he did not suffer them to govern him, as the cardinal had done; and this he evinced by the sudden disgrace of *M. Fouquet*, which the *Dutch* ambassadors were in expectation would turn out to the advantage of the republic. He had always opposed the treaty of alliance and commerce between the two nations; but the views of *Colbert*, who succeeded, greatly disappointed the hopes of the states general. After this affair had been long agitated, the ambassadors were on the point of departing, without advancing an inch in the negotiation. They perceived that the new surintendant had formed vast projects for the extension of the *French* commerce, which was altogether inconsistent with the treaty they required; however, they found that the interest of *M. Leguier*, *Tellier*, and the mareschal *Villeroy*, might be able to procure their demands under certain modifications and restrictions. In effect, they persuaded the king, that it was for his interest to renew the ancient treaties and alliances with *Holland*; but *Colbert* guarded against their proving injurious to the commerce of the kingdom, and the design he had projected of raising the *French* marine to a respectable footing. The treaty of commerce imported, that all piracies should be checked, and the offenders punished; that the merchants of both nations should reciprocally trade to each others ports, upon paying a certain duty, without any distinction of commodities, except whale-oil. Great difficulties arose about the king's guarantying the herring-fishery, which the court knew would give umbrage to the *English*. *Lewis*, under pretence that he could not guarantee a contested claim without expressly declaring against one of the claimants, contented himself with general expressions; but the *Dutch* ambassadors, sensible that a general guarantee would be useless, made pressing instances that the conditions of the king's protection should be minutely specified. In the end, the treaty was
signed

signed upon this footing, but *Lewis* deferred the ratification^b. A. D. 1662.

No sooner had the republic secured her commerce against *Ruyter* the attacks of *French* pirates, by the treaty we have just mentioned, than she resolved to check the insolence of the *Algerines*, who had committed a variety of depredations on the high seas, confiscated the goods and shipping, and enslaved the subjects of the *United Provinces*, while the states and they were in profound peace with each other. For this purpose *de Ruyter* was dispatched to the *Mediterranean* with a powerful squadron. He fell in with a fleet of eight *Algerine* pirates, which he dispersed, after taking one, and sinking another. A violent storm, that arose in the middle of the engagement, prevented his destroying the whole squadron. It was upon this he received a challenge from the dey of *Algiers*, couched in the following terms :
 “ Sir, although we differ in religion, I am in hopes we shall
 “ agree with respect to the following proposition, and that
 “ you will be ready to grant the demand I hereby make:
 “ You have three times given me chace, and if I have
 “ avoided fighting, I desire you will not attribute it to a
 “ deficiency in courage, but to the inequality of my strength.
 “ Mine is only a small bark, your’s a large ship, and float-
 “ ing castle. It is for this reason I desire you will meet me
 “ upon equal terms, that we may prove our fortune and
 “ valour. If you conquer me, I shall be your slave ; but
 “ if fortune should be propitious to my endeavours, I shall
 “ rest satisfied with the glory of victory. Grant me this
 “ request, and if I prove backward, rank me among the
 “ number of timid spirits. Receive the compliments
 “ which I send you.” *Ruyter* accepted the challenge, and appointed the time and place for the engagement ; but he heard no more of the *Algerine* bravo. His constancy on this occasion inspired the *Turks* with the highest opinion of his courage and generosity. They wished to be friends with the man whom they equally dreaded and admired. The prince of *Tunis* immediately made concessions ; but the *Algerines* would have persisted in their defence, had their ships been any way proportioned to *de Ruyter*’s strength. This inequality alone obliged them to bend the neck, make apologies for their conduct, give security for their future behaviour, and enter upon the strictest engagements not to molest the *Dutch* commerce^c.

^b LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 305. BASNAGE, *ibid.* ^c *La vie de Ruyter*, p. 56.

EVERY foreign occurrence would seem to heal the divisions in the *United Provinces*; but this was only a temporary, not a radical cure. It suspended the animosity of the parties, but did not remove the cause of their mutual resentments, which gathered strength from their long continuance. The education of the prince became again the subject of vehement disputes between the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*. *Holland* insisted, that, by the *Roman* law, and the particular laws of the *Netherlands*, the tutelage of a nobleman, or young prince, rightly belonged to that sovereign power in whose obedience the father of the minor was at the time of his death. They affirmed, that *Zealand* had no pretensions, either by sovereign right, or testamentary election. The *Zealanders* replied, that the young prince of *Orange* was not to be regarded as a mere noble minor, subjected to certain laws, and chambers erected for factoring his estate; the prince's chief territories were situated in *Zealand*; it was therefore reasonable he should have his education under the direction of that province. This dispute begot other subjects of contention, which greatly disturbed all persons attached to the true interest of their country, though *de Wit* alone, whose influence was every day encreasing, laboured to apply the proper remedies. The dissensions were not confined to *Holland* and *Zealand*; they spread themselves to *Groningen* and *Utrecht*, and at last terminated in an altercation with the duke of *Newburgh*, which was soon compromised^d.

A. D. 1663. *Collusion between the king of France, and the pensionery de Wit.* *FRANCE* and *Holland* appear at this period to have been under the direction of the same spirit, and to have co-operated in precisely the same measures. There subsisted a thorough understanding between the pensionery *de Wit* and the count *d'Estrades*: the letters of the most christian king are full of acknowledgments of the services done him by the pensionery; and, speaking of the treaty in agitation between the crowns of *France* and *England*, he expressly declares, that nothing should be concluded in it contrary to the interest of the *United Provinces*. But this intimate union was neither formed nor continued without warm opposition and loud clamours. The *English* and *Spaniards* had each their faction in the states general, and both joined with the *Orange* family to distress *de Wit*, who was thus forced into a dependance on *France*, by which he triumphed for a time over all his adversaries. *Spain*, jealous of the growing power of *France*, laboured to form a federal

^d BASNAGE, p. 674.

union between the republic and the other ten provinces, for their mutual security. This *d'Estrades* traversed with all his address, and influence with the pensionery. In consequence *de Wit* drew up a counter-project, the apparent design of which was to graft a new republic upon the old, though the effect would probably have been to gain *France* possession of the *Ten Provinces*, without the trouble, hazard, or expence of a war (A). *Lewis*, however, was unwilling
to

(A) As this point is curious, entirely omitted by *Dutch* writers, and only mentioned by the *French*, we shall present the reader with an abstract of *de Wit's* project, which was to the following purpose. *First*, It was proposed, that endeavours should be used to prejudice the provinces under the dominion of *Spain*, in favour of a free republic; and that assurances should be given them of powerful succours from *France* and the republic. *Secondly*, That the revolution however should be effected by the voluntary consent of the inhabitants, and particularly the magistrates of the cities, and that for this reason no violence should be used, or arms introduced into the *Ten Spanish Provinces*, as it was the intention of *France* and the republic to maintain their treaties with *Spain*. But in case of the king of *Spain's* death, then the abovementioned provinces should be cantoned by force, if necessary, and formed into a free republic. *Thirdly*, That to secure the frontiers of the *United Provinces* against all foreign powers, all possible efforts should be used, in case the scheme for forming the *Ten Provinces* into a republic succeeded, to put into the hands of the most christian king the cities and

places of *Cambrai*, *St. Omer*, *Aix*, *Newport*, *Furnes*, *Bergues*, and *Linck*, with their depending lordships and counties: and into those of the states general of the *United Provinces*; the cities, towns, and places of *Ostend*, *Plassendal*, *Bruges*, *Damme*, *Blonquenbergue*, with that part of *Guelderland* now possessed by *Spain*, the four quarters of *Outremeuse*, and the castles of *Navaigne* and *Argentaer*, with their dependencies. *Fourthly*, That if the proposed scheme of cantonment should succeed, either voluntarily before the decease of the king of *Spain*, or by compulsion after his death, both sides should heartily labour that the said places be put into the possession of *France* and the states general respectively, as well for the considerations before alledged, as for several other reasons of importance to the common welfare and peace of both states.

The alterations made by the court of *France* in this project, had an eye to the succession of the *Spanish* monarchy, and seemed to foresee what happened many years after, when the partition-treaty and triple alliance were formed, to prevent the enormous growth of *France*, and preserve a just political ballance in *Europe*. Here the king al-

to be put off with the bare possibility of obtaining what he was now contriving to possess ; for this reason he continued the negotiation, but found a variety of pretences to avoid bringing it to an issue. When this could no longer be done, without exciting the jealousy of the states, he laid aside the mask and the project together^a.

*Causes of
a rupture
between
England
and the
United
Provinces.*

ALL this while Sir *George Downing*, the *English* ambassador, was supporting the negotiations of *Gamarra* the *Spanish* minister, to form the league of the *Seventeen Provinces*

^a D'ABLANCOURT's *Memoirs*, p. 162.

ready set aside the renunciation made by his queen of her right to the *Spanish* succession, calling it null and invalid, because extorted from her at *Fontarabia*, before she came to *France*. He, besides, accused *Spain* of a breach of contract, and the non-performance of several of the conditions stipulated between the two courts. He alledged that these truths were so well known in *Flanders*, that the principal inhabitants had jointly debated upon the means of defending themselves against the impending evils, and the more prudent had proposed, as the most effectual method, to canton themselves into a free republic, allied to *France* and the states general. The king, therefore, out of his great moderation, proposed, in case of the king of *Spain*'s death, to wave his just claims in *Flanders*, and be contented that the people, who ought naturally to be under his government, should become free, and allied to the lords the states general, under his majesty's protection, except only some places, which lay commodious to the king, for protecting the frontiers of his kingdom. To

this he desired the assent of the states general, and also their concurrence in preserving the treaties with *Spain*, during the life of the reigning monarch: and he further added, that, in case the succession of *Spain* devolved upon his queen, before the inhabitants had taken the resolution of forming themselves into a republic, that then his majesty should be at liberty to possess, for the greater security of his kingdom, such other places as might be thought necessary for the protection of his frontiers, besides those specified in the pensionery's proposal. Such was the ideal scheme planned by *M. de Wit* and the court of *France*; from which, however, both sides deduced no other consequences than those which publicly appeared. *England* got scent of those negotiations, and it proved one cause of the succeeding rupture between that kingdom and the *United Provinces*; for it was obvious that the execution of such a project would greatly extend the power of *France*, and prejudice the commerce of *Great Britain*. *Lettres d'Éstrades* March 22, 1663.

we have already mentioned ; but, incensed at the secret transactions between *de Wit* and *d' Estrades*, he had instructions to demand reparation of the injuries done by the subjects of the states to the *British* commerce. A variety of circumstances indeed contributed to bring on a rupture between the two nations, to which this remonstrance was a prelude. They were rivals in commerce, and open enemies in every emporium of trade on the face of the globe. Reciprocal injuries were committed by fraud and violence, and each in his turn became the aggressor. *Holland* had, it is true, left unperformed several of the articles of the treaty of peace made with *Cromwel* ; but *England* had ballanced these by similar neglects. One circumstance indeed highly reflected on the dignity of the *British* crown ; namely, that no satisfaction was yet made for the depredations on her commerce in *Asia*, or atonement for the massacre at *Amboyna*, except the unexecuted promise of a trifling sum of money. The *Dutch* contented themselves with penitential protestations on this head, by which even *Cromwel* had been duped, and prevailed on to with-hold punishment, when he had the whole nation at his mercy ; can we wonder if the inconstant, irresolute *Charles*, with all his natural penetration and good sense, which he never exerted, should be over-reached by their artifice ? The *Dutch*, perceiving the humour of the *English*, knew that the king would be forced into violent measures ; they therefore published a long charge against the *English East India* company, which likewise answered the purpose of an apology for their own conduct ; and this was answered by a paper, proving that the charge was a deliberate assemblage of frivolous pretences, and unjust and insolent demands, made without any regard to honour, truth, reason, or the law of nations. Lists of damages were mutually delivered, which both sides supported by several strong memorials. We have already specified these particulars in the history of the *East India* companies^f ; it will therefore be unnecessary to say any more here than that *Charles* declared to M. *Cuneas*, the *Dutch* resident in *London*, that he would receive no memorials from his hands, as he expected the states would send an ambassador in the manner promised by M. *Beverwert*, when he took his leave. His majesty, besides, laid a great restriction on trade, under pretence of a plague that raged in *Holland* ; and he considered it as a particular mark of his regard for *Amsterdam*, that he confined the usual time of

^f Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xvi.

performing quarantine to thirty days, instead of forty. The precaution would have been just, had the fact been true; but in any event it ought to have been extended to all the other maritime provinces as well as *Holland*, which, on this occasion, was singled out, in enmity to the pensionery, and the states of that province.

DOWNING, indeed, by his violent remonstrances to the states, and the partial accounts remitted to *England* every day, widened the breach between the two nations. He insisted in his memorials of restitution of two *India* ships, called the *Bonadventure*, and *Good Hope*, as likewise of several other *English* ships, rather as scaffolds than the building, as collateral circumstances, but not the main foundation of the proposed rupture. This is obvious, from that treaty concluded the preceding year between the two nations, in which not one of the forty-five articles of damages now presented, was contained. As to the *India* ships, the *English* were left, by agreement, to prosecute their claim, and 80,000 florins were deposited by the *Dutch* company, by way of indemnification, should the decision turn out favourable to their adversaries. The *Dutch* alleged, that the *English* greatly over-rated their damages, particularly with respect to the *India* ships. They complained that the demand was exorbitant; but this was only a part of the dispute. Perhaps the real grounds of the war are to be found in the natural interest of both parties in the *Guiney* trade, and the extension of their commerce in *America*. Sir *Robert Holmes* had been dispatched with a squadron to the coast of *Africa*, to assert the rights of *Great Britain*, and check the encroachments of the *Hollanders*. This he executed very effectually, by dispossessing them of *Cape Verd*, and *Cabo de Corso*; after which he proceeded in his voyage, and rendered himself master of *Nova Belgia*, since called *New York*. These hostilities the *Dutch* commissaries on the coast of *Guiney* resented, by detaining the *English* shipping and merchandise, in the ports belonging to the republic. These vessels and effects belonged to the new-established *Africa* company, of which the duke of *York* was governor. *Downing* exclaimed against the insult offered to the king and duke, instead of giving satisfaction for the hostilities which had occasioned this retaliation. It is for this reason we cannot join issue with the *English* historians, who are unanimous in throwing the whole odium of the war upon the states general. Had they attributed it to *Charles's* resentment of the unatoned barbarities committed in the *East Indies* upon *English* subjects,
their

their plea would have been passable; but to charge the *Dutch* with being the aggressors on the coast of *Guiney*, evidently proceeds from natural prejudice, and a superficial enquiry into the facts asserted by both parties, and uncontestibly proved by the *Hollanders* &c.

THE grievances of the *Dutch* were still greater on the side of *America*. *Hudson*, an *English* captain, had made a descent on the *Dutch* colonies, situated at the mouth of the river which now bears the name of that officer, towards the north side of the continent of *America*. This was in the reign of *James I.* From that time the claims of the *Dutch* and *English* were extremely intricate. The situation was too remote to admit of a clear state of the objects in dispute. Mutual hostilities passed, and each endeavoured, not only to support, but to extend, their settlements by force, fraud, and violence. *Holmes* attacked the *Dutch* by the king's authority, the *Dutch West India* company therefore carried their grievances before the states general; but before they could take any measures for redressing them, advice arrived that the *English* had landed on the island *Manhattan*, and had made themselves masters of the town of *New Amsterdam*. *Downing* not only supported this action, by affirming, it was a consequence of the insults offered to *British* commerce on the coast of *Guiney*; but he so warmly espoused the interests of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, with respect to the *Baltic* trade, that it was manifest no terms could be long preserved. By this means he had the address to involve the states in disputes with the *Northern* powers, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and even the *French* monarch, from whom *Sweden* received a subsidy. His conduct towards the house of *Orange* had inspired the elector with a personal animosity to the pensionery of *Holland*; the same cause had irritated the king of *England* against this minister; *de Wit*, therefore, conceived the only method of guarding against the impending blow, was to unite closely with *France*, and sacrifice trivial claims to the real and necessary protection of that powerful prince. The project with respect to the cantonment of the *Spanish Netherlands* was again renewed; and the occasion seemed natural, as the king of *Spain's* life was in great danger, and the infant labouring under an ardent fever. Matters proceeded so far that four deputies were sent from the *Ten Provinces*, to confer upon the subject with *M. de Wit*. At last, after several conferences and proposals, they were dismissed, without coming to any resolution.

Fresh intrigues with the court of France.

No sooner the project of forming a new republic vanished, than another was substituted. *De Wit* laboured to conclude a treaty of partition with *France*, whereby the house of *Austria* should be excluded the possession of the *Spanish Netherlands*, in case the emperor *Joseph* married the infanta of *Spain*. This was no other than a division of the provinces between *France* and the republic. But several difficulties arose in the execution. A mistake committed by *d'Estrades*, in decyphering a letter of instructions from his court, had almost broke off the negotiation. The ambassador insisted, that *Ghent* and *Mechlin* should be assigned to the king, by which means the frontiers of the republic would be exposed to his mercy; but the king cleared up this blunder, by affirming, that he had never demanded the latter, and that his minister had mistaken the former for *Cambray*. Now the greatest difficulty was, to engage the deputies of the towns in his design, and this the pensionery effected by a very extraordinary stroke of policy, which, at the same time, displays his knowledge of mankind, and the ignorance of the deputies. He insinuated to them his apprehensions lest the *Infidels* should, after conquering the empire, penetrate into the *Netherlands*, and establish a footing in the vicinage of the republic. The court of *France* laughed at the wildness of *M. de Wit's* project; but they were astonished when they perceived the effects, and that he drew from it the very consequence he proposed. He persuaded the deputies of the necessity of entering into a closer alliance with the king, whose power alone could stem the torrent of *Turkish* conquest, and protect the republic of *Holland*. To carry his point more clearly, under pretence of visiting his uncle, he made the tour of *Holland*, and conferred in person with all the magistrates, while *d'Estrades* was taking the same measures in some of the other provinces. A fortunate accident to promote his scheme happened at *Constantinople*, where the *Dutch* resident was arrested, because a *Dutch* ship, freighted by the grand signior to *Alexandria*, had fallen into the hands of the *Maltese*. *Warner*, the resident, was at length forced to pay the damages, upon which he was set at liberty. *De Wit* turned this circumstance to his advantage, and enflamed the people to such a degree, that the states laid an additional duty on all commodities from the *Levant*, until the losses of the resident should be indemnified. All the magistrates of the principal towns were now unanimously of opinion, that the republic ought to enter into the strictest ties with the *French* king. Some towns, however, opposed the scheme

of a partition of the *Netherlands*, from an apprehension that this must embarrass the republic with *Spain* and the emperor ^h.

WHILE things were in this train, the rumour of a treaty between *France* and *England*, and of an armament equipping by the former, said to be against the pontiff, excited jealousy in the states, and even alarmed the pensioner, lest *France* might have secret designs of becoming entirely master of the *Netherlands*. The *Spanish* minister at the *Hague* likewise propagated a report, that a treaty between *Spain*, *France*, and *England*, was likewise in agitation, which produced an extraordinary effect upon the minds of the people. To this we may add, the revival of the old disputes between the provinces of *Holland* and the states general, upon the variety of topics already mentioned. Both *de Wit* and the states began to apprehend, they might bewilder themselves in such a labyrinth of intrigues, as should incur the displeasure of all the other neighbouring powers, the emperor, the kings of *Spain* and *England*, while they could have no reliance upon the friendship of the *French* monarch. This determined the pensioner to act with more caution, and to cast about for the means of avoiding a rupture with *England*, until the republic was fortified by alliances, or at least secured against the resentment of *Spain*, and the empire. But this point was found impracticable. Hostilities had so long been pursued on the coast of *Africa*, and in *America*, that both nations were highly exasperated, and there appeared a necessity of terminating the quarrel by the sword. *Walchenberg*, director-general for the *Dutch East India* company, on the coast of *Guiney*, had imprudently, not only in the name of the company, but even of the states general, set forth a claim to the whole coast, and prohibited all other nations from settling in that quarter. The insolence of this order, extremely irritated the *English* in particular. The affair came before the parliament, and that body resolved, that the wrongs, injuries, and indignities, done to his majesty by the subjects of the *United Provinces*, by invading his rights in *India*, *Africa*, and *America*, and the damages done to the *English* commerce, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade; his majesty was therefore intreated to take speedy and effectual methods for redressing the grievances of the nation; the commons assuring him they would assist him with their lives and fortunes.

A. D.
1664.

† Lettres de comte d'Estrades, June 1744.

NOTWITH-

NOTWITHSTANDING the zeal of the *English* parliament, and the mutual resentment of the parties, it was still a doubt whether a rupture might ensue, as *de Wit* strenuously opposed the coming to extremities. The states however, determined to provide against the worst, and make the necessary preparations for war. The *East India* company offered to defend the settlements on the coast of *Africa*, at their own expence, on condition they were ceded to them in form. *D'Estrades* endeavoured to prevail on *de Wit*, and the leading personages, to embrace the proposal, as the most certain means of distressing the *English*, and putting the *African* trade on a respectable footing; but as *Ruyter* was now upon that coast with a squadron, the states were willing to be first acquainted with the success of his expedition. Meantime a squadron commanded by admiral *Opdam* put to sea, and cruised upon the *Flemish* shore, to watch the designs of the *British* fleets; but he could not put a stop to the depredations committed by prince *Rupert*, who, before war was declared, had taken above an hundred *Dutch* merchantmen, laden with wine and fruit from *Bordeaux*, and other *French* harbours. It was this circumstance that determined the states to send *Van Buiningen* in quality of ambassador to *France*, to implore a more effectual mediation, than the king's promised guarantee, and to signify, that *de Ruyter* had been sent to the coast of *America*, not to attack the ships, forts, and settlements, of the *English*, but to protect the *Dutch* trade, and regain the losses of the *Dutch* merchants; an artifice which served only to exasperate the *English*, who now regarded the whole conduct of the states as insidious and designing. In the beginning of the year, they had invited *Charles* to act in concert with them, against the *Algerines*. The king complied, and a squadron was sent to the *Mediterranean* to join the *Dutch*. On the meeting of the squadrons, some difference arose about the honours of the sea; *Ruyter* complained that he was affronted; *Lawson*, the *English* admiral, denied it; but the *Dutchman*, under this pretext, parted company, sailed for the coast of *Africa*, and reduced all the places lately taken by the *English*, except the fortification at *Cape Coast*. He besides battered and seized upon fort *Cormantin*, which had always been an *English* settlement. He also seized upon eight *English* merchantmen just arrived, and appropriated their cargoes to the *West India* company. To render their treacherous schemes still more unsuspected, they came to a resolution of communicating to the court of *London* their intention,

of

of sending a small squadron to the coast of *America*, such as could afford no apprehension that they proposed acting offensively. This, at least, is the charge of the *English* historians; and indeed it must be confessed, that the conduct of the states was extremely ambiguous; but whether from necessity, irresolution, or design, we cannot pretend to determine¹.

WHILE *Europe* was in suspense about the issue of the intrigues carried on in *France*, *England*, *Spain* and *Holland*, the *Dutch*, upon the eve of a war with their great rival in commerce, were disturbed by some alarms from *Denmark*, the empire, and the busy restless bishop of *Munster*. The *Danes* complained that the *Hollanders* had monopolized the trade of *Africa*; and every measure which might accelerate and insure the ruin of the republic was eagerly embraced by the court of *London*. It was artfully insinuated at *Copenhagen*, that the states proposed excluding all other nations from any communication with the coast of *Guiney*; the court of *Vienna* was reminded of the injuries and oppressions sustained by the subjects of the empire, of the enterprising disposition of the *Dutch*, and their tyranny over all the petty neighbouring princes; and the bishop of *Munster* was taught, that now the opportunity offered of revenging himself upon a republic, whose meddling policy had obstructed the accomplishment of his favourite projects. The *Danes* however were awed by the importance of the *Dutch* trade to his dominions, and the revenue arising from the duties they paid in the *Sound*; the emperor's whole attention was employed on the means of repulsing the infidels; he even went so far as to propose an alliance to the states general, which they rejected, from an apprehension it might give umbrage to the *French* monarch. As to the bishop of *Munster*, *Downing* the *English* minister found him more ready to listen to his projects. This prelate was now engaged in a controversy about some lands, with the prince of *Lichtenstein*. The process was determined in his favour by the imperial chamber at *Spires*; and believing it necessary to profit by this award, the bishop used force, and thereby incurred the displeasure of the states general. He surprised fort *Eydeler*, garrisoned it, and repaired the fortifications. Alarmed at this proceeding, the states complained that their frontier was in danger; and the bishop replied, that the republic had no right to the fort, as her borders were sufficiently guarded by other fortifications. *France* and *Spain* wanted to accom-

Dispute
with the
bishop of
Munster.

¹ BASNAGE, p. 723.

moderate the difference, and offered their mediation ; but the bishop rejected their offers, relying upon the protection of the emperor, who declared he would suffer no violence to be done the prelate, and the approaching war between *England* and *Holland*, which he foresaw would give sufficient employment to the states general.

INCENSED at the interposition of the emperor, and his evident partiality in favour of the bishop, the states presented spirited remonstrances to the court of *Vienna*, and shewed the necessity they were under of securing the frontiers of the republic, keeping at a distance so enterprising a neighbour as the bishop, and depriving him of his late acquisition. As this produced no effect, they wrote to the bishop, that unless he immediately withdrew his troops, they would march a body of forces to invest *Eydeler*. The firmness of the states staggered the resolution of the bishop ; he now dispatched an envoy to the *Hague*, begun a negotiation, and had the address to prevail on the states to recall the prince of *Nassau*, who was laying siege to the fort. However, the conferences were broke off, the war renewed, and the prince of *Nassau* sent with an army to lay siege to *Wilderskans*, a strong place, before which he died of a putrid fever. We shall have occasion to relate the progress of the war in its proper place^k.

A. D. 1665. *The situation of the republic at the commencement of the war with England.* THE situation of the republic was now critical. She was engaged in actual war, with a bold, restless, ambitious priest, protected by the emperor, and upon the verge of a rupture with *England*, the most powerful maritime power in *Europe*. The king of *England*, instigated by his brother the duke of *York*, who never forgot the usage he received at the *Hague* during his exile, and was besides inflamed with a violent desire of signalizing himself against a republic he mortally hated, had now determined to keep no terms with *Holland*, and to terminate the differences of the two nations by the sword. Mutual animosity rather than interest actuated both parties. Battles fought on land generally brought some advantage, and acquisition of territory to the victor ; but the naval engagements which now cost such seas of blood, produced nothing but glory, and terminated wholly in twining laurels round the temples of a few general officers. Every superiority gained, was dearly purchased ; and it answered no other purpose, besides the destruction of a greater number of the human species, the sinking, burning, and blowing up of vessels, which had been built at the ex-

^k Id. *ibid.*

pence of oppressive taxes upon the subjects. The commerce, even of the conqueror, must suffer irreparably, where the powers at war are upon a nearly equal footing in strength; and it may be questioned, whether the worst peace between trading nations, be not preferable to the most successful war. The states were sensible of this truth, perhaps too late; and after the mutual hostilities committed, had fired both nations to a degree of resentment, not to be appeased, but by repeated trials of skill and fortune. The prodigality of the king of *England* likewise urged him upon this expedient; from the supplies which might necessarily be granted for the prosecution of the war, he foresaw he should be able to withhold considerable sums for the support of his pleasures. Besides, that prince had a taste for ship-building, and a passion for equipping such an armament as should give law to all the maritime powers of *Europe*.

NOTWITHSTANDING these obstacles, the states solicited the mediation of *France*, by means of *Van Buiningen*, whose vivacity, genius and oratory, began now to give him distinction, and raise his reputation high in the esteem of *Lewis*. The *French* king seemed to yield to the intreaties of the *Dutchman*, at the very time it was suspected he was supplying his brother the king of *England* with money to maintain the war which now appeared inevitable. Another circumstance likewise contributed to render the situation of the republic, with respect to *France*, very dubious. Several *French* ships, under various pretences, had been detained in the ports of *Holland*; particularly five large vessels bought up for the service of the *East India* company. These the *Dutch* fitted out for the use of their own company; they were reclaimed by *d'Estrade*, in divers fruitless memorials¹; but the states alledged, that the embargo which the approaching war with *England* rendered necessary, ought to extend to the shipping of all foreigners. Nothing can be more ambiguous than this conduct: the *Dutch* were soliciting the friendship of *France* publicly by their ambassador, they were imploring his mediation between them and the king of *England*, and yet they were privately taking such measures, as they ought to know must have confirmed *France* in the interest of their enemies. Such unsteadiness can only be accounted for, by the little harmony that subsisted among the different departments of the republic, and the factions supported by *de Wit* on the one hand, and the friends

¹ WICQUEFORT, Hist. p. 15. Lettres d'Estrades, du 23, m. 1665.

of the house of *Orange* on the other. That minister was fixed in the interest of *Lewis*, while the opposite party wavered between their respect for *England*, and the necessity of keeping upon fair terms with *France*, at the same time that they secretly obstructed the designs and projects of the pensioner. This explains the detention of the shipping; a measure merely calculated to traverse *de Wit*'s schemes. The nation in general had no opinion of the sincerity of *France*; they complained, that *Lewis* only watched an opportunity of seizing upon the *Netherlands*, and to gratify his indignation, and stop the cravings of his ambition, they joined issue with *de Wit* about restoring the shipping; which they did in terms the most honourable and submissive.^m

Differences with the court of France.

NOR was this the only difference between the king and the republic. The dispute about the shipping was no obstacle to the negotiations of *Buiningen*, who kept his majesty steady in the overtures to *England*, of his mediation. However, the ambassador, by express order of the states, had given such a turn to affairs as highly displeased *Lewis*. While they pretended to relax in numberless points, they closely adhered in fact, to their old terms, which obliged the king to complain in the most lively manner, that they trifled with him, by offering to *England* conditions which that court had frequently before rejected; that, in the present state of affairs, he could not afford the least hope of accommodation, and that, if some proposals were not made relative to the future settlement of trade, he should have reason to suspect their designs were to engross the whole commerce of the world. This did not move the resolution of the states; they knew it was *Lewis*'s interest to support the *Louvestein* faction against the prince of *Orange*, who naturally claimed the protection of his uncle the king of *England*; and in fact, notwithstanding the firmness of the states, and the many causes of displeasure they had given, *Lewis*, strongly inclined in favour of the pensioner, and particularly respected the creature of that minister, *Van Buiningen*. Yet he was apprehensive of declaring against *Charles*, lest he should throw himself into the arms of *Spain*, whither that prince had now dispatched an ambassador. To gain time, this politic monarch sent the duke *de Verneuil*, at the head of a splendid embassy to *London*, with further orders of mediating a pacification; and the duke continued at that court for several months, though his conferences proved fruitless. The truth is, he found that the republic had not

^m Lettres de comte d'Estades, p. 1665.

prepared a sufficient fleet to oppose the *English*; he had been misinformed as to the strength of the *Dutch* naval armament, and had strongly recommended a defensive war, and keeping close in their harbours. It was matter of astonishment to him, to find that the states had actually in commission a fleet of three hundred men of war, besides traders, yachts, and fireships, manned with twenty thousand seamen. The low condition of his own marine, when compared with that of *Holland*, made him now regard the republic with more respect. To find that such an armament should be equipped without any noise, or extraordinary means, could not fail to inspire him with sublime notions of her formidable naval power, and the vast extent of her commerceⁿ.

WHILE the *French* king was thus ballancing between *England* and *Holland*, the duke of *York* set sail in the month of *May*, and cruised for fifteen days before the *Texel*, during which time he took a great number of the enemy's ships, homeward bound, before the *Dutch* fleet had assembled. On the duke's return to *Harwich*, the fleets of *Holland* and *Zealand* joined; but they were dispersed by a storm, and several ships forced into the *English* ports. Again they rendezvoused at the mouth of the *Meuse*, to the number of one hundred and twenty sail, exclusive of fire-ships, ketches, &c. under the command of admirals *Opdam*, *Evertzen*, *Cartemaar*, and *Van Tromp*, son to the celebrated *Tromp*, who had lost his life in the last war. The utmost resolution and spirit appeared in all the officers and seamen, all emulous of the opportunity of signalizing themselves, and of recovering the lost honour of the republic; for such they deemed the humble supplications made to the usurper *Cromwel*. The pensioner himself went on board the fleet to acquaint the officers with promises of rewards, and he accompanied it in a yacht for two leagues to sea, where he delivered the order of the states to fight the *English* at all hazards. *Opdam*, in compliance with his instructions, proceeded in quest of the enemy; but the wind blowing in such a manner as to give the *English* the weather-gage, he chose rather to deviate from the orders of the states, and bear away for the *Meuse*, than risk a defeat by fighting under a disadvantage. His conduct incensed the pensioner, whose interest now predominated in the republic. *De Wit* had resolved to hazard an engagement, knowing that even a defeat would induce *France* to declare for the states; he

ⁿ BASNAGE, p. 742.

therefore

The Dutch fleet is defeated by the English.

therefore obtained an order, requiring *Opdam*, under pain of death, to seek out the enemy and give battle. The admiral was piqued at instructions that strongly reflected on his courage. He perceived the orders had been dictated by *de Wit*, who had become his enemy on account of his attachment to the house of *Orange*, and resolved to take a glorious revenge, by faithfully discharging his duty, and demonstrating the injustice of the aspersion, and the prejudices of the pensioner. With this view he weighed anchor on the third day of *April*, and in a few hours fell in with the *English* fleet, of equal force, and under the conduct of the duke of *York*, the earl of *Sandwich*, sir *George Ascough*, and the admirals *Pen* and *Lawson*, who had so eminently distinguished themselves under the protectorate. The fleets met between *Yarmouth* and *Harwich*; the engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides maintained it with their usual intrepidity, conduct, and animosity. *Opdam* is blamed for suffering the *English* to gain the weather-gage, but unjustly; circumstances would not suffer it should be otherwise, and yet he was under the necessity of fighting. He called a council of war, laid his own opinion before the officers, and shewed them his instructions. “We must, says he, pluck laurel or the cypress; there is no alternative.” He would even seem to have some foreboding of the unfortunate event, for he sent all the money back to *Holland* immediately upon his clearing for battle. Never was a sea-fight more confused or terrible; scarce a ship kept to its proper station, yet all were deeply engaged. Both admirals committed egregious blunders, which they endeavoured to regain by valour. The duke and *Opdam*, by a reciprocal mistake, fought ship to ship with the most desperate firing. Three persons of quality were killed by the side of the duke of *York*, and his cloaths covered over with their blood; and soon after admiral *Opdam*, with a great number of volunteers of distinction, were blown up into the air, and crumbled into ashes. Above six hundred men perished by this accident, which arose from a spark of fire falling into the powder room. His flag was hoisted by *Cartemaer*, who was soon killed by a cannon ball, that carried away his leg. Still, however, the battle raged with doubtful event, and it is probable the night would have separated the combatants, had not several *Dutch* captains withdrawn themselves. They had been promoted, by the interest of the prevailing faction, as spies on the conduct of *Opdam*, without any regard to merit. Many were deficient in ability, and some in courage. The enemy, flushed by
their

their negligence, and pushed with redoubled vigour the ships that continued in the line. *Evertzen*, and even *Tromp*, defended themselves with the utmost obstinacy; but the former was obliged to shift his flag, and have his ship towed away. This circumstance, and the destruction of several of the ships, either devoured by the flames, or swallowed up by the ocean, first introduced confusion, which was succeeded by an unusual despondency: in a word, the *Dutch* were defeated with the loss of eighteen ships, either sunk, burnt, or blown up in the action, with near six thousand mariners, besides two of the best admirals in *Holland*. *Van Tromp*, however, made an admirable retreat, and by his valour, and the skill of his disposition, prevented the enemy from pursuing a victory they had purchased with the loss of the brave admiral *Lawson*, two thousand seamen, and seven capital ships. °

Admiral *Evertzen* was the first who brought the report of this defeat to the *Brille*, where the people were so exasperated as to attempt his life, though they had every reason to approve his conduct. It was with the utmost difficulty he could pass under cover of the night to the *Hague*, to lay the situation of affairs before the states: his narrative overwhelmed them with consternation. The *Orange* party demanded an immediate peace with *England*, and the elevation of the prince of *Orange* to the stadtholdership. *M. de Wit* was greatly disappointed in his sanguine hopes of victory. However, he supported his opinions with a resolution, that shewed he was prepared for the worst that could happen. He did not, nevertheless, openly oppose the faction; but he answered their demands, by affirming, that now was the time to expect the open declaration of the *French* king. He procured an immediate order for *Van Tromp* to keep the sea, with the remains of the fleet, in order to diminish the glory of the conquerors, sustain the reputation of the republic, and persuade the people that the defeat was less decisive than the enemies of the government had reported. Three deputies were accordingly sent to *Tromp*; but he refused to run further hazards with officers, in whose skill, courage, or fidelity, he could have no dependance. Upon this several captains were tried for cowardice and neglect of duty; three were shot, four had their swords ignominiously broken over their heads by the common hangman, two were superseded and declared incapable

° Id. *ibid.* SMOLLET, *Hist. Eng.* book vii. c. i.

of service, and the chief pilot was sentenced to walk under a gibbet with a rope about his neck, after which he was banished.

By these rigid and just punishments the states gratified the officers of merit, answered the public expectation, and inspired the seamen with a spirit of emulation, a dread of the consequences of neglect, and with respect for the officers promoted in the room of the delinquents. The utmost expedition was used in repairing the fleet, as it was known that the enemy lay in wait for *de Ruyter*, daily expected from the coast of *Africa*, with his greatly inferior squadron. The armament was manned with little difficulty, but it was no easy matter to fix upon an admiral every way unexceptionable. *Van Tromp* had skill, courage, and popularity; he was exceedingly beloved by the seamen, but he had disobeyed the deputies sent with orders from the states. He was besides attached to the house of *Orange*, which by rendering him suspected by the pensioner, proved a great obstacle to his elevation. It was not, however, upon this occasion only that *de Wit* subjected his private resentments to the public good; he had often raised merit without respect to party, though where an equality appeared in candidates of opposite principles, he gave the preference to the friend of his own faction. *Van Tromp* was now without a rival in talents, and he was set at the head of the navy until the arrival of *de Ruyter*, an old officer, of at least equal merit, equally beloved by the nation, and particularly esteemed by the pensioner. In this post he had not continued long, when *Ruyter* arrived, after having happily escaped under cover of a thick fog. He was no sooner arrived in the port of *Delfzil*, in *Groningen*, than the sailors mutinied, insisting upon being set on shore and disbanded, before any orders came from the states. They were disgusted with the toilsome, tedious and sickly voyage; they dreaded being immediately again sent to encounter with fatigue and danger, and they pretended they were told that the *English* had used their prisoners, after their late defeat, with great barbarity. At length the confidence, which the admiral reposed in their honour, the leave he gave them to visit their friends upon their promise to return on the first notice, secured them in his interest so strongly, that not an individual deserted.

THE safe arrival of *de Ruyter's* squadron diffused the utmost satisfaction and spirits; it was particularly agreeable to the pensioner, whose intention was to give him the chief command of the armament now equipping, and to raise him

to the rank of lieutenant admiral general. The council of state made the proposal to the states of *Holland*, who immediately accepted it, ordering *de Ruyter* to take the oaths, receive his commission, and enter upon his employment. *Tromp* complained of the preference given to his rival, and refused to serve in a subordinate capacity ; but the states sent orders for the fleet to sail immediately to sea, for *Tromp* to keep the station appointed him, and denounced vengeance against the least opposition to their will, being determined to pursue the general good, without regarding the humours of party, and of disappointed ambition. So impatient was *de Wit* for the departure of the fleet, that to accelerate matters he accompanied the other deputies on board, though he exposed thereby his fortune and character to the censure of his enemies, who did not fail to make a handle of his desertion of his proper business on so critical an occasion. The *French* king was alarmed at so unprecedented a measure ; and his own party imagining he intended serving in the expedition, being left without a head, sunk into despondency. His friends applied to him, and *M. de Wit's* answer plainly indicated what were his resolutions. He resolved to hazard his life, and replied, “ My person and my
“ interest are inseparable from the preservation of the state ;
“ a second naval engagement will determine the fate of
“ my country. *Tromp* has ability and courage ; but he
“ may be wanting in obedience to the orders of his superior,
“ and in experience to conduct an important action.
“ The impetuosity and ardor of the officers may blind their
“ judgment and occasion the loss of the fairest opportunities,
“ and those rivalships may generate divisions ; I therefore
“ think my honour, my conscience, and my duty to
“ my country, require that I should prevent the fatal consequences
“ either of too much pride, or too much valour.”

DE WIT's inflexibility raised a universal clamour ; he was accused of having brought the republic into the most imminent danger, and then deserting the helm, at the moment his steadiness and ability were most required. At *Paris* it was believed, that he took this step to avoid the persecution of his enemies. The clergy in *Holland*, always attached to the house of *Orange*, declaimed violently from the pulpit against the administration, and the states were under the necessity of prohibiting them to meddle with public affairs : however they still persisted, and some of them were suspended by authority. As an addition to the calamities of the state, a mutiny broke out among the

sailors, which could only be appeased by violent remedies; and the execution of the ringleaders. Afterwards the fleet was detained by adverse winds, shallow water, and other accidents, while the king of *England* was meditating a project, the success of which must deeply affect the commerce of *Holland*, and strike at the being of the republic. A vast fleet of *East India* and *Turkey* merchantmen, having sailed north-about to avoid the *English* cruizers, put into *Bergen* in *Norway*, where they proposed laying until *de Ruyter* should conduct them to *Holland*. It was proposed to the king of *Denmark*, by the *English* envoy at *Copenhagen*, that he should seize upon that rich fleet, by way of indemnification of his losses in the *Swedish* war, in which the *Dutch* had involved him. The *Northern* monarch could not withstand the powerful temptation; but he told the envoy, that though he thought the measure highly prudent and convenient, he was in no condition to execute so important an enterprise. This was directly his language to the *Dutch* some years before, when they advised the seizure of the *English* merchantmen put into *Copenhagen*, to avoid their squadrons. It was giving the envoy an opportunity of making offers of the king of *England's* assistance, which he did not fail to embrace; upon this the bargain was concluded, on condition that the prize should be equally divided. Lord *Sandwich* had orders to sail immediately to *Norway* to execute the project; but he contented himself with dispatching part of the fleet, under an inferior officer, who attacked the *Dutch* with great impetuosity. As the governor of *Bergen* had not yet received orders to join the *English*, or even remain passive, he thought himself bound by the laws of nations, to protect a fleet, that had taken shelter in a neutral port; accordingly he joined the *Hollanders*, and gave so warm a reception to the *English* admiral, as forced him, with considerable damage, to abandon the enterprise; both kings reaping only the dishonour of so base a compact.

SCARCE had the count *d'Alefeldt* delivered the *Dutch* merchants from the hands of the *English*, when he put them in equal danger, by the demand of a large sum of money, by way of indemnification of the damage his *Danish* majesty sustained upon their account. This unjust claim, he was preparing to enforce by violent measures, when, fortunately, *de Ruyter* arrived, and took them under his protection; upon which the whole fleet set sail for *Holland*.

Holland. In the voyage they were overtaken by a violent storm, dispersed, shattered, and some of the ships thrown into the hands of the *English*, the remainder arriving in a wretched plight, in different parts of the *United Provinces*. The utmost expedition was used, in collecting and repairing the ships, so that in a short time a more powerful squadron than the former put to sea, under the same commanders, and with much the same fortune. A storm arose more furious than before, and drove the admiral back into port with his shattered armament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the elements seemed combined against the republic, the states, encouraged by *de Wit*, resolved upon one more effort, for fear the *English*, who had suffered in the same tempest, should have time to refit, or before they could be enriched by captures, and the spoils of the *Dutch* commerce. The vigilance and activity of the pensioner met with the thanks of the states; he was the actuating spring of every motion, and laboured now with the utmost diligence to strike some decisive blow, which might at the same time silence the clamours of his enemies, and oblige the enemy to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation. It must, however, be confessed, that the terrible plague which was at this time desolating the capital of *Great Britain*, contributed more to the security of *Holland*, than all the endeavours of the states and *M. de Wit*. This dreadful calamity, together with the natural indolence of the king's disposition, damped the spirit of the *English*, enfeebled every resolution, and infused a languor into the councils of that nation.

WHILE the third expedition was preparing, the states general proposed revoking the commission granted to the deputies *de Wit*, *Huygen*, and *Boreel*, to attend the armament, which they believed dispirited the officers, and rendered men who had not studied the art of war, the chief directors of military operations. This was opposed by the states of *Holland*, who not only refused to comply with the states general, but confirmed and enlarged the former powers of the deputies: however, as the winter was far advanced, the pensioner resigned his naval employment. *Ruyter* was recompensed for his services, with a present from the admiralty of *Amsterdam*, and invited to sit as president of that college, until the season permitted his putting to sea.

ALL this time the king of *France* kept aloof. He apprehended, lest *de Wit's* party should, in his absence, be

forced to sink under the weight and popularity of the opposite faction, now greatly strengthened by the pensioner's quitting his civil employment, to act in a military capacity. *Van Buiningen* plied his majesty closely, and endeavoured by every artifice to draw *France* into the quarrel; but could obtain only general assurances, until the arrival of *M. de Vaal* from *Bergen*, when he ordered his ambassador to declare to the states, that he was determined to keep up to the conditions of the promised guarantee. To give this declaration the stronger air of sincerity, the ambassador presented to the states a memorial drawn up by his court, respecting the operations of war, should it be found necessary to come to an absolute rupture with *England*. Here it was examined whether the war ought to be pushed with vigour, and determined by general battles, or spun out, in order to tire the *English* nation, and rouse the clamours of the people against the government. *Lewis* hoped, he said, to become master in the *Mediterranean*, with a fleet of twelve *French* men of war, joined by an equal number of the ships of the republic. He proposed blocking up *Tangier*, now annexed to the crown of *England*, by the king's marriage with the infanta of *Portugal*, and thereby to disturb and annoy the *British* trade to the *Levant*. As to the grand fleets, *Lewis* proposed maintaining a squadron of thirty two capital men of war, to act in conjunction with the *Dutch* fleet, which he expected should at least be as numerous as it was before he entered into a treaty of alliance with the republic. A variety of schemes were likewise proposed for distressing the common enemy, though in fact *Lewis* had not yet finally resolved to break with *England*, and was actually mediating a pacification, by which he hoped to obtain greater advantages, than if he came to extremities, and forced *Charles* into a union with *Spain*.

IN this fluctuating situation was *France*, upon the return of *M. de Wit*, and his resuming the employment of pensioner. It soon appeared what the presence of one great man can effect in a state, whose councils are languid and distracted, by opposite opinions and interests. The pensioner no sooner arrived at the *Hague*, than the face of affairs were changed, and fresh vigour and spirit re-animated every department of the republic. The murmurs of party were silenced, and all joined in admiring the activity, the wisdom, the policy, and the sagacity of the pensioner, who now was deemed the life and soul of the states.

states. The enemies of the republic were multiplying, but her resources and strength seemed likewise augmented, by the ardour inspired by *de Wit*, who made sure that his return would engage *France* openly to declare against *Great Britain*. *Van Galen*, bishop of *Munster*, excited by ambition, and engaged by a considerable subsidy from *War with Charles the Second*, determined to pursuing his inflexible the bishop animosity to the states. This prelate perceived that the of Mun- whole attention of the provinces was employed in equip- her. ping a powerful naval armament, and that they had neglected repairing and garrisoning their strong holds, in order the more readily to man, and fit out their squadrons. In *Guelderland* and *Overyffel* the fortifications were totally neglected, and all consideration for so petty, though implacable an enemy, as the bishop of *Munster*, absorbed in the more important object of a vigorous defence against the powerful monarchy of *Great Britain*. *Van Galen* resolved either to profit by this conjuncture, or to lose his life in the attempt. With this view he made an irruption into the province of *Overyffel*, at the head of eight thousand men, seizing upon *Almelo* and other places, before any measures were concerted to stop his progress. *Berkelo* alone made any resistance. Here the commanding officer, after a vigorous defence, capitulated upon honourable conditions, which were little regarded by the bishop, who, as soon as he had it in his power, slaughtered in cold blood the soldiers and burghers, without distinction. Terror diffused itself through all the provinces, and the states of *Holland*, and the pensioner, laboured diligently to apply remedies to a disorder, observed when too late. New levies were made, a treaty struck up with the duke of *Lunenburg*, and instructions sent to *Van Buiningen*, to demand of the *French king*, the 6000 auxiliaries stipulated by treaty ^p.

EVERY day the bishop was increasing his strength, and acquiring fresh vigour by his successes. Not satisfied with ravaging *Overyffel*, he meditated an enterprise against the city of *Groningen*, the capital of a province of that name. Leaving a part of his army, to resist the forces raising by the dukes of *Lunenburg*, *Zell*, and the bishop of *Osnabrug*, he marched into the heart of *Groningen*, with intention first of surprising *Delfzil* in which the *English* promised to assist him; but a party of his troops being repulsed with loss, by a small corps formed out of the neighbour-

¹ BASNAGE, p. 675.

ing garrisons, defeated his design. However he proceeded, after ravaging the territory of *Drent*, to lay siege to *Groningen*, into which the princess of *Friseland* threw herself and family, to animate the garrison by her presence ; a resolution worthy of the daughter of prince *Frederic Henry* of *Orange*. She had sold her plate and jewels, to raise a sufficient body of men for the defence of the city, and took such vigorous measures, as retarded the operations of the enemy, and gave time for the *Dutch* forces, and the *French* auxiliaries, to come to her relief. In a word, her attachment to her country prevailed over maternal duty and affection, and she was the instrument of the safety of *Groningen*, expressly contrary to the commands of the princess of *Orange*, who wished to see the bishop successful, that the administration of the pensioner might become more odious. On the approach of the allied army, the bishop was forced to raise the siege, retire into winter-quarters, and defer his operations to the ensuing campaign.

A. D.
1666.

LEWIS's first step towards a declaration in favour of *Holland*, was the body of auxiliaries he had sent to check the aspiring views of the bishop of *Munster*. He now went farther, recalling his ambassadors from *England*, and taking every measure that portended an entire rupture with that nation. The suspense he was under which faction might prevail, and his high opinion of the wealth, and consequently the power, of the republic, occasioned his so long deferring his declaration. He feared driving king *Charles* into an union with *Spain* ; but he now was more apprehensive of the ruin of the republic, since the real state of affairs had been presented to him by the count *d'Estrades*, who demonstrated, that the strength of a commercial people was not always to be estimated by their wealth, as the king had always before imagined. It was immediately upon this, that he recalled his ambassador from *London*, and in the month of *January* declared war against *England*, though he never entered heartily into the quarrel, or supported his allies with the expected vigour and spirit. The states found means likewise to engage the king of *Denmark* in their interest, by virtue of a large subsidy, in consideration of which he obliged himself to maintain a fleet of thirty sail for their service. The judicious distribution of their money had indeed wrought a thorough change in their favour ; and the bishop of *Munster*, who had lately been so formidable an enemy, was now flying before the powers raised against him by the republic,

public. Little confidence however was placed in the doubtful conduct of *Lewis*, who seemed equally inclinable to serve the states, and avoid entering the lists with *Charles*. Friends and enemies in vain, looked out for the *French* fleet, to give the *English* battle, and join the *Dutch* squadron; but the admiral had the address never to be found, while his court was stipulating with the states about the command of an imaginary junction, and whether it should belong to *Beaufort* the king's admiral, or to the lieutenant admiral of *Holland*. The mode of operations were likewise disputed, and at last each determined to pursue their own particular views and interests, without regard to the common cause. It was the design of the *Hollanders* to come to a general engagement, to which *Lewis* was averse, lest his own infant marine might be destroyed, or the *English* power sustain such a blow as would give too great a naval superiority to the republic⁹.

WHEN the *Dutch* fleet was ready, *Ruyter* put to sea, in three divisions, assisted by the admirals *Evertzen*, *Tromp*, *Meppel*, *Nes*, and *Vries*, the whole fleet consisting of eighty-three capital men of war, besides the ketches, tenders, and fireships. To prevent confusion, each of these squadrons was subdivided under the conduct of an admiral, the signals were all agreed upon, and in this order they proceeded in quest of the enemy. As to the *English*, they were equal in number; but the duke of *York* declined taking the command, because his force would be unequal, should the *French* fleet join itself to the *Hollanders*. The command therefore was given to prince *Rupert*, and the duke of *Albemarle*, the same officer who had distinguished himself by the name of *Monk* in the last war. On advice that the *French* squadron approached, prince *Rupert* sailed, with twenty-five ships, in quest of the duke of *Beaufort*, who was said to be cruising off *Belleisle*, ready to enter the Channel. By this separation the advantage was greatly on the side of the *Hollanders*; however *Albemarle* bravely resolved upon giving battle, for which purpose he bore down upon *Ruyter* on the first day of *June*, with the advantage of the weather-gage. The *Dutch* admirals, no less eager to engage, slipped their cables, that they might be the more able to close with the enemy. Both sides were determined to exert their utmost valour; and, indeed, the event left it doubtful which had shewn the most skill, obstinacy, or conduct. The battle began with unparalleled fury, and was maintained with unexampled in-

Sea fight
between
the Dutch
and Eng-
lish, which
continued
for four
days.

⁹ Comte d'Estades Lettres.

trepidity.

trepidity. *Tromp* and *de Ruyter* were both forced to shift their flags, because their ships had sustained such damage as rendered them unfit for service. While Sir *William Berkeley*, an *English* admiral, sailed with his division into the midst of the *Dutch* fleet, where, after a gallant resistance, he was killed, and his ship taken; *Evertzen* was engaged in person with *Albemarle*, and after an obstinate engagement killed, just as two of his ships blew up. Several ships were sunk and destroyed on both sides; yet the battle raged with unremitting fury, until night parted the combatants, leaving the admirals on either side full of admiration of each others ability, intrepidity, and obstinate resistance.

NEXT day the weather proved more moderate, and the fight was renewed with redoubled violence. *Van Tromp*, as if the preceding engagement had only whetted his ardor, desperately crowded into the midst of the *English*, attacking with the utmost efforts of valour, guided by conduct; but his strength proving unequal, he was reduced to the last extremity, when *de Ruyter*, his mortal enemy, generously came up to his relief, rushed in among the enemy, and brought off his rival in glory and interest, with a dignity of mind that cannot be sufficiently applauded. By this time the *Dutch* were reinforced with sixteen ships, and the *English* shattered in such a manner, that not above thirty sail remained fit for action. This determined the duke of *Albemarle*, who, though in the vale of life, had fought with the fire and ardor of a youthful warrior, to make the best of his way for *England*, and leave the glory of victory to the *Dutch*, after he had shewn them how deserving their enemies were of the empire of the ocean. He drew off his fleet in the best order possible, and was closely pursued by *de Ruyter*, when a calm ensued that prevented the *Hollanders* from beginning a fresh attack.

NOT all the horrors of the battle, which was desperate beyond description, could discourage the *Dutch*; they determined to pursue the advantage obtained by their superiority, while the duke of *Albemarle*, calling a council of flag-officers, was, by their advice, disposing his fleet in a rear-line of battle, to make a fighting retreat. A breeze springing up about four next morning, *Ruyter* bore down a third time, and begun the action, when the duke discovered prince *Rupert* and his squadron to the southward, making all the sail in his power to come in for a share in the action. Immediately he hauled upon a wind to join this seasonable reinforcement, and baffled all the endeavours of *Ruyter* to prevent their junction, though with the loss of a first-rate,

commanded by admiral *Ayscough*, that had the misfortune to strike upon the *Gallopers Sands*, where she was surrounded, attacked, and taken, after a vigorous resistance. The endeavours of the several admirals to gain the advantage of the weather-gage by a variety of different motions, consumed the third day; but on the fourth the battle was again renewed with the same impetuosity as if all the ships had come fresh to the engagement. Four successive charges were sustained and given by both admirals, who, like *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, fought as if the one would not suffer a superior, or the other an equal; at last, a thick fog interposed, under cover of which the *English* retired, but with so formidable an appearance as gave them some title to dispute the victory, which the *Dutch* claimed. *Ruyter* twice broke the enemy's line in the last day's engagement, and obtained immortal honour. During the four days he took eleven great ships, and burnt or sunk an equal number. The slaughter on both sides was prodigious, and hardly a ship of either side escaped undamaged; in a word, it was the opinion of *de Wit*, who was no friend to the *English*, "That if they were defeated, their misfortune redounded more to their honour than all their former victories. No fleet but theirs, after the severe usage of the first day, would have continued an engagement for three successive days longer. *Englishmen* may be killed, *English* ships may be burned, but *English* courage is invincible." Such a testimony from an inveterate and judicious enemy, reflects real honour on the nation (A).

THOUGH,

^r SMOLLET, lib. vii. cap. i. p. 36. BASNAGE, p. 775.
D'ESTRADES Lettres, die 17 Juin, 1666.

(A) Though bonfires were made in *London*, and thanksgivings for the victory ordered to be observed in all the churches, candor must confess, that victory declared clearly on the side of *Holland*, though obtained with the most terrible carnage. Three admirals and seven captains were killed; above two thousand seamen were thrown dead into the sea, to clear the decks, and a greater number were wounded. They had no ships taken by the ene-

my, but seven were sunk, or otherwise destroyed, and the whole miserably shattered. *Ruyter* and *Van Tromp* had shifted their flags to six different ships; but the trophies which they earned were thought a full recompense of all the danger and labour they had undergone. Lord *Arlington*, the *English* secretary of state, in fact acknowledges that the king's fleet was defeated. In a letter to Sir *William Temple* he expresses himself thus: "Neither do I
" take

Another
engage-
ment.

THOUGH, in consequence of these bloody engagements, neither the *English* nor *Dutch* were able to keep the sea, both had vast resources; they exerted them to the utmost, and both fleets soon set sail as formidable as before. *De Ruyter* had orders to join the *French* squadron under the duke of *Beaufort*, who had artfully suffered the two great maritime powers to weaken each other, before he ventured to engage the king's squadron in the quarrel. Even the *English* themselves allow, that had he joined *de Ruyter* when he might, the victory must have been decisive, and the consequence fatal to the naval power of *Great Britain*, which however was by no means the intention of the most christian monarch. *De Wit* applied with his usual activity to repair the fleet, and the great object of the states was, to destroy the *English* shipping, in the docks and yards, in the river *Thames*. With this intention they set sail on the 10th of *July*; but some accounts received from *England*, and the ignorance of the pilots with respect to the soundings, obliged him to lay aside the enterprize. It was next proposed to make a descent on the coast of *England*, near *Harwich*; but all the places of debarkation were found so well lined with troops, that this scheme too was found impracticable, and a resolution formed to wait for the enemy, and decide the fortune of the war by another general engagement. By the 24th he fell in with the duke of *Albemarle* and prince *Rupert*, who commanded a fleet of one hundred sail, while *de Ruyter's* did not amount to eighty-two men of war and some fire-ships. Flushed by the late victory, the van advanced with too great impetuosity, and for a time the battle was maintained with equal zeal, emulation, and spirit; but *Evertzen*, brother to the admiral of that name, killed in the last engagement, was at length surrounded, overpowered, and defeated, by *Sir Thomas Allen*, vice-admiral of the white, with the loss of three inferior admirals, and dreadful slaughter of the sea-

“ take pleasure in repeating
“ any thing of this engage-
“ ment. This advantage, I
“ am sure, they had of us, that
“ they have carried home their
“ trophies; whereas we have
“ not one, what we took be-
“ ing all drowned or burnt.”
He might have added still
more indisputable proofs, tho’
this testimony from a minister

will alone appear sufficient. As
to what bishop *Burnet*, and
other writers alledge, of the
pensionery *de Wit's* being in
the engagement, it has no founda-
tion in truth. The pen-
sionery indeed visited the fleet
before it set sail; but the cla-
mours raised against his last ex-
pedition deterred him from re-
peating the experiment.

men,

men. *Van Tromp*, in the mean time, engaged and defeated Sir *Jeremy Smith*, admiral of the blue squadron ; but, pursuing the chace too eagerly, he was entirely cut off, and separated from the center, where the battle raged with unparalleled fury between *de Ruyter* and the duke of *Albemarle*. Here *Ruyter* sustained for three hours the utmost efforts of the whole *British* fleet, maintained the fight with seven ships only in the line, and at last yielded the victory, not until his men were so wounded, faint, and exhausted, as to be unable to work the ships, and keep up a continued regular fire. It was now only he made that signal to retreat, which was readily observed by all the fleet, which was saved from destruction by the seasonable calm that ensued. *De Ruyter's* disposition, however, was so excellent, as to deter the victors from pursuing, and indeed his conduct through the whole action was so cool, resolute, and determined, that even his defeat added lustre to his former glory. Had he been duly supported by *Tromp*, the victory would at least have proved doubtful.

Now the *English* crowded in pursuit of *Van Tromp*, who had been separated from the main fleet ever since that desperate effort, by which he broke through their line. They discovered him near *Harwich*, and attacked him with vigour ; but that gallant officer sustained the shock with such admirable firmness as foiled all attempts, and enabled him to retreat with little loss to the *Texel* ; notwithstanding which loud complaints were made by *Ruyter* to the states, that the loss of the battle was owing to his rashness and misconduct. The number of killed and wounded was very considerable on both sides ; some writers alledge, that the *Dutch* lost above two thousand men, besides three admirals. How warmly *Ruyter* had been engaged, we may judge from the loss on board his own ship, in which two hundred men were killed, and near an equal number wounded. Twelve captains were besides slain, and seven ships sunk and destroyed, but none taken. Upon the whole, we may judge of the certainty and value of the victory to the *English*, by its consequences. The *Dutch* took sanctuary in their ports, before which the enemy rode in triumph, terrifying their coasts, and interrupting their commerce. The late rejoicings of the states were turned into mourning ; and as the expectations of the populace are always sanguine upon every instance of prosperity, their clamours and discontents rise in proportion upon any change of fortune. To embarrass the government still more, the animosity between the two best admirals of the republic broke out with

Van
Tromp is
superfeded.

with redoubled violence; their resentments were now implacable, and their hatred mortal. The seamen likewise, entering into the quarrel of their commanders, formed two opposite factions, came to blows, and threatened the dissolution of the government. *Tromp* was supported by the house of *Orange*, and greatly beloved, on account of his generosity and valour, by all the seamen; yet had the states courage enough to supersede him, and prosecute his family for a paper they published in his justification, because it reflected on their conduct. The *French* king, however, did justice to his merit, by sending him the order of *St. Michael*, his picture finely set with diamonds, and a letter of compliment wrote with his own hand, testifying his sense of that gallant conduct which had brought off a small squadron of no more than eight ships, though furiously attacked by thirty ships of the enemy. It was, nevertheless, true, that his impetuosity in the beginning of the action had occasioned the succeeding misfortunes, though he now gloriously effaced that error. In his defence he says, “ I cannot suffer *de Ruyter*, actuated by envy and animosity, to stain my honour with so disagreeable a reflection, as to attribute the enemies success to my wilful misconduct. Errors I may have committed, but my private resentments shall ever yield to the interest of my country. The most glorious triumph I could wish over my rival would be, to approve myself worthy of his esteem and gratitude.”

MEANTIME *M. Buat*, a discarded domestic of the prince of *Orange*, had, by the instigation of lord *Arlington*, the *English* minister, entered into secret measures for concluding a peace, separating *France* from *Holland*, and restoring the prince of *Orange* to all the honours held by his ancestors. This plot was discovered by a blunder committed by *Buat*, who, instead of another letter, delivered lord *Arlington*'s to the pensionery. *De Wit* was astonished with the contents, which were afterwards confirmed by *Buat*, who was seized, imprisoned, and tortured. While he was upon the rack, he named above sixty accomplices, some of them the principal personages in *Holland*; but it was thought proper to wink at his information, and attribute it to the criminal's desire of saving his own life, many of the persons pointed out having great influence and popularity. In the end, *Buat* suffered upon a public scaffold, and the plot was suppressed.

* BASNAGE, *ibid*.

To

To fill up the measure of the calamities of the republic at this period, a detachment from the *English* fleet entered the road of *Vlie*, under Sir Robert Holmes, piloted by a *Dutch* skipper, and burned 140 merchantmen, two men of war, and a village on the coast (B), the whole damage being computed at six millions. It is the opinion of some writers that this enterprise formed a part of the conspiracy for which *Buat* was executed, but the conjecture is rejected by the best historians. The merchants on whom this immense loss fell, raised loud clamours against the government, and endeavoured to stir up the people to revolt. The *Orange* faction reared her head, and it was natural to expect that the republic, overwhelmed with such a torrent of misfortune, would now have humbled herself, and implored a pacification; but the spirit of *de Wit* was invincible, and the resources of his genius inexhaustible. He applied himself diligently to the means of quieting the seditions in the provinces, and the factions in the government, in order to prosecute the war with vigour. In this design he gained the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and paid little regard to the murmurs of the other provinces, as they contributed but little towards the public expence. He approved himself master of the art of governing parties, by a due attention to their passions and interests. By the proper and judicious distribution of a large sum of money, he appeased all the mutineers in the fleet, and the discontents among the seamen; while *d'Estrades*, the *French* minister, was no less successful in his practices upon the states. Had the court of *France* intended the destruction of the republic, as is intimated by some writers, it needed only to withdraw her countenance upon this occasion. The very existence of the states depended on the pleasure of *Lewis*; his sentiments determined the fortune of the whole nation. It was his policy, however, to preserve a rival to the maritime power of *England*: accordingly, the king no sooner received advice of the defeat of the *Dutch* fleet, and the dispirited condition of the government, than he determined to risque his infant naval force, the first and dearest child of his policy, reared by the hand of the sage *Colbert*. The duke *de Beaufort* now had express orders to join the *Dutch*

The English insult the coasts of Holland.

(B) This village was called *Brondaris*, in the island of *Schelling*, a rich, populous, and flourishing place, containing above a thousand families, all of

which were now reduced to extreme misery, their effects having either been pillaged, or consumed in the flames.

fleet,

fleet, and to act in the most vigorous manner against the common enemy. Accordingly, he returned to *Rochelle*, there to wait the proper opportunity of effecting a junction as soon as the allies of *France* should be ready to put to sea. M. *Bellefonte* was dispatched to the *Hague*, to concert with the pensionery and the count *d'Estades*, the most probable means of accomplishing this delicate and important measure, with the utmost safety and expedition; yet, after all, *de Wit* harboured suspicions of the *French* sincerity, and a warm altercation passed between him and M. *de Lionne*^t.

THESE disputes did not divert the pensioner's attention from the principal object. The fleet was refitted by his indefatigable diligence in an incredible short time. It put again to sea under *de Ruyter*, with instructions to cruise between the streights of *Dover* and the mouth of the river *Thames*, to watch every motion of the *English*, until it was certainly known in what manner the *French* king intended to dispose of the duke *de Beaufort's* squadron. *Ruyter* set sail on the 10th of *September*, and had no sooner arrived at his station, than prince *Rupert's* fleet was descried at a distance, bearing down full sail before a favourable gale. The *Dutch* writers alledge, that *de Ruyter* had thrown out the signal to engage, and his ships were clearing for that purpose, when the interposition of night, and abating of the wind, obliged prince *Rupert* to retire. Others go so far as to affirm, that his disposition disconcerted the prince, forced him to retire, and gave *Ruyter* an opportunity of clearing for several hours; the very contrary of which is reported by *English* historians. It is certain that a storm came on, which damaged both fleets considerably, and reduced the *Dutch* admiral to take shelter in *St. John's* road, near *Boulogne*. Here he was seized with a fever, and the whole fleet grew sickly; upon which the states sent orders for him to return to *Holland*. As to the duke of *Beaufort*, he sailed up the Channel as far as *Dieppe*, upon a supposition that the *Dutch* were still in the neighbourhood of *Boulogne*; and finding his mistake, directed his course to the coast of *Britanny*, where three ships in the rear of the squadron fell in with the *English*, maintained an obstinate engagement, and were defeated with the loss of one man of war.

It was upon the return of the fleet that the states resolved to send three deputies on board, with full powers to regulate the naval operations, with the assistance of a council of the principal officers. The provinces of *Zealand* and

^t WICQUEFORT, lib. 15.

Friseland, which were each to send a deputy, disapproved of the measure. This determined M. *de Wit*, nominated by *Holland*, to charge himself with the whole care and conduct of the armament. On his arrival he found *Ruyter* in so bad a state of health, that he was sent to *Amsterdam*, where he remained until the month of *September*. However, the fleet proceeded to sea, under admiral *Van Nes*, subject to *de Wit*'s orders, arrived on the coast of *England*, with intention to fight the enemy, and was a second time driven back by a furious tempest, which occasioned the *French* king to complain that his squadron was exposed to the mercy of the *English*. In fact, however, the *English* were incapable of embracing the opportunities that offered. A terrible fire had destroyed great part of the capital; public credit was affected; universal despondency seized the minds of the people, and all was fear, suspicion, distrust, and dissension, the ministry and the nation being divided among themselves. The conflagration, which had destroyed above six hundred streets, was supposed to be the effect of malicious design, and erroneously attributed to the Roman catholics and the republicans, as the stream of faction happened to be directed. Hence arose the jealousies and dissensions we have mentioned, which were augmented by the disturbances in *Scotland*, arising from the persecution of the presbyterians in that kingdom, and the decline of parliamentary complaisance for the king and ministry. This situation of the *British* nation was the great security of the republic. *Charles*, now tired of a war grown irksome to the nation, from which he had not reaped the proposed private advantages, made overtures of peace, and the king of *Sweden* offered his mediation. Yet still he kept in view the antient pretensions of his crown, and the indemnification required at the commencement of the rupture, for the damages done his trading subjects in *India*, and elsewhere. He demanded that the states should send their deputies to *London*, to adjust the preliminaries of a peace. Other marks of submission were besides required, which produced various opinions in the provinces. Some asserted that the advantages gained by *England* were not so considerable as to give them a right to dictate; while others thought those instances of an assumed superiority and pride, of too little consequence to obstruct a necessary accommodation. The states however declared, that they had no objection to the proposal of holding the congress at *London*, but the consideration for their allies the kings of *France* and *Denmark*, who refused to treat in any part of *England*. Several towns of *Holland* and *Zeland*

Proposals of peace made by the king of England.

were earnest for a congress, without regard to punctilios; but *de Wit* found means to secure the states, and exerted his utmost influence with the court of *France* to keep her firm in the alliance, and difficult with respect to the terms of negotiation. *Lewis*, however, had now sufficiently established his credit in *Holland*, and disappointed the extensive schemes of *England*. Growing jealous of lord *Sandwich's* negotiation at *Madrid*, and that an union between *Spain* and *Great Britain* might take place, he resolved to establish peace; and for this purpose not only recommended, but enjoined the states, not to be too delicate about formalities. Nor was this all; he permitted *Ruvigny* to correspond with the earl of *St. Albans*, to bring the court of *London* to the most pacific dispositions; with which view a letter was directed to that nobleman, in such terms as should excite the jealousy of the *Hollanders*. However, that the states might have no reason to tax the king of *France* with duplicity, the letter was first communicated to the pensioner, and he found it so general and ambiguous, that it was impossible to make objections. On receipt of *Ruvigny's* letter, the earl of *St. Albans* signified to the court of *France*, that his *Britannic* majesty was not averse to treating in a neutral place, provided *France* would preserve a neutrality. The *English* ministry took advantage of this clandestine correspondence to insinuate notions that his most christian majesty was treating without the participation of his allies. This alarmed the provinces in general, and especially the towns and cities of *Holland*, who cried out, that the republic was betrayed. To refute the report, and stop the torrent of abuse thrown out in *Holland* against the insidious conduct of his ministry, the king ordered the count *d'Estrades* to give the states the most solemn assurances of his resolution to adhere strictly to the terms of his alliance, tho' he was desirous of effecting a peace, in which he should chiefly have an eye to the good of the republic^a.

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In the mean time the king of *England*, as if perfectly satisfied with the apology made by the states for declining to open the congress in *London*, immediately veered round, and offered to treat of preliminaries at the *Hague*, where the ambassadors of the allies then resided. This motion gave the alarm to *M. de Wit* and the *French* party, who concluded that it must imply some deep and dangerous scheme, to divide the republic, and dissolve the confederacy. The pro-

^a BASNAGE, p. 779. SMOLLET, lib. ix. cap. i. CARTE'S life of the duke of Ormond, vol. ii.

posul immediately begot dissention, no less than four provinces taking the occasion of expressing their animosity to the pensioner. To oppose so growing and imminent an evil, the utmost address of the *French* and *Dutch* ministry were necessary. It was not thought adviseable to shew any suspicion of the king of *England's* design; a letter was therefore sent to him from the states, recommending the choice of *Maestricht*, *Boisleduc*, or *Breda*, for holding the congress, as more convenient and secure than the *Hague*, which being an open town, afforded no protection to the ministers of the different powers; that consequently, while those powers were at variance, they were exposed to a variety of fatal accidents, too many melancholy instances of which had already happened, in violation of justice, and defiance of government. They concluded with thanking his majesty for the honour intended them, which they were obliged to decline, for the considerations mentioned. To this letter from the states to the king of *England*, succeeded one from the *French* king to the states; in which he enlarges upon the danger, to a popular government, of admitting the ministers of an hostile prince, who would not fail to raise suspicions, foment divisions, and promote cabals, among a people equally open to the impressions of false and real suggestions. Afterwards he proceeds to recommend *Dover*, as a place not improper for carrying on the negotiation; though it appears, from Mr. *Lionne's* letter to *d'Estrades*, that the court was sensible that the proposal would not be relished in *England*.

It was plain, from the strange conduct of *Lewis*, that he must have farther designs than mere friendship to the states; and indeed the *Orange* faction began thus early to declare their suspicions, that he would approve himself more dangerous as an ally than he could as an open enemy. The pensioner was, perhaps, not blind to the motives of the *French* king; but he was now deeply engaged with that prince, and his countenance afforded the best support against the house of *Orange*, bent upon his ruin. It was visible indeed to all *Europe*, that the court of *France* was paving the way for the execution of their schemes upon *Flanders*. The emperor, who had a reversionary claim to this fine country, began likewise to think it his interest to interpose in the quarrel of the two maritime powers. In pursuance of this opinion, the baron *d'Isola* was dispatched to the court of *London*, under pretence of offering his imperial majesty's mediation; though it is probable the real business was to dissuade *Charles* from an accommodation, as *Lewis* would thereby have less leisure to pursue his ambitious projects. Some attribute to this consummate politician the proposal

H h 2

made

made by *Charles* of opening the congress at the *Hague*; and, indeed, he could not have formed a more effectual measure for keeping up the resentments of both nations, and frustrating the pacific intentions of the more moderate and prudent members of either state. The superficial politicians regarded it as the highest compliment ever paid to the states, to have the honour of bringing the ambassadors of the three greatest powers in *Europe* to treat of peace in the dominions of the republic; while the more discerning viewed the overture in a very different light. Even the first mention of the proposal set the provinces at variance; *Holland* and *Friesland* positively refusing to furnish their contingents, if it were rejected^a. At length *Breda* was fixed upon, all parties agreeing that the conferences should be opened in this city; and thither the several parties sent their plenipotentiaries.

Congress
at Breda.

THE first point debated at the congress was the restitution of the two *English* ships, which had partly given birth to the war; and of the island of *Paleron* in the *East Indies*, which had been first violently wrested from *England*, then restored by a subsequent treaty, and now retaken since the commencement of the present rupture. Upon this *Charles* insisted as an essential preliminary; but the *Dutch* deputies appearing determined in their refusal, he relaxed in the last article, and thought there would now occur so little difficulty, that he looked upon the peace as in a manner concluded. Full of these sentiments, and eager to appropriate to his own use the sums granted by parliament for the prosecution of the war, he ordered all his large ships to be laid up and unrigged, keeping only a small squadron of cruizers for the protection of the coasts. Of this precipitation *De Wit* resolved to make his advantage, retrieve his own reputation with the republic, and oblige *Charles* to make peace upon such conditions as should be thought requisite for the honour and security of the republic. While he cruised the preceding year upon the *English* coast, he had taken care to have the mouth of the *Thames* exactly sounded, with a view probably of pushing his way into that wealthy river, whenever an opportunity should offer.

The Dutch
enter the
river
Medway.

Now he determined to execute his project, and to attend the expedition in person. *France* disapproved his quitting the helm of state to direct warlike operations; and the arguments urged by *d'Estrades* prevailed on the pensioner to substitute his brother, *Cornelius De Wit*, in his room, to assist *De Ruyter* to regulate and determine his motions. The fleet set sail from the *Texel* in the beginning of *June*, and was hardly out of

^a Anst. supra citat.

fight

sight of the coast when it was driven back by a furious tempest, in which four transports filled with soldiers perished. When the storm abated, *Ruyter* again set sail with a fleet of fifty large ships, besides frigates and transports, steering directly for the river *Thames*, at the mouth of which he arrived on the tenth of *June*. He began his operations with reducing *Sheerness* fort, which he effected with little difficulty. Next he broke down a strong boom, laid across the mouth of the river *Medway*, and destroyed three guard-ships, moored within side for its protection. *M. De Ghent*, advancing in boats as far as *Rocheſter*, burnt and carried off a great number of small vessels, which rode in the river without apprehension of danger. *De Ruyter* cleared a passage through some vessels which had been sunk, by order of the duke of *Albemarle*, in the channel: then sailed up as far as *Upnor-castle*, which he took and demolished. His last exploit was the burning three ships of the line, in executing which he met with an obstinate resistance; and then he fell down the *Medway*, with intention of attempting the river *Thames* ^b.

THE sailors, who had escaped the conflagration at *Chatham*, spread the alarm through *London*, and filled that capital, not yet recovered from the dreadful devastation made by fire the preceding year, with consternation. Troops immediately filed off towards *Gravesend*, ships were sunk at *Woolwich* and *Blackwall*; platforms were raised in different places, and mounted with artillery; the train-bands were drawn out, and the city put into the best posture of defence that circumstances would admit. Yet it must be confessed, that, after all the preparations made, nothing could have prevented *De Ruyter* from pillaging and destroying the most flourishing city in *Europe*, besides the want of a sufficient number of boats, and of land-forces. Without these he found it impossible to succeed, and therefore set sail for *Portsmouth*, which he attempted in vain to reduce. Then he directed his course to *Torbay*, where he made prize of a great number of vessels, with which he proceeded to bombard *Plymouth*. This enterprize failing, he sailed up the Channel, insulted *Harwich*, gave chase to a squadron commanded by *Sir Edward Spragge*, once more entered the *Thames*, and overwhelmed the whole kingdom in terror and confusion: after which glorious exploits he returned to *Holland*, where he was presented by the states with a rich gold cup, upon which was engraved the actions at *Sheerness*, *Chatham*, and *Upnor-castle*. He made a kind of triumphal entry at *Dort*, amidst the acclamations of the people, the roar

^b Id. *ibid*.

of cannon, and the blaze of bonfires, attended by all the magistrates, and supported by the two oldest burgomasters. *De Wit* met with the same honours, and had besides the particular thanks of the states general. Nor was *M. Van Ghent*, the lieutenant-admiral, forgot. He had the thanks of the states, and a cup of gold, with his own exploits engraved round his arms.

Peace con-
cluded at
Breda.

THE kings of *England* and *France* equally exclaimed against this expedition, while the *English* nation was fired with indignation at seeing itself exposed to the insult of an enemy to whom it had always given law. *Charles* complained, that the *Dutch*, taking advantage of his security, ravaged his coasts with the utmost barbarity, while he was treating of peace with them in a friendly manner. He alleged, they had violated the faith of treaties, though, in fact, no armistice had been agreed upon. On the other hand, *Lewis* disapproved of an enterprise which tended to retard the pacification; and at the same time reproached, by implication, his bias towards the interest of *England*, and little regard to the alliance contracted with the republic. It was obvious, however, that this expedition, instead of retarding, served actually to accelerate the pacification. The power of *De Ruyter's* squadron, the bad terms upon which the king of *England* stood with his subjects, and the defenceless state in which he left the nation by laying up all the large men of war, obliged him to set aside all airs of superiority, and treat with the *Dutch* deputies upon a footing of equality. By this means every difficulty vanished, and the peace was signed upon the following conditions: that *Acadia* should be yielded to the *French* king, who had agreed to restore to the *English* the island of *St. Christopher's*, and some other inconsiderable conquests he had made in the *West Indies*: that *England* and *Holland* should reciprocally retain their acquisitions, by which means the colony of *New York* in *North America* remained with the former, and the island of *Poleoron*, one of the *Moluccas*, with the latter. The rights of the flag were the most difficult to adjust: though merely titular, it was thought of more importance than even the real advantage of additional territories. *France* was so sensible of the consequences of these honours, that she now insisted upon being equalled with the two great maritime powers. *Lewis* refused to suffer his men of war to lower their top-sails to those of *England*. *Charles* pleaded his right to this mark of regard. Both were obstinate; and, to avoid its breaking off the negotiation, this article was omitted in the treaty, whence violent contentions some years afterwards ensued.

WHILE

WHILE *France, England, and Holland*, were negotiating at *Breda* the tranquillity of *Europe*, *Lewis* was meditating the execution of a project, which, by aiming at universal empire, again threatened to involve *Christendom* in the flames of war, and particularly the *Empire, Spain, and the United Provinces*. His ambition grasped at every thing, and his power enabled him to gratify every aspiring wish. On the death of his father-in-law *Philip IV.* he prepared to invade the *Netherlands*, though, before the solemnization of his marriage, he had formally renounced all pretensions to the *Spanish* succession. His claim was examined by the clergy, and pronounced legitimate; and their decision was supported by the secular arm, and *M. Turenne* at the head of forty thousand men. Already *Aeth, Lisle, Tournay, Courtray, Charleroi, and Oudenarde*, confessed his power, by receiving his garrisons; and *Lewis* waited only for the death of the sickly *Charles II. of Spain*, to lay claim to the whole monarchy. Every state in *Europe* took the alarm. The *Dutch*, from the nature of their situation, were immediately exposed to his designs: they wished for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with *England* in a confederacy, that should be able to oppose a sufficient barrier to the soaring ambition of the *French* monarch. Now, when too late, the artifice of *Lewis's* friendship was discovered: still, however, the states imagined they could prevail on him to adhere to the moderate terms he had often promised; and that by ceding *Courtray, St. Omer, Aire, and Franche Comté* to *France*, the rest of the *Netherlands* might be put under the protection of the *Empire, England, and the Republic*. It was the *Dutch* that suggested the idea of the triple alliance, which took place soon after. The king of *England*, finding his credit on the wain with his subjects, willingly embraced any measure that was likely to retrieve his popularity; and no scheme promised so fair as his becoming the head of a league, formed in support of the liberties of *Europe*. The court of *Spain* too was indefatigable in her endeavours to raise a powerful confederacy against *Lewis*: though she entertained the highest opinion of her own strength, and the courage and ability of her forces; yet it was impossible to avoid seeing the superiority of the *French*, as far as could be judged from the most rapid successes. The *Spanish* ambassadors represented to *Holland* the proximity of the danger, *Aix-la-Chapelle*, while they flattered *England* with the glory of holding the ballance of power. True policy, indeed, required that a barrier should be formed to stop the progress of *Turenne*; and with this view it was that the triple alliance was formed, by the address of Sir *William Temple*, who subdued all the scruples

A. D.
1668.

ples of *M. De Wit*, the pensioner, with a facility that will ever bear ample testimony to the abilities of that elegant and refined statesman. At first, *England* and *Holland* were only the contracting powers; but *Sweden* soon acceded to the treaty as a principal. Then the confederates assumed to themselves the office of arbiters in the differences between *France* and *Spain*, with respect to the *Low Countries*. They even pretended to take cognizance of the dispute between *Spain* and *Portugal*. The object was to restrain the power of *Lewis*, support the tottering *Spanish* monarchy, and prevent the direful consequences of a war, in which all *Europe* would probably be involved^a.

THE next step was to repair the fortifications of the frontier towns, and to set the army upon a respectable footing. For some years all military employments were held by the children of burgomasters, because they were generally in the interest of the pensioner; while the old experienced officers were laid aside, on account of their attachment to the prince of *Orange*, under whose ancestors they had acquired all their knowledge. The bishop of *Munster*'s late invasion convinced the people, that troops ill commanded were perfectly useless: they therefore began to clamour about the distribution of commissions, and to insist that all the old officers should be restored to their employments, and promoted, as if they had remained constantly in the service. It was with reluctance the pensioner had yielded to the necessity of the late treaty concluded against *France*: the blow now meditated struck deeper at his power, and tended obviously to change the scale in favour of the opposite faction. It was impossible, however, to stem the tide of popularity: he therefore determined to divide its force, and, by making it flow in different channels, weaken its influence. With this view he united all the republicans in the opinion, that the chief command of the army should be conferred on a foreigner, notwithstanding this preference was offering the greatest injury to prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, to whose valour, conduct, and fidelity, there could be no reasonable objection. After violent contentions, the command was divided among a number of officers, by which both parties were in some measure gratified.

As the triple alliance was formed merely to oblige *Lewis* to execute the proposals he had made to the court of *Spain*, of relinquishing the rights of his queen, provided the *Spaniards* would either consent to his keeping the conquests he had already made in the *Low Countries*, or in lieu of those cede

^a BASNAGE, p. 789.

to him the *Franche Comté*, with the towns already specified; the queen-regent of *Spain* kept aloof, in expectation of engaging the *Dutch* and the king of *England* in a war with *Lewis*, under pretence that he refused standing by the alternative which they guaranteed. But finding herself disappointed in this hope, she consented to his retaining his conquests, on the supposition, that, should he ever attempt to extend them, he would necessarily engage the enmity of the two maritime powers. This cession paved the way to a congress, which was immediately appointed at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. We have already specified the particulars of this treaty^a. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that the *Dutch* ordered a pompous medal to be struck, in which they arrogated to themselves the whole honour of having given^b peace to *Europe* (A). Nothing could be more absurd than such an instance of unnecessary vanity, at a period too when *De Wit* was proposing a new alliance to *D'Estrades* between *France* and the republic, jointly to oppose the pretensions of his *Britannic* majesty to the sovereignty of the ocean, and to oblige his ships to pay the due honours to the *French* flag. To facilitate this measure, which must have inevitably kindled a new war with *England*, he reminded the *French* minister of the conduct of the *English* admiral, *Sir Thomas Allen*, towards *De*

Designs of the different powers.

^a Vol. xxv. Mod. Hist.

^b LE CLERC, p. 94. Hist.

Medul. Sir. WILLIAM TEMPLE's Lett. p. 79. tom. ii.

(A) This medal is preserved by M. *Le Clerc*. Here *Holland* is represented by a young beautiful female figure, surrounded by trophies, holding in her hand a pike or javelin, the one end of which is adorned with a hat, as an emblem of Liberty, and the other with the republican arms of the United Provinces. On the reverse is the following inscription. 'After having confirmed the laws, reformed the abuses in religion, assisted, defended, and conciliated kings, secured the liberty of the ocean, established by valour and dint of arms a glorious peace, restored tranquillity to *Europe*, the states-general of the United Provinces

' have ordered this medal to be struck, in the year 1668.' This pompous inscription gave equal offence to the kings of *France* and *England*; but what chiefly incensed *Lewis*, was the insolence of *Joshua Van Beuningen*, the *Dutch* plenipotentiary at the congress. This minister had the weak vanity to have a medal struck, in which he compared himself to *Joshua* stopping the course of the sun, which was the device of the *French* monarch. This fact we have upon the authority of the best *French* and *English* writers, though *Le Clerc* omits the medal in his curious historical collection.

la Rooke at *St. Helen's*; an indignity, he said, which, if winked at, would encourage that proud nation to commit further insults. *D'Estrades* supported this opinion, and represented to his court, that nothing but embracing the proposal could prevent the pensioner's being forced into the interest of *England*, however contrary to his resolutions, and disagreeable to his sentiments and inclinations. How far *M. De Wit* was serious in this proposal, can only be conjectured: perhaps he had already reason to suspect that *Charles* was falling into his old bias of cultivating the closest union with *France*. This might therefore be either an expedient to sound the dispositions of *Lewis*, or frustrate the overtures made by the king of *England*. Be this as it may, it is certain that *Lewis* allowed little weight to the request of the pensioner, though supported by all the arguments his own ambassador *D'Estrades* could urge. On the contrary, he sent *M. Colbert de Croissy*, brother to the celebrated minister of that name, his ambassador to the court of *London*, and recalled *D'Estrades* from the *Hague*; yet the harmony between *England* and *Holland* still subsisted. *Sir William Temple* was dispatched to the states, vested with a higher character than he had formerly borne, not only to give the strongest assurances of the continuance of the king of *England's* good intentions towards the republic, but to negotiate a treaty of commerce, and concert a treaty of guarantee, on the plan of the late triple alliance^c.

A. D.
1669.

FRANCE was quick-sighted in discerning her own interest, and alert in pursuing it. The acquisitions which *Lewis* had made in *Flanders*, served only to inflame his ambition to possess the remainder of that valuable country, and particularly the *Franche Comté*, the very name of which district seemed to give him a kind of claim. His views were to dissolve the triple alliance, as a necessary prelude to his other designs; and *Spain*, by refusing to pay the *Swedish* subsidy, furnished the means of accomplishing this important affair. Such progress indeed had *Colbert* made at the court of *London*, that *M. Pufendorf*, the *Swedish* ambassador at the *Hague*, acquainted the pensioner, as early as the month of *January*, 1669, that *England* was already changed, with respect to all those councils she had formed in conjunction with *Sweden* and *Holland*, notwithstanding the secret was yet in few hands; and lord *Arlington* confessed, about the same time, that a rumour was prevalent about court, that the *Swedes* were gained over to the *French* interest. This intimation was followed by a variety of circumstances, which more plainly indicated the designs of his

^c LE CLERC, *ibid.*

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Britannic majesty. Besides the refusal of a proposal made by the states of a defensive and offensive alliance, Sir *William Temple* was suddenly recalled; and, as if the king had sought an opportunity of coming to a rupture, orders were given to the captain of the yatch, sent for lady *Temple*, to sail through the *Dutch* fleet, then in the Channel, insist on the admiral's lowering his top-sails, and continue firing upon him until all due honours should be paid to the *British* flag. It is evident, *Alliance of* that *Lewis* had now fully digested his project to invade the *England* *Netherlands*; that he had gained the king of *England*, whose *and* necessities made him the pensioner of *France*; and that these *France*. instructions to the captain of the yatch were intended as a plausible excuse to the nation for entering upon a war, equally unjust, unnecessary, and imprudent. *Lewis* practised the most insinuating arts to seduce *Charles* from his real interest, to engage him as a tool in aggrandizing the *French* monarchy, and blind him to the consequences of his ambitious projects. Besides the private subsidies remitted to support the king of *England* in his extravagant pleasures, the dutchess of *Orleans* was sent to *England*, upon a visit to her brother, where she spent a fortnight in a continual round of diversions. She was accompanied by mademoiselle *Queroüaille*, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, bewitching address, elegant accomplishments, and a fund of wit and vivacity sufficient to engage a heart more insensible than that of *Charles*. This lady was carried with him to *London*, created dutchess of *Portsmouth*, and retained in the highest favour during the whole course of his life, suffering her to govern his conduct with a sway that rather proved him the tender lover than the prudent monarch. It was by means of this artful visit, and the address of mademoiselle *Queroüaille*, that *Lewis* first gained the intire ascendent over his *Britannic* majesty, and made him the instrument of those bonds he was forging for the liberties of *Europe*^a.

THUS stood affairs when sir *George Downing*, less beloved by the pensioner, less in the friendship of the states, and the interest of the republic, was sent to *Holland* to succeed Sir *William Temple*, and probably to complete the rupture begun by the captain of the yatch, who was committed to the Tower for not having sufficiently asserted the dignity of the *British* crown, and resting satisfied with a salute from the guns of the *Dutch* admiral. The prince of *Orange's* visit to *England* made no alteration in the councils of that nation; for after that event Mr. *Coventry* was sent to *Stockholm*, to ex-

^a LE CLERC's Hist. Med. p. 93.

ert his utmost abilities in drawing off the king from the triple alliance, so inconsistent with his *Britannic* majesty's engagements to *Lewis*. These changes in the *English* ambassadors were deemed ominous by the more discerning. *De Wit* had the greatest friendship for Sir *William Temple*; but he regarded his successor as a mean tool of the court, a turbulent firebrand, and an implacable enemy of the republic, and was particularly jealous of his high reputation with the states. *Downing*, indeed, on his first arrival solemnly protested, that the king his master was determined strictly to adhere to every article of the triple alliance. He gave the strongest assurances, that *Charles* had no other design in the powerful armaments he was equipping, than to render himself respectable among his neighbours, and guard against the designs of the most Christian king, whom he had good reasons to distrust; and, indeed, this was all that *Charles* had acknowledged to the parliament when he demanded supplies, and intimated his intention of taking fifty ships of the line into commission, besides the cruizers and the squadron already in the *Mediterranean*. Nor was *Downing* satisfied with these insidious declarations; he complained of the backwardness of the states, in fulfilling an article of the late treaty, which respected the colony in *Surinam*, and specified some causes of difference between the *English* merchants and the *Dutch East-India* company. The pensioner had too much penetration to be deceived by appearances; he had the best intelligence of the transactions in the *British* cabinet, and was well informed of every circumstance of the negotiation between the courts of *France* and *England*: he, therefore, considered every change of measures as a step towards an approaching rupture. But he most dreaded the ambitious projects of *France*, as they threatened the United Provinces not only with all the horrors of an invasion, but those of domestic faction and confusion. The smallest alarms on the side of *Flanders* would stir up the populace to demand the restitution of their former honours to the *Orange* family; than which nothing appeared more dreadful to the pensioner, in regard to its consequences on public liberty, and the freedom of the republic. On the other hand, should *Lewis* pursue his designs, how could the provinces provide for their own security without a military force? and how could that force be raised, regulated, paid, and disciplined, while the republic was divided, and the more popular party excluded from all public employments? Under these embarrassments he sought the friendship of *Spain*, tho' his advances were but coldly received, until the joint views of *Lewis* and *Charles* became so very apparent, that the *Spanish* ministry

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ministry were at length reduced to the necessity of ordering *Treaty be-*
Don Emanuel de Lira, the king's ambassador at the *Hague*, ^{to} ~~between~~
 to enter into a defensive treaty with the republic. This af- ^{Spain and}
 fair was conducted by *de Lira* and count *Monteroy* with so ^{the repub}
 great secrecy, that it remained for some time unknown to ^{lic.}
 all the powers in *Europe* besides the contracting parties ^{b.}
 Both *de Lira* and *Monteroy* were the declared enemies of
France: the former detested the perfidy of her politics, the
 ambitious schemes of her ministry, and the insidious methods
 she practised to destroy the liberties of Christendom, and esta-
 blish universal empire: the latter was the son of *Don Lewis*
d'Haro, and consequently no friend to measures erected upon
 the foundation laid by cardinal *Mazarin*, the implacable
 rival of his family.

WHEN the treaty between *Spain* and the republic was di-
 vulged, ambassadors were sent from *France* and *England*, to
 use the utmost efforts to render it void. *France* spoke in a
 high strain of authority, while the *British* ambassador endea-
 voured to sap the foundation of the alliance; but neither the
 artifice of the one, nor the insolence of the other, could pre-
 vail. The court of *Spain* ordered *Lira* and *Monteroy* to pro-
 ceed in the treaty with the republic, and use every method
 to draw the knot of union harder, and so blend the interests of
 the two nations as to render them inseparable. The firm-
 ness of *Spain* proved extremely encouraging to the states; but ^{State of}
 it was no equivalent to the powerful league formed against ^{parties in}
 them between the crowns of *France* and *England*, the elector ^{the pro-}
 of *Cologne*, and the turbulent, ambitious, enterprising, and ^{vinces.}
 warlike *Van Galen*, bishop of *Munster*, who embraced every
 opportunity of displaying his implacable animosity to the re-
 public. Besides, the *Orange* faction openly espoused the claims
 of *England*, insisting that the required satisfaction should be
 given to his majesty, in hopes not only of warding off the
 impending storm from that quarter, but of cementing the
 two nations in a strict union of interests. Had *Charles* studied
 his own dignity, the good of his kingdoms, and the interests
 of *Europe* in general, the fairest opportunity now offered of
 ripping in the bud all the aspiring projects of *Lewis*, which
 afterwards filled Christendom with blood and carnage. On
 the other hand the states, under the influence of *De Wit*,
 sought to pacify the indignation of the most Christian king,
 who highly resented the insolence of the republic, that broke
 out in various instances, subsequent to the peace at *Aix-la-*
Chapelle. They made the most abject submissions; they

^b Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Letters, *ibid.*

disavowed the medals which had given so much offence; and they promised immediately to redress all his majesty's complaints, to remove from their councils every person who had incurred his displeasure, and to square their conduct entirely by his royal will. But *Lewis* had another object in view besides the mere gratification of revenge; and this opposite conduct of the two factions was meant not as compliments to *Lewis* and *Charles*, but as measures to destroy each other. Could *France* be appeased, the *Orange* family must remain in obscurity; and could the king of *England* be gained over, there would probably be an end to the influence of the pensioner and his party. Neither side appeared to have any thoughts of preserving the republic by a coalition, or even a suspension of their animosity, perhaps from a conviction that it was impracticable; and while the states hesitated about making these submissions to *Charles* which *Lewis* refused, the alliance was formed by which their territories were to be invaded by the troops of *France*, *Cologne*, and *Munster*, their commerce ruined, and their fleets destroyed by the combined squadrons of *France* and *England*. Nothing retarded the immediate commencement of hostilities but the indigence of *Charles*, who was always receiving supplies from his parliament, and always needy and distressed.

*Attempt on
the Smyrna
fleet.*

A. D.

1672.

AMONG the schemes projected to fill the royal coffers, one may be regarded as a barefaced act of piracy against the *Dutch*, with whom he had hitherto come to no open rupture. The attempt was equally perfidious and unsuccessful: before any declaration of war, and previous to the departure of Sir *George Downing* from the *Hague*, it was proposed to intercept the *Dutch* fleet of merchant ships from *Smyrna*, estimated worth two millions of money. Sir *Robert Holmes* was sent in this service with a small squadron. In his voyage he fell in with *Spragge*, returning with his squadron from the *Mediterranean*; but resolving to monopolize the whole honour and profit of this action to himself, he concealed his purpose from the other *British* admiral, suffered him to pursue his voyage, and thereby failed in the enterprise, because his strength was too inconsiderable. *Van Ness*, who convoyed the merchant fleet with five men of war, no sooner descried the *English* flag, than he put his little squadron into an admirable posture of defence. *Holmes* attacked him with great fury, and the engagement was maintained the whole day with equal valour, skill, and obstinacy. The fight was renewed in the morning, and maintained with the same fury, until night separated the combatants. On the
third

third day the action was again renewed; but *Van Neſs* had taken ſuch meaſures, that he now got off with the loſs of one man of war and four merchantmen, which, however, were ſunk and uſeleſs to the enemy, diſappointed in all their ſanguine hopes, and left only the diſhonour of having, unſucceſsfully, violated the moſt ſolemn laws of nature and nations. The *Dutch* exclaimed againſt the baſeneſs of an action which would have diſgraced one of the piratical ſtates of *Africa*; and the court endeavoured to reconcile it to the public as a caſual rencounter, occaſioned by the obſtinate reſuſal of the *Hollanders* to pay the due honours to the *British* flag. *Holmes*, however, though he was the inſtrument of a perfidious attempt, had too much honour to certify the court relation of the engagement: he even acknowledged that the *Dutch* admiral had actually lowered his topſails and paid him the uſual compliment.

By this action the ſtates were convinced they had nothing to expect from *Charles*, and that their diligence muſt be redoubled, in preparing for a rupture between the two nations. The ſeizure or conſiſcation of four of their *East-India* ſhips corroborated theſe ſentiments, which were ſoon confirmed by the king's declaration of war againſt the republic. In this frivolous and impertinent piece the world is deſired to believe that nothing but abſolute neceſſity, a regard to the liberties of his ſubjects and the dignity of his crown, could have driven his majeſty to carry matters to extremities; but the evaſions of the ſtates with regard to the claims of the *British East-India* company, their reſuſal to ſend home the *English* families ſettled at *Surinam*, agreeable to the treaty of *Breda*, their denying to pay the due honour to his flag, their ridiculing the king and people of *England* in arrogant medals and inſcriptions, had obliged him to uſe the power delegated to him by the Almighty, to check their insolence and ſecure the rights and honour of his crown and kingdoms. Two very remarkable circumſtances were mentioned in this declaration; viz. that the ſtates had made a propoſal of acknowledging the king's ſuperiority at ſea, provided he would join them againſt *France*, and never uſe their conceſſions upon this occaſion as a precedent to their diſadvantage; and that they had ſent to *England* an ambaffador extraordinary, who in poſitive terms reſuſed giving the ſatisfaction required, and indeed promiſed in former treaties. Notwithſtanding theſe pretences, it is certain that Sir *George Downing*, when ſent to the *Hague*, was bound by his inſtructions not to accept any ſatisfaction after a certain number of days preſcribed; a method of proceeding in ambaffies always irregular and unuſual,

England
declares
war.

usual, especially in *Holland*, where the very nature of the constitution renders all deliberations tedious. In a word, there was so much chicane and artifice in the conduct of the ministers, that the whole people of *England* clamoured against the war, their antient animosity to the *Dutch* being absorbed in their resentments against the measures of the administration. As to the *Dutch*, they answered the king's declaration with great propriety and strength of argument, refusing irrefragably almost every article it contained. They denied that the *English* families in *Surinam* were detained, and demonstrated that they had refused to quit the colony : they affirmed, that no treaty had obliged their admirals to strike sail on their own coast to an *English* pleasure boat ; this alluded to the affair of the yatch : they asserted their never having countenanced any medals, pictures, or inscriptions, reflecting upon the king or people of *England* : they declared it had always been their study to cultivate the friendship of *Great-Britain*, to maintain their engagements, and to procure the repose of both nations, upon which their commerce and the very existence of their republic depended. Next they painted, in the strongest colours, the insolence of *Downing*, the *English* minister at the *Hague* ; the intention of the *English* ministry in recalling Sir *William Temple*, who had engaged the affection of the states, by the justice, honour, and openness of his proceedings, as well as the amiability of his character, the iniquitous attempt upon their *Smyrna* fleet, and the insidious capture and unjust detention of their *East-India* shipping ^a.

THE court of *Spain* could not be persuaded that *England* would ever come to extremities with the *Dutch*, and enter upon an iniquitous war upon groundless and at best but frivolous pretences. Even *France* could hardly depend upon the promises and engagements of a monarch incapable of constancy and perseverance. Nor did the states imagine their calamities were so near : all *Europe*, indeed, stood astonished at this thunder-clap, which was the more dreadful as it was sudden and unexpected.

France
and the
other allies
declare
war.

LEWIS now entered upon the scene of action, with such an air of superiority, that *Charles* seemed little more than the harbinger to usher in the giant. His declaration of war against the states-general was published in the month of *April*, under the superb title of *An Ordonnance by the King*. His money and influence had not only drawn over the king of *England* to his interest, but he retained *Sweden* by his subsidies,

^a LE CLERC, ubi supra.

and

and armed the other princes on the frontiers of the United Provinces against the republic. He did not condescend to specify particulars in his ordonnance: it was sufficient that the insolence of the states had incurred his displeasure, and merited chastisement. It was in this lofty stile his minister *de Gremonville* talked to the emperor when he desired the court of *Vienna* might not interpose in his quarrel with the *Hollanders*. At other Roman Catholic courts he pretended to call it a religious affair, reproaching the *Dutch* with the name of heretics, though he was linked in the closest alliance with a heretic monarch, and the head of the Protestant church; though four hundred thousand crowns were given annually for the friendship of a nation which had by severe laws prohibited the residence of Catholics in the kingdom (A). Scarce any thing can convey a higher idea of the power, weight, and importance of the republic, than a consideration of the variety of precautions taken by the two kings before they ventured to declare their hostile intentions. *Lewis's* power was unrivaled by land; and *Charles* might justly regard himself as the most potent maritime prince in *Europe*. *Holland* was divided by faction at home, and had scarce time to form any solid measures for the security of the state; yet were the efforts of this republic sufficient to baffle all the attempts of the most formidable combination *Europe* had beheld since the famous league of *Cambray*, against another republic, contemptible in respect of power, grandeur, and territory, to her enemies. The bishop of *Munster* declared war against the *Dutch*, under pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of his towns; and the elector of *Cologne* received a body of *French* troops into his dominions, under the pretext of providing for his own security.

THE commonwealth of the United Provinces seemed now to be devoted to destruction. Nothing appeared capable of suspending its fall. *Lewis* was ready with three armies to burst like a torrent into the heart of the republic's dominions; while on her side there was no army, no general, no fortifications, no unanimity to oppose the inundation; the whole valour and power of the state consisting in her navy, upon which the pensioner had bestowed all his attention. *France* had no

(A) This was the subsidy interpose. If the *Swedes* took paid to *Sweden* by the allies, the field, the subsidy was to be for holding herself in readiness augmented to six hundred thousand crowns (1). to act against the emperor or the empire, should they offer to

(1) *Le Clerc*, p. 102. *Nauville*, t. iii. p. 54.

*Prepara-
tions in
Holland.*

sooner veered round than *De Wit* lost his credit, and with some degree of reason, as enmity to the prince of *Orange* had certainly carried him too far in his opposition to *England*, and complaisance for the court of *France* had occasioned his extinguishing every spark of military spirit in the republic, disbanding the greater part of the army, and filling up all commissions in the remainder with the sons and kinsmen of his own friends, raw unexperienced youths, who had never beheld the face of an enemy. His confidence in *France* prevented his acting with his usual vigilance and caution. Fear of giving offence, by suspicion, hindered his making preparations against the impending invasion. The populace demanded that the prince of *Orange*, a youth just attained to the age of manhood, might be placed at the head of the army, if a body of twelve thousand men, little better disciplined than militia, merited that name. There was no resisting the voice of a whole nation; *De Wit* yielded, and resolved to make one powerful effort by sea, while the prince was endeavouring to augment the army, raise the spirits of the people, revive discipline, repair the fortifications, and provide every necessary for a vigorous resistance. The great difficulty was to form a judgment where the storm would fall, and where to direct the strength of the republic, which was too inconsiderable to admit of being divided. Every thing was kept so close in *France*, that not a syllable about the army transpired; no letter was suffered to pass into *Holland* that contained the most distant hint of the intended invasion. It was the general opinion that the king would lay siege to *Maestricht*: we have shewn the reasons why he declined this measure^b, and rather chose to penetrate in three divisions into the provinces, take advantage of the present forlorn and dispirited condition of the enemy, and by one great effort destroy all presence of mind and hope of resistance. We have seen with what rapidity he over-ran the *Netherlands*, and reduced the *Dutch* to the necessity of laying their country under water. All *Europe* stood amazed at the king's irresistible progress, while the republic was given up for lost, and without the smallest prospect of deliverance. The preparations of the states could not keep pace with their calamities. The auxiliaries received from *Flanders* were just sufficient to draw complaints against the court of *Spain*, from the two allied kings, but too inconsiderable to do the republic real service. Tho' the states were negotiating a treaty offensive and defensive at *Vienna* and *Madrid*, it was probable their fate would be determined

^b Mod. Hist. vol. xxv.

before it could take place. They were besides harrassed in every step by the enemy, and their applications to the elector of *Brandenburg* and the princes of *Lunenburg*, it was feared would be frustrated by the machinations of *Lewis*, and the terror of the *French* arms ^c.

IN this situation it was hoped a bold push with the fleet might produce some favourable change. The ships of the republic were as numerous, her stores as full, her mariners as abundant, and her commanders as brave and experienced as ever : it was therefore resolved to employ them in the most vigorous manner for the preservation of the last remains of the commonwealth. *Ruyter* was accordingly sent to sea with ninety ships of war, and forty frigates and storeships, *Cornelius De Wit* acting on board as deputy from the states. The first intention was to prevent the junction of the *French* and *English* squadrons; but this was already effected: the united fleet lay at anchor in *Solebay*, under the command of the duke of *York*, the earl of *Sandwich*, and the count *D'Estrees*, to the amount of one hundred and thirty ships of the line. The chief authority was vested in the duke of *York*, who imprudently affronted the earl of *Sandwich*, for representing that the ships lay in great disorder, and exposed to the utmost danger, if attacked in that situation. He refused standing out to sea, as the earl advised; and, indeed, regarded nothing besides his pleasures, which some political *English* historians relate he carried, on this occasion, to unusual excess. It is certain, the *Dutch* began the attack early in the morning, before the combined fleet could be properly ranged: several ships were forced to cut their cables with the utmost precipitation, in order to form the line; and the whole was in such confusion, that the vessels ran foul of each other. *Van Ghent* opposed himself to the earl of *Sandwich*, who led the van of the enemy, and a most dreadful action ensued, in which the *Dutch* admiral was killed, after performing prodigies of valour. *Sandwich* sustained for a while the whole weight of the *Dutch* fleet, that the duke might have time to reduce the rest of the ships into order. He destroyed a large man of war which had attempted to board him; he sunk three fire-ships, before they approached near enough to grapple with his rigging, though his whole crew was almost killed or wounded: he continued to ply his artillery with unremitting ardour, until another fireship ran him aboard on the quarter. Even now he might have escaped into another vessel; but he disdained to live after the injury done to his honour by the duke of *York*: his ship was blown

^c NEUVILLE, t. iii.

up, and the earl and every person on board were destroyed. The benefit of the disposition he had made was felt after his death: Sir *Joseph Jordan*, his vice-admiral, still pursued the same plan of gaining the windward, and at last succeeded; by which he was enabled to come to the assistance of the duke of *York*, who was hotly engaged with *De Ruyter*. Now the engagement was so close for above two hours, that the *Dutch* admiral afterwards declared it was the most obstinate of two and thirty actions in which he had been concerned. Both sides fought like men accustomed to dispute the empire of the ocean. The duke and *Ruyter* each shifted their flags twice; but the duke did not return afterwards to the engagement. Night came on, the battle was drawn, victory was claimed by the *English* and *Dutch*; but it belonged to the latter, if we may judge by consequences; for *Ruyter*, without interruption, convoyed a prodigious fleet of merchantmen safe into the *Texel*, and overflowed his country with wealth on the one side, while it sunk under the pressure of misfortunes on the other (A).

A DISPUTED victory, however, could not serve the purposes of *De Wit*, as affairs were then circumstanced. He had no prospect of standing his ground, and frustrating the views of the young prince of *Orange*, except by some signal success and decisive blow on the ocean. To have failed in this, was to him equivalent to a total defeat, as he knew it would be impossible to put the fleet again to sea with sufficient expedition, to remedy the mischief that arose from the present disappointment. He saw the *French* king extending his conquests on all sides, three provinces wholly subdued, and *Lewis* exercising not only the power of a conqueror, but the authority of a sovereign; changing constitutions, enacting laws, publishing edicts, creating magistrates, receiving homage, and, in a word, transferring to himself the allegiance due only to the majesty of the states general. Believing longer resistance fruitless, and perhaps dreading more to become vassals to the prince of *Orange* than tributaries to *France*, the *Lovestein* faction determined, as the last resource, to appease by supplica-

(A) Some *French* writers allege, that *D'Estrees* was hotly engaged with his whole squadron of thirty ships, with the division of *Flushing*, whose fire he sustained with the utmost resolution and valour. The truth is, only a few *French* ships were engaged, and in all probability the count had orders to keep aloof, that the two maritime powers might destroy each other. *Voltaire* confesses as much (1).

(1) *Daniel*, i. v. p. 115. *Pol. Sec.* i. i. p. 143.

tions the power they were unable to withstand. Accordingly *They* deputies were dispatched to *Lewis* and *Charles*, with hopes *implore* at least of breaking their union, if they should fail in sub-*peace*. duing their resentments. On the arrival of *De Groot* at the *French* court, his proposals were demanded; but he answered, he was come to know the king's pleasure, his masters deeming it more respectful to receive than to offer conditions. He was told, however, that *Lewis* expected proposals, in which the states should consider all that his majesty had already conquered as his own, and make allowances for the farther progress of his arms during the remainder of the campaign. With this answer the deputy returned to the *Hague*, and was immediately sent back with full powers to treat, and conclude a peace on the best terms that could be obtained. After repeated conferences, *Louvois* gave the deputy a plan of pacification, or rather the pretensions of the king his master, upon granting which he was ready to return to his former amity with the republic. Though the apprehensions of the states were so extravagant as to offer that every thing should be surrendered to the conqueror, provided their liberty, religion, and sovereign power could be preserved; though they offered to cede the whole frontier, and defray the expences of the war, yet this was insufficient. *Lewis* demanded that the commodities of *France* should be imported, free of duty, into all the provinces; that the states should permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion, share the churches between them and the Protestants, and appoint regular salaries for the *Romish* priests; that they should cede not only all the frontier towns, but *Skenk*, *Nimeguen*, *Knotzemburg*, part of *Guelderland*, the islands of *Bommel* and *Voorn*, and the forts of *St. Andrew*, *Loveslein*, and *Crevecœur*; in a word, that they should make him as completely master of all the provinces, as if they had already been conquered by the sword: and, besides, pay an immense sum of money to indemnify his expences; send a yearly embassy to *Paris* with a golden medal, confessing the subjection of the republic, and that to the king she owed the preservation of that liberty which his ancestors had enabled her to acquire. Finally, that in the space of ten days the states should signify their assent to these insolent proposals, in which case he would withdraw his forces^a. Here it is remarkable that not the least mention was made of *England*: we shall see how that court seemed to be wholly directed by the will and pleasure of *Lewis*.

^a VOLTAIRE Siecle. NEUVILLE, *ibid*.

*Proposals
made by
the kings:*

THE deputies sent to *England* were met at *Gravesend*, forbid entering *London*, and conveyed directly to *Hampton-court*, where they met with a very harsh reception, though they excited the compassion of a generous people, seduced into an unjust war against a republic with which they had no real quarrel. At *Hampton* they were kept in a kind of honourable confinement, until the pleasure of *Lewis* should be known, and whether they were to be favoured with an audience, or upon what terms it might be proper to treat of an accommodation. Bishop *Burnet* intimates, that the deputies gave lord *Arlington* to understand, that the states were disposed to advance the prince of *Orange* to the dignity of stadtholder, and all the other offices possessed by his ancestors, as was plain from their giving him the intire command of the army. They requested, that his majesty would appoint plenipotentiaries to treat jointly of a peace with the *French* monarch; and their petition was granted, merely because *Charles* was at a loss in what manner to act singly, and before he had his instructions from *Lewis*. The duke of *Buckingham* and lord *Arlington* were accordingly nominated to attend the *French* king, at that time with his whole court at *Utrecht*. It would seem, however, that though *Charles* did not chuse to treat separately of a peace, that he felt uneasiness at the rapid progress of his ally, and at the high strain of authority in which he talked; that he foresaw the intire conquest of the provinces would be a formidable accession of power to *Lewis*, who might forget his engagements, and think it his interest to have the king of *England* dependent on his subjects. Besides, *Charles* shewed an inclination to share in the spoils of the republic. Poverty had made him avaricious, and now was the opportunity of gratifying the new-born passion, and of administering to the gratification of all his pleasures. *Holland* was in such a situation, that he doubted not of procuring whatever conditions he should think fit to prescribe. His demands were exorbitant. In concert with the court of *France*, the plenipotentiaries delivered the following preliminaries to the *Dutch* deputies: That the states should do honour to the *British* flag, without limitation; that whole fleets should strike their colours, and lower their topsails, to any single king's ship in the *British* seas, or on the coasts of *Holland*; that his majesty's subjects at *Surinam* should have liberty to quit the colony, on the terms prescribed by the treaty of *Breda*; that all the king's enemies and calumniators should for ever be banished the republic; that the prince of *Orange* and his descendants should enjoy, by hereditary right, the dignities of captain and admiral general, and of stadtholder of the United Provinces, in as ample a manner

as

as they had ever been held by his ancestors ; that a million sterling should be paid to the king, to indemnify the charges of the war, as well as ten thousand pounds annually, merely for liberty to fish in the *British* seas ; that a treaty of commerce should immediately be set on foot, wherein all his majesty's claims, respecting the affairs of *India*, should be acknowledged, without contradiction ; and that the isles of *Valcheren*, *Cadfant*, *Goree*, and *Voorn*, with the town and castle of *Sluys*, and their dependencies, should be put into the king of *England's* hands, by way of security for the performance of the several articles of this treaty ^b.

GRIEVOUS as these terms were, to the prince of *Orange* alone it was owing they were not accepted. He had infused such a spirit into the people, that on him depended the alternative of embracing or rejecting the proposals. Nor were the allied kings ignorant of this. They addressed themselves chiefly to him : they knew his ambition, and they plied him on that side with all the batteries in their power, fully convinced, that, in the end, he must yield to the temptation. The sovereignty of the provinces was presented to his view, to dazzle his eyes with the lustre of the object ; but *William's* ambition aspired higher. Eager to become the saviour of his country, he spurned the thoughts of trampling on her liberties, at a time when she most wanted his assistance ; he despised owing his elevation to tyrants, and sacrificing his honour and integrity to the petty reward of a tributary sovereignty. He called to mind the unhappy fate of the duke of *Lorrain* : the example was recent, striking, and sufficient to deter any inferior prince from relying upon the friendship, the equity, or the gratitude of a powerful monarch, whose ambition grasped at subjecting all the neighbouring powers. Full of these heroic sentiments, he declared he would defend the liberties of his country, or perish in the last dyke. The spirit of the prince infused life and vigour into his party ; and he took this opportunity of inflaming the passions of the populace against the pensioner and his brother, who had now become the objects of hatred and execration, on account of their adherence to *France*. To this, and the subjection in which the house of *Orange* was kept, were all the misfortunes of the commonwealth attributed. In their most prosperous condition the vulgar panted for a stadtholder, with the glitter of whose authority they were dazzled : in adversity, they knew no other relief than from an application to the descendants of those heroes who had by perseverance, valour, and magnanimity, re-

^b RAPIN, SMOLLET, TEMPLE, &c.

scued the state from the insolent dominion of the house of *Austria*, and established religion and liberty on a solid basis.

*Tumult
at the
Hague, in
which the
de Wits
are mas-
sacred.*

THE pensioner *de Wit* was deemed the source of the strong tide of public calamity, that now flowed with a violence sufficient to overwhelm the constitution. He inherited no titles, no royal blood, from his ancestors: his nobility arose solely from merit, inflexible virtue, and vast abilities: but he was subject to the frailties of humanity. His staunch republican principles, and opposition to the aspiring views of the house of *Orange*, obliged him to fall into an extreme equally dangerous to his country. His enmity to the king of *England*, and the prince his nephew, threw him into the arms of *Lewis*, by whom he was now deserted and betrayed. In the full lustre of prosperity, the pensioner was envied and admired; in his decline, he was loaded with the execrations of a people, who placed to his account that their commerce was a prey to the *English*, that their town were swallowed up by the *French*, the dignity of the republic lost, and public liberty and religion tottering. He was presumed to be, as a *Dutch* writer expresses it, the *Jonas* of the state, whom by throwing overboard the storm would be appeased. Actuated by these prejudices the provinces fell into the most violent ferment: the dregs of the people buoyed up to the surface, floated like scories upon the superficies, and dictated to their masters. The states were disregarded, the whole hope of the public centered in the house of *Orange*, and the universal cry was a stadtholder. Every voice demanded the repeal of the perpetual edict, by which they had engaged, upon oath, never to acknowledge the prince of *Orange* as governor-general, or to vest him with the dignities possessed by his ancestors. The two brothers, *John* and *Cornelius*, still continued to oppose the repeal from motives of true patriotism: they saw the madness of the people, and apprehended that, in the transports of their zeal for the prince, they might dispose of their liberty, and by one act of indiscretion afford matter of perpetual inquietude. At length the populace broke through all restraint. At *Dort*, where *Cornelius de Wit* was ancient burgomaster, the citizens ran to arms, invited the prince of *Orange* to come thither, and forced the magistrates to invest him with all the dignities belonging to his family. Five days after (*June 30*) the same scene was acted at *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam*, the *Hague*, *Middleburg*, and in general through all the provinces. Nor did the popular fury stop here: they purged the public offices of all disagreeable persons, called upon the prince to fill the vacancies, introduced into the magistracy all the adherents of his family, and insisted that their own deputies should have seats

seats in the administration, contrary to the fundamental laws of the constitution. At *Amsterdam* the populace were in continual tumults. In one riot the magistrate equivalent to high sheriff was wounded, and a burgomaster carried off in triumph, insulted, and confined prisoner in the town-house. At *Dort* the pictures and statues, erected in honour of *Cornelius de Wit*, were pulled down and broken. Their rage against both the brothers was inexpressible; but it seems to have risen to the greatest height against *Cornelius*, who had first refused to sign the instrument whereby the prince was elevated to the stadtholdership. *John de Wit* had, between resentment and despair, resigned the office of pensioner, after having been assaulted by four ruffians, and left for dead in the street. The gallant *de Ruyter* was attacked in the same manner at *Amsterdam*; and *Cornelius de Wit* was beset in his own house, and, being confined to his sick-bed, was with the utmost difficulty protected by his servants. It was a short time after that this honest patriot was accused, by an infamous barber, of having offered him thirty-two thousand guilders for attempting the life of the prince of *Orange*. The charge was improbable and absurd; but the times favoured the accuser, and prevented the magistrates from doing justice to the accused. So strong was the current of faction, that the judges, intimidated by menaces, were forced, against their conviction, to condemn him to the torture, to confiscate his estate, divest him of his dignities and employments, and sentence him to perpetual banishment. His constancy never shrunk under the most excruciating pains, which he bore with unshaken fortitude, protesting his innocence; and at every respite from the pangs of torture, repeating that beautiful ode of *Horace*, beginning with *Iustum & tenacem propositi virum*. His brother the pensioner, with truly fraternal affection, not only countenanced him through the whole proceeding, wiped away his tears, and consoled him in his adversity, but determined to share his misfortunes, by accompanying him in his exile^a. While he was visiting him in prison, the deluded multitude assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke open the prison-doors, dragged out the unfortunate brothers, embued their savage hands in the blood of those sons of liberty, who had merited so well of their country, and treated their dead bodies with the most inhuman indignity (A). THE

^a NEUVILLE, *ibid.* BASNAGE *Introduct.* LE CLERC, p. 93. *Gazette Amster.* N^o 104.

(A) Most writers have related, that with this sacrifice the popular rage was appeased, and tranquillity once more restored;

THE elevation of the prince of *Orange* was almost an immediate consequence of the tragical end of his two greatest enemies.

stored; but the opinion is erroneous. Like the waves of the sea, their passions rolled high after the tempest had ceased. When the criminal magistrate at the *Hague* had desired and obtained leave of the prince of *Orange*, to make inquiry after the principal actors in this tragedy, and for that purpose asked their names of the captain of the burghers, the people replied, "We are all guilty; if you are dissatisfied with our conduct you shall share the same fate." They even proceeded so far as to depose him immediately from his office, in resentment of the compassion he had shewn for the deceased virtuous patriots. For the reader's farther satisfaction we shall beg leave to subjoin the following natural and affecting account of a transaction, which will always be regarded as a material incident in the annals of human nature, and perused with that eager curiosity which accompanies tragical events and scenes of horror and bloodshed.

I tremble when I take pen in hand to acquaint you with the sad spectacle here exhibited in the persons of *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, the former having the same day received sentence, whereby he was declared incapable of holding any employments in the state, and banished for ever. The barber who accused him being set at liberty, went up and down the streets, telling the people that *Cornelius's* punishment was by no means ade-

quate to the heinous nature of his crime. About the same time the pensioner *de Wit* going in his coach to the prison to carry away his brother, they were both, as they were coming away, stopt by the watch, who would have discharged their muskets upon them, had they not immediately retired to the prison. In the mean time, the people being highly dissatisfied with the lenity of the above sentence, and it being reported that the boors were coming, with no good intention, to the *Hague*, the drums were beat for assembling the burghers under arms. Six companies posted themselves before the prison-doors, where they continued almost the whole day, when they began to break down the prison-doors, notwithstanding three troops of horse were drawn out to prevent disorder. These the burghers kept off with their pikes, afterwards obliged them to retire, then broke into the prison, dragged out the brothers, wounded them in divers places, trampled them under foot, and ignominiously dragged the dead bodies round the streets. First their two fingers, which they had held up at swearing to the perpetual edict, were cut off, and their ears, which were taken up by some boys and presented as a gift to the first person they met of distinction. After this they hung the dead bodies by the heels,

on

enemies. He was promoted, with all possible demonstrations of joy on the side of the people, to the whole administration of *Holland and Zealand*. *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overyssel*, were in the hands of the enemy; and the young prince *John-Casimir* of *Nassau*, now under the guardianship of his mother, had already been in possession of the government of *Friesland* and *Groninguen*. But the insolence of the populace did not subside with this favourable change of measures. Their prosperity rather increased their arrogance. At *Amsterdam* the following demands were posted up on the exchange: That the colonels, captains, and other officers of the burgomasters, be immediately cashiered, and their commissions be given to such persons as the prince-stadtholder shall judge worthy: that henceforward none of the burgomasters shall be appointed directors of the *East India* company, and that those who at present enjoy that office be cashiered: that an account of all money received and expended be laid before the burghers: that all the privileges of the burghers, respecting the liberty of fishing round the towns, be confirmed: that those who refuse to accede to these conditions, shall be treated in the same manner as the *de Wits* were at the *Hague*: and that whoever shall presume to pull down this writing, may expect immediate capital punishment. In a word, the power of the nobility was every where the object of jealousy; and the great

‘ on a gibbet, their cloaths being all torn off, and their flesh mangled in a barbarous manner, every one striving to come in for a piece, which they afterwards sold up and down the town. One joint of a finger sold for twelve stivers, a whole finger for fifteen, a piece of an ear for twenty-five stivers, and so in proportion. In this manner the bodies remained hanging till midnight, exposed to the brutal insolence and more than savage cruelty of the mob, when several persons in disguise came and removed them. A sadder spectacle hath never been seen in this or any other country. It is said, that a woman coming from *Scheveling*, being in-

‘ formed of what had happened, fell upon her knees and thanked God for it; so strongly were the people enraged against two patriots, whose names will be transmitted with those of the most renowned heroes to the latest posterity.’ Nothing, indeed, can more strongly characterize the cool deliberate phlegmatic barbarity of the people than this simple narration, which bears all the marks of authenticity. We have in a former volume given our sentiments upon the share the prince of *Orange* probably had in this horrible transaction. It would be disagreeable and unnecessary to repeat truths which bear hard upon the memory of that great soldier and statesman.

design

design seems to have been, to share the government between the stadtholder and the populace. Whatever demands were made by the people, the prince immediately granted. All authority was vested in his highness, the states were scarce ever named, the legislative and executive power were wholly at his mercy, and the constitution seemed intirely unhinged.

The stadtholder encourages the states to prosecute the war.

THE first good effect which this change of measures produced, was the putting an immediate stop to the treaty with *France*. At an extraordinary assembly of the states, assembled merely for the sake of form, the young stadtholder represented, in a speech that held three hours, the pernicious consequences of accepting the terms proposed by *Lewis*: he encouraged them to hope, that valour and perseverance would be able to triumph over all difficulties, and yet rescue their liberties: he demonstrated the possibility of raising the necessary supplies for the enormous expence of the war; and concluded with observing, that too great a price could not be paid for the security of religion and liberty. His knowledge was so extensive, his judgment so solid, his arguments so irrefragable, his calculations so clear, and his nervous manner so animating, that the states appeared at the same time astonished and convinced. New spirits seemed to flow through every department of the government; all were inspired with courage and hope from the intrepidity and cool valour of the young stadtholder: that grief and despondency which had long clouded every face, were now dispelled before the radiance of his rising sun: they recovered the faculty of recollection, which seemed to be buried under their misfortunes, and all began to exert themselves with vigour in defence of their country. Wise deliberations paved the way to vigorous resolutions; the proposals of the two kings were rejected, the deputies recalled, and every necessary disposition made for defending themselves to the last extremity. It was even resolved, rather than submit, to transport themselves, their families, and effects to the *East Indies*, where the diligence and providence of this republic would appear to have secured a retreat against the greatest calamities.

A. D.
1673.

By this time several of the neighbouring powers, alarmed at the rapidity of the *French* conquests, began to arm for the protection of the republic; and the prince of *Orange* had made surprising efforts to assemble an army capable of taking the field. His first attempt was on *Naerden*; but the vigilance of marechal *Luxemburg* rendered it unsuccessful. Still, however, the chief hopes of *Holland* centered in the *English* parliament, which it was believed would thwart the king's inclinations, oblige him to break off from *Lewis*, and pursue the
real

real interest of the nation. This expectation, though well founded, proved vain, as was soon perceived by the new levies made in *England*, and the vast armament sent to sea under the conduct of prince *Rupert*, the earl of *Offory*, and Sir *Edward Spragge*, who immediately joined the *French* squadron commanded by *d'Estrees*. It was now that the project was formed of invading *Zealand*. A considerable body of land-forces were put on board the fleet, and such dispositions made as threatened the republic with unavoidable destruction. Never did any plan bid fairer for success. The *Dutch* fleet was not yet put to sea; the prince of *Orange* could possibly make no detachment from his little army, already greatly inferior to the enemy; the coast was covered with the ships of the invaders, and nothing appeared to give them any interruption: but it pleased the Divine Providence to interpose in defence of this injured and oppressed republic. A tempest came on, which drove the enemy from the shore, and forced them, in a shattered condition, to shelter themselves in their own ports. Nor was this all: the same storm which had removed danger, brought the most seasonable relief to the provinces. In the absence of the combined squadrons, a large fleet of *India* merchant-ships, richly laden, entered the *Texel*, and added nerves to all the operations of war, and measures of defence. Twice in the same war the states were saved from certain ruin, by the immediate interposition of the hand of the Almighty. *Luxemburg* was on his march over the ice to attack *Amsterdam* and the *Hague*, when a sudden thaw had almost ruined himself and his army. To proceed was impossible; to return was attended with a thousand difficulties, had the *Dutch* officer of a fort stood firm, and discharged his duty: but his cowardice opened the way to the safety of *Luxemburg*, who was equally astonished at the conduct of his dastardly enemy, and his own good fortune. These are events which the republic has cause to remember with gratitude and admiration^a.

At this time scarce a single power in *Europe*, of any consideration, pursued its real interest. The policy of all was false and delusive. *France* grasped at so much, that there was danger of exciting a combination of enemies, who would despoil her of all her conquests, and leave her feeble, exhausted, and emaciated, with the loss of blood and treasure spent in the fruitless pursuit of ideal projects. *England* acted in direct opposition to common sense in joining *France*, and endeavouring to exalt the house of *Bourbon* above that of *Austria*. The em-

^a VOLT. Siecle.

Sea fights
between
the Eng-
lish and
Dutch.

peror, the empire, and Spain, lost many opportunities of rescuing *Europe* from the impending bondage. Their tedious deliberations suffered *Lewis* to acquire strength, *Holland* to be reduced to the last gasp, and the foundation of a bloody general war to be laid, when one seasonable vigorous effort would have checked the pride of *France*, and secured the tranquillity of *Europe*. *Holland* herself committed the grossest blunders. At first her whole attention was given to her marine, and the means of opposing *England*, though it was impossible to avoid seeing a storm gathering in another quarter. She connected herself with *France*, relied upon the faith of treaties, and shut her eyes to all consequences. Now, however, she determined to repair her errors by a series of the most spirited conduct. *Ruyter* was sent to sea with a powerful fleet in quest of the *English*, whom he found on the coast of *Holland*, under the command of prince *Rupert*. Before the action the *French* squadron had joined the prince; but *Ruyter* was not deterred from his purpose. He made the signal to attack, bore down with the most undaunted resolution, and maintained an obstinate bloody engagement with his usual intrepidity and conduct. The fleets parted before victory declared in favour of either side, though both claimed an advantage. They put into their ports to refit, and soon appeared again, with intention to finish the dispute more decisively. On the fourteenth of *June* they met a second time off *Flushing*, and began to cannonade with great fury; but were prevented from coming to a general engagement by tempestuous weather. Prince *Rupert* was, indeed, supposed to be averse to the war, and for that reason less eager to exert himself than usual, agreeable to his impetuous courage and well-known ardour. *Ruyter* would have come to an engagement; but the prince, being destitute of many necessaries, had retired into port. He was no sooner supplied than he again appeared on the coast of *Holland*, and was attacked by *de Ruyter* and *Van Tromp*, now perfectly reconciled by the mediation of the stadtholder, who laboured to unite all parties in the service of their country. The action was scarce begun when each of the *Dutch* admirals singled out the commanders of the combined fleet. *De Ruyter* opposed himself to the prince, *Van Tromp* engaged Sir *Edward Spragge*, and rear-admiral *Bronkert* attacked *d'Etrées*, the *French* admiral. Never did greater emulation appear between the officers of the different nations: all fought with that regulated ardor, and determined courage, which distinguishes true military genius. *Bronkert* shot ahead of the *French* division, separated prince *Rupert* from the division of Sir *John Chicheley*, and closed him between two fires;

fires; *Ruyter* plying him with fury on the one side, while the rear-admiral attacked him on the other. Though quite surrounded, *Rupert* fought with undaunted valour and presence of mind, which seemed to rise with the danger. After several desperate efforts, he at length extricated himself; and joining *Chicheley*, bore down to the assistance of *Spragge*, almost overpowered by *Van Tromp*. He had shifted his flag from the *Royal Prince*, in which he had fought until the ship was beat to pieces with the enemy's shot. He then engaged in the *St. George*, and fought her while she could swim; but going in the pinnace to shift his flag on board a fresh ship, he was sunk by a cannon-ball^b, after having gained the esteem and admiration of all men by his gallant behaviour. *Van Tromp* had been in much the same situation: he had twice shifted his flag, after his ships had been disabled; and at last bore so hard upon the earl of *Offory*, who succeeded *Spragge*, that he forced him to retire. *English* writers however alledge, that had the *French* obeyed prince *Rupert's* signal to engage, when he put the *Dutch* fleet in confusion by his fireships, the victory would have been undisputed. This, however, is conjecture; and all that we know for certain is, that, finding himself extremely roughly handled, he collected his straggled ships, and hauled off to the *English* coast. *Ruyter* was greatly cared for his conduct: the stadtholder wrote him a letter of thanks with his own hand, though he had been the inveterate enemy of his family, and the fast friend of the pensioner *de Wit* (A). Happily, indeed, the spirit of party seemed now extinguished, and all men united in the common defence of their country.

EVERY thing began to take a turn favourable to *Holland*. *Spain* renewed her alliance with the states, was raising an army, and upon the point of coming to a rupture with *France*. The emperor had sent the famous *Montecuculi* into the field, to oppose his great rival *Turenne*. The elector of *Brandenburg* was at the head of a body of troops, making a diversion in favour of the republic; and the prince of *Orange* took *Naerdin*, and by a series of masterly motions, and judicious encampments, left all the *French* generals behind him, joined the Imperialists, and invested and reduced *Bonne* in the space of a few days. The bishop of *Munster* had been driven out

^b LE CLERC, *ibid.* VOLT. c. x. SMOLLET, b. vii. c. ii.

(A) It was after this battle ‘half the glory which *d’Ruyter* that *d’Erees* wrote to M. *Colbert*, ‘has obtained (1).’

‘I would have sold my life for

(1) *Voltaire*, t. i. p. 150.

of *Groningen*, and several places in the electorate of *Cologne*, and forced to receive *Dutch* garrisons; in consequence of which *Lewis* was forced to abandon all his conquests, and withdraw his army from the provinces, the communication being cut off with *France*. Immediately upon this event the king of *Sweden*, seeing the parties grow more equal, and *Europe* likely to be involved in a tedious ruinous war, offered his mediation, and pleaded so heartily for peace, that a congress was opened at *Cologne*. The *Dutch* were no longer under the necessity of abjectly imploring compassion. They refused listening to terms, unless the two kings would recede from the insolent conditions they had before prescribed: they sunk in their own offers, and their ambassadors now again began to assume a more firm and elevated tone, and greater dignity of carriage. The *French* endeavoured to protract the negotiation; but at last, finding themselves greatly embarrassed, they retired from *Cologne* with their allies, on pretence of the violence offered to the count of *Furstenberg*, plenipotentiary for the elector of *Cologne*, and now apprehended by an order of the court of *Vienna*, as a subject of the empire, who had betrayed his country.

Conditions
of the
treaty with
Spain.

THOUGH the elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Hanover* had suffered themselves to be seduced from the interests of *Europe*, the one signing a neutrality with the court of *France*, the other suffering his troops to enter into the pay of the two kings; yet still *Holland* was sufficiently supported not to be discouraged. The treaties with *Spain* and the empire were full, explicit, and favourable as could be desired: there every measure of defence was stipulated, and a variety of offensive schemes concerted. In the treaty with *Spain*, the first seven articles provided for a reciprocal guarantee and mutual assistance, in case either party was attacked. The proportion, time, manner, and other circumstances of such mutual aid, were likewise specified. In the three next articles it was provided, that no peace should be concluded by either contracting party, without the consent of the other; and also, that no engagements should be formed that were not perfectly consistent with the present treaty. In the eleventh and twelfth articles, the emperor and certain other powers were invited to accede to the alliance; and provision was made for the due observance of the treaty of *Munster*, the guarantee of the treaty of *Aix*, and the triple league, when the war with his *Britannic* majesty should be terminated. In the thirteenth article, the king of *Spain* promises not only to co-operate with the states-general in their endeavours to procure an equitable peace; but engages,

should

ould their proposals be rejected, to declare open war against France, and that his governor-general shall in the mean time contrive to assist the prince of *Orange* with all the strength of the *Spanish Netherlands*. In the fifteenth article it was stipulated, that no peace should be negotiated without full restitution made of all towns, cities, and countries, which had or might be taken from the states; the republic, on the other hand, entering upon the same engagements, until all that had been taken from *Spain* since the peace of the *Pyrenees* should be restored. By the eighteenth article, the states engaged to surrender the town of *Maastricht*, the territory of *Genève*, and all they possessed beyond the *Meuse*, to his majesty, together with their pretensions to the villages of redemption. By the nineteenth article, the treaty was to subsist for the space of twenty years, and the ratifications to be exchanged in two months. What respects *Great-Britain* is very particular, and therefore deserves to be inserted at full length, especially as we find it but imperfectly related in the bulk of *English* historians.

NOTWITHSTANDING, by the present treaty between the most Catholic king and the republic of the United Provinces, his majesty only engages to declare war against *France*, should the propositions of peace be rejected; yet the king will find himself under the necessity of coming to a rupture with his *Britannic* majesty, likewise since every thing plainly indicates that he co-operates with *France* in obstructing the pacification, and hence it would be impossible effectually to assist the states-general, and keep upon friendly terms with *Great-Britain*. It

therefore agreed, that if the means of pacification, proposed by his Catholic majesty, should prove fruitless, his majesty shall then declare war against the king of *Great-Britain*, in the same manner as against his most Christian majesty. Nevertheless, to shew his good inclinations towards his *Britannic* majesty, the states general are required to make one last effort to bring the king to a peace, offering him such conditions as must appear reasonable. This almost was followed by the subsequent proposals; first, that the affair of the flag be adjusted to the satisfaction of the king of *England*: secondly, that restitution be made of all places that have or may be taken by the states-general from *Great-Britain*, since the commencement of the present war; by this article are understood places out of *Europe*, of which the restitution shall be reciprocal: thirdly, that a sum of four, five, six, or more, thousand doubloons be made payable at the following instalments, viz. a fourth upon exchange of the ratifications;

another fourth at the close of the first year after the peace; and the remainder in the two subsequent years^a.

A. D.
1674.

Peace
with Eng-
land.

SUCH was the treaty by which *Spain* and *Holland* became again united in the same cause, after they had been at variance and open war for near the space of a century. In consequence of this treaty, to which the emperor immediately acceded, the two courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* denounced war against *France*, and became the avowed protectors of the republic, which they had, during the preceding campaign, assisted with their forces. It was likewise to the peremptoriness of this treaty, and the determined resolution of the Catholic king, that the states owed the peace soon after concluded with *Great Britain*. The parliament, and the nation in general, exclaimed against the ruinous measures supported by the *English* ministers. They were incensed at the conduct of the *French* admiral, who never engaged heartily in any of the naval engagements. They attributed the unprosperous issue of the last action to the artifice of *d'Estrees*, who paid no regard to prince *Rupert's* signal. They clearly penetrated into the designs of the *French* monarch, and determined, by refusing the supplies, to force the court to an accommodation with the United Provinces. But first it was resolved to wait the event of an enterprize formed by the earl of *Ossory* upon *Helvoetsluys*. As this scheme came to nothing, the *Dutch* commissioners and the *Spanish* ambassador renewed their application to detach *England* from *France*, and they succeeded. As this was a matter of the highest importance, the states did not scruple writing a submissive letter to *Charles*, and empowering the marquis *de Fresno* to conclude peace upon terms nearly similar to those recited in the treaty between *Spain* and the republic. *Charles*, finding it would be impossible to support the war without the consent of his parliament, yielded to the inclinations of his people, and the solicitations of the *Spanish* minister. He made a virtue of necessity, communicated the proposals sent him by the states to the two houses of parliament, and demanded their advice. Their sentiments were well known: they exhorted his majesty to put an end to the war. Accordingly the marquis *de Fresno* was referred to Sir *William Temple*, and at three meetings the whole affair was finished. The treaty of *Breda*, and the commercial treaty in 1668, formed the basis of the present pacification. Little more was added, than that the states should compliment the king's flag, whether in fleets or in single vessels; and that they should pay a sum of money to defray the king's expences.

^a LE CLERC, t. ii. p. 97.

How

How little they regarded the article respecting the flag, appears from a man of war's refusing to strike to a king's yacht, with an *English* ambassador on board; an incident that happened before the ratifications were exchanged. The truth is, the states were perfectly informed of the temper of the *British* nation and parliament, the breach between them and the court; and they resolved to profit by this circumstance, and to improve their terms in proportion to the king's necessities. This appeared more obviously from the supercilious air with which the *English* ambassadors were treated at the *Hague*. On their return from *Cologne* they waited on the prince of *Orange*, to know his sentiments of the king's mediation with *France*: they were forced to solicit this audience by the interposition of *Sr. Gabriel Sylvius*, and to wait several days before it was granted. It was indeed the deepest reflection on the weakness of the *English* administration, to see the ambassadors of the *British* crown supplicating an audience of a prince of *Orange*.

THOUGH *Charles* had negotiated the peace with *Holland* in a dirty, clandestine manner, the *French* king's pride was by this time so mortified, that he did not resent the ill usage received from his ally. On the contrary, he readily accepted the mediation offered by *Charles*, from whom he had reason to expect some partiality and indulgence, as he obliged the *English* monarch with an annual pension of one hundred thousand pounds. *Charles* made the offer, to qualify his desertion, and *Lewis* accepted it, as the most rational means of warding against the danger that threatened his crown from a cloud of enemies combined to retrench his power. But the same reasons that induced him to relish the proposed mediation, rendered the overtures from the *British* king distasteful to the emperor, *Spain*, and *Holland*, who scrupled not avowing that the court of *England* retained the same attachments it formerly had to the *French* king's interest, though the king's immediate necessities obliged him to accommodate matters with the states general. This it was, which had probably occasioned the prince of *Orange*'s cool behaviour to *Sir Joseph Williamson*, the *English* ambassador.

WHILE the mediation was in suspense, the prince of *Orange* took the field with a numerous army, and tried every stratagem of war to bring the prince of *Condé* to a battle; we have seen the progress of this campaign, and the manner in which *William* of *Orange* exposed a wing of his army at *Seneffe*, of which the vigilant *Condé* did not fail

taking advantage^b. The conduct of both generals was such as engaged their mutual esteem; both claimed the victory, and neither had a right to any more than the glory of deserving it. The rencounter however was decisive in one respect; it frustrated the scheme of the confederates to carry the war into the heart of *France*, and disappointed that project upon which the prince of *Orange* had set his heart, of drinking wine in *Champagne*, before the end of the season. It likewise facilitated the operations of the enemy in another quarter, and enabled the *French* to penetrate into *Franche Comté*, which they soon reduced. *Turenne* was superior to the allies in *Alsace*, he defeated the duke of *Lorraine* and *Caprara* at *Zintzheim*, attacked and routed a body of *Germans* at *Mulhausen*, drove the elector of *Brandenburgh* from *Colmar*, obtained a victory over him at *Turkheim*, and at length forced the enemy to repass the *Rhine*, and abandon their design of invading the king's frontiers, with damage and disgrace.

THESE successes did not prevent the king of *England* from persisting in the offers of his mediation, or animate *Lewis* to prosecute the war, could reasonable terms be obtained. The states general themselves were disposed to accommodate matters; but the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* formed ambitious projects, of clipping the soaring wings of *Bourbon*, and of humbling the pride of *Lewis*. The stadtholder too was inflamed with the desire of military glory, and he pushed his resentment to *France* so far, that the pensioner *Fagel* acknowledged, it would not be possible to convince him of the propriety of concluding a peace, before he had settled the ballance of *Europe*, on such a footing, as must for years check the elevation of the *French* monarch. Animosity, ambition, and policy, united to confirm *William* in those sentiments, and we find he already sketched the general plan of that grand alliance, which afterwards took effect, when he was king of *Great Britain*. Actuated by these principles, he carefully avoided all conference with the *English* ministers during the campaign, and at last told them, until *France* received further mortifications, nothing salutary to the peace of *Europe* could flow from a negotiation. In the second conference, he explained that maxim which had afterwards cost *England* and *Holland* such an immensity of blood and treasure, that it was the interest of both, to set bounds to the power of *France*; whence he took occasion to urge, that

^b Univ. Mod. Hist. vol. xxv.

the king should actually embark in the alliance, in order to convince *Lewis*, that he had the same views with the other confederates; namely, the security of the repose of *Europe*, and not a mere temporary pacification. The prince was the more encouraged to pursue his design, that the elector of *Brandenburgh* had again broke with the *French* king, and joined his troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, to the confederate army. Yet was this reinforcement scarce sufficient to ballance the inconveniences arising from dissensions among the generals, and troops of different princes, since the battle of *Zintzheim*. The *Lunenburghers* had openly condemned the conduct of the imperialists in this action; for several hours they singly sustained the whole weight of the enemy, they had suffered extremely, and were with reason loud in their complaints. The *Brandenburghers* embraced their cause against the imperialists; a diversity of interests produced a diversity of opinions; councils only created confusion, and every transaction was as perfectly known by *Turenne* as if he had been present. However, upon the whole, the campaign proved fortunate to the allies. *Montecuculi* again resumed the command, opposed himself to *Turenne*, reduced all things to order, displayed the most extensive capacity, held the scale equal for a time, and, upon the unfortunate death of his great rival, suddenly turned it in favour of the confederates, and then resigned the command, because the enemy had no general worthy of opposing the man who had shewn himself equal to the great *Turenne*. At this time the illustrious *Condé* was employed in *Flanders*, where, with an inferior army, he had kept at bay the prince of *Orange* for the whole campaign. He was sent to succeed *Turenne*, but the same reasons which had prevailed with *Montecuculi* to withdraw, now influenced *Condé*. He retrieved the king's affairs, and then resigned, with the dignity of a hero^c.

It was during the recess from military operations, that the sovereignty of *Guelderland* had been offered the prince of *Orange*, under the antient title of duke, which it was pretended had been formerly in his family. This affair occasioned various conjectures. Those who had no opinion of *William's* patriotism, and attributed whatever appeared great in his character to ambition, alledged that he was himself the main spring in the intrigue, and had by divers means influenced the states of *Guelderland* to make the

A. D.
1675.

Congress
appointed
at Nime-
guen.

^c Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxv.

proposal. His friends and admirers were of contrary sentiments. They insisted that the motion proceeded from gratitude, and that the reward was no more than was due to a hero, who had so bravely driven a powerful enemy out of the country, and rescued almost beyond probability the liberties of the *United Provinces*. *William* wisely deliberated on the offer, and submitted it to the states of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*. The last temporised, and were for his accepting it; the second were as positive, in dissuading him from being dazzled with a title which would afford his enemies a handle to asperse his character, and stain real patriotism with the infamous plot of hypocrisy. Before *Holland* came to any resolution, the prince thought fit to decline an honour, which would have cost more than it was worth, by diminishing his popularity, while it increased his power, and added to his dignities. What ingratiated him particularly with the states of *Utrecht*, was his conduct in that province, upon his first resolution after he had been elevated to the stadtholdership. In order to reform abuses, and settle the government upon the antient principles of the constitution, he convened an assembly of the provincial states. Here it was determined, that new members should be elected to compose the body of the nobility and the magistracy. The prince delivered a plan he had drawn up, for the better government of the provinces: it was examined, approved, and put in execution. In consequence the old constitution was revived, agreeable to which the provincial government was vested in three distinct societies, the counsellors elect, the body of the nobility, and the deputies of the towns and cities. The judicious behaviour of the prince of *Orange* upon this occasion rendered him the darling of the people, and gave rise to the motion of rendering the stadtholdership hereditary in the heirs-male of his body. The *Louvestein* faction was now wholly suppressed, and there scarce was heard a murmur against a proposal in which the gratitude of the people, and the interest of the republic, appeared interested. The instrument for this provision was made out, and the example was followed by some of the other provinces.

THE calamities of war, which had almost depopulated the empire and the *Netherlands*, excited the compassion of divers princes, who laboured to establish a negotiation. In this none was so hearty as the king of *England*, for the reasons we have mentioned, rather than from any regard to the interests of *Europe*. His mediation at last operated so powerfully, that the contending parties all agreed to send plenipotentiaries

tentiaries to *Nimeguen*, where a congress was appointed about the beginning of the year. It was obvious however, that the courts of *Vienna*, *Madrid*, and *Berlin*, would willingly have protracted the time, in expectation of obtaining such advantages as would induce the *French* monarch to acquiesce in more moderate conditions than they could expect in his present situation. The states general, likewise influenced by the stadtholder, did not express that forwardness for a negotiation which became their former professions. Hence it was that the armies of every side took the field, and military operations were pushed with vigour, while the ministers were treating about peace in the cabinet. *Lewis* appeared early at the head of numerous forces, and reduced *Condé*, *Aire*, and *Bouchain*. The prince of *Orange* retaliated, by laying siege to *Maëstricht*, which he pushed with the utmost impetuosity, until the judicious motions of the enemy, and the scarcity of forage, obliged him to abandon the enterprise. With this event ended the campaign in the *Netherlands*, when immediately the eyes of all *Europe* were again turned upon the congress at *Nimeguen* ^d.

THE *Spaniards* were averse to peace, from a full conviction that the court of *England* could not long remain blind to the interests of *Europe*. They persuaded themselves, that rather than see *Lewis* in possession of the *Spanish Netherlands*, *Charles* would join the confederates. On the other hand, the *French* monarch was bent upon dividing the allies, and concluding a separate peace with *Holland*. *Charles* assisted in this design, the states general lent an ear to the proposal; but the stadtholder of himself refused to enter upon a measure which might have incurred the imputation of treachery, and given the confederates a fair handle to complain that they were betrayed by the republic, in whose defence they engaged in the quarrel. It was a bad recompence of their generous services, and seasonable interposition, to be now deserted, and left to extricate themselves out of a dangerous war, by the best means in their power. Perhaps ambition and revenge, as some writers assert, might have some influence with the prince; yet it must be confessed, that his sentiments are founded upon justice and generosity. Besides, he perceived that the *English* nation in general detested their sovereign's attachment to *France*; and that the people were now highly inflamed by the indiscriminate depredations of the *French* privateers, who made no distinction between *Dutch* and *English* merchant-ships, and regarded as lawful

^d Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxv. LE CLERC, p. 99.

prizes whatever fell in their way. In fact, the prince was extremely popular in *England*. His valour, steadiness, zeal for the good of *Europe*, implacable resentment to *France*, and unvariable attachment to liberty, raised him extremely high in the opinion of a people enamoured above all others of patriotism, and oftener the dupes of hypocrisy than any other nation. The ill-humour of the *English* was increased by an indignity put on the flag by a *French* squadron, which refused the compliment to captain *Herbert* of the *Cambridge*. The same conduct of *Charles*, who contented himself with demanding satisfaction by a letter, further incensed the people, and at last the house of commons exhorted the king to contract such alliances as would be sufficient to check the ambition of the *French* monarch.

ANOTHER circumstance likewise contributed to prevent the separate peace between *France* and *Holland*: so successfully had the *French* ministry laboured in establishing the navy, that *France* might now be regarded as one of the principal maritime powers in *Europe*. One of the first remarkable instances of the strength and spirit of her navy, appeared off the coast of *Sicily*. *Messina* had lately revolted from the *Spaniards*, and the duke de *Vivonne* was sent with a squadron to support the citizens in their rebellion. This occasioned the junction of the *Spanish* and *Dutch* fleets, who set sail to oppose *Vivonne*. On the 7th of *January* they fell in with the enemy, consisting of twenty-two men of war, six fire-ships, and several bomb-ketches. The engagement began next morning, before which time the wind freshened, and the sea rolled so high, that the *Spanish* galleys were forced to put into *Lipari*. *Ruyter* however did not decline the combat. He bore down upon the enemy, begun the action early, and sustained it with admirable constancy to five in the evening, when the *French* found means to withdraw, and accomplish their design of succouring *Messina*. *Ruyter* upon this separated himself from the *Spaniards*, and repaired to *Leghorn*; where, upon his arrival, he found an order to continue co-operating with the Catholic king's squadron, which produced a second junction of the fleets, and a resolution to lay siege to *Augusta* by sea and land. This was undertaken under the direction of the *Spanish* viceroy. Three days after the place was invested, the *French* squadron quitted the port of *Messina*, for the relief of the besieged. The fleets were nearly equal in strength, and the action was maintained with all the fire which might be expected from combatants, the one determined to gain, and the other resolved not to lose the empire of the ocean. The *Spaniards* fired at too great a distance,

distance, and did little execution; *de Ruyter* with his division supported the brunt of the engagement, broke the *French* line, gave chase for an hour, and obtained the honour of a victory, when he was wounded in the heel by a shot from the stern-chace of a *French* ship. A fever ensued, by which this gallant officer was carried off in the space of a week, to the irreparable loss of his country. He yielded his last breath in *Syracuse*, lamented as the ornament of *Holland*, esteemed by all *Europe*, and recorded by the ablest pens as an example for posterity, of valour, conduct, integrity, and rigid republican patriotism. This contributed to render the prince of *Orange* strenuous against concluding a peace until *France* should be humbled. He saw *Lewis* aspiring after maritime power, which of consequence must ruin the commerce of the republic, upon which depended her grandeur and riches, and he hoped to combine *England* with *Holland* in destroying his marine, while the confederate land-forces were retrenching his frontiers, and limiting his ambition on the side of *Germany* and the *Netherlands*.

THE event which soon followed justified the prince's zealous enmity to the house of *Bourbon*, and his dread of the rising naval power of *France*. After the late action, the combined fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* proceeded from *Syracuse* to *Palermo*, where they were pursued by the duke *de Vivonne*. The allies appeared without the mole drawn up in a line, composed of twenty-seven men of war, nineteen galleys, and four fire-ships. The mole was on their left, the bastions of the town on the right, and the fortress of *Castle Mare* composed the center. This disposition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet *Vivonne*, or rather *du Quesne*, the greatest genius of his age, ventured to attack them in this situation, with a squadron scarce equal in strength or numbers. The action began with great vigour, and was bravely sustained on both sides, when the *French*, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent their fire-ships among the allies, obliged them to cut their cables, and run a-ground, which however rather accelerated their misfortunes. In a word, twelve capital men of war were burnt or blown up into the air. Five thousand men perished on this occasion; and, to the astonishment of all *Europe*, *Lewis* became master of the *Mediterranean*, and justly claimed the empire of the ocean*. We have thrown these facts together, though they happened at different periods, to give the reader a more

* LE CLERC, p. 102, 103. Vol. ii, SMOLLET, lib. vii. *passim*,

distinct view of the policy by which the prince of *Orange* was influenced in his opposition to the negotiations of a separate peace.

A. D. 1678. *WILLIAM* had great reason to expect that the king of *England* would at length find himself under the necessity of declaring against *Lewis*. The nation in general expressed the utmost aversion to the measures of the administration, and the house of commons addressed his majesty to break off his connections with the court of *France*. Some of the leading persons of the kingdom were in the prince's interest, and negotiating a marriage between him and the princess *Mary*, eldest daughter of the duke of *York*. The earl of *Denby*, by the suggestions of sir *William Temple*, first proposed the match to the king and the prince. At first the king was averse to it, then neutral, and at last well disposed to the alliance, in hopes it might engage *William* to favour his designs, and listen to the separate peace proposed by the *French* monarch, while the prince always relished the prospect, because he imagined it would engage the *English* the more strongly to espouse his interest, and enter into his views, with respect to the war. It was from this consideration he accepted the invitation his majesty had given him of visiting *England*, as soon as the campaign should be finished. He accordingly arrived in the month of *October*, and repaired to the court at *Newmarket*, and after various difficulties celebrated his nuptials with the princess: after which he entered upon conferences for a plan of pacification with the duke of *York*, the earl *Denby*, and sir *William Temple*. Now it was agreed that *Lewis* should restore all he had wrested from the emperor and duke of *Lorraine*; that there should be a reciprocal restitution between *France* and *Holland*, and that *Spain* should have certain terms specified. This point the prince gained, that *Charles* solemnly engaged to renounce all connection with *Lewis*, and openly to espouse the confederate cause, should he refuse to accept of the conditions concerted in this general plan of pacification. All these projects, however, had almost been disconcerted by the king's unsteadiness, who was cajoled by the *French* court to forget all he had promised to his people, and the prince of *Orange*. It was the earnest wish of *Charles* to be set above the necessity of applying to his parliament for money, and *Lewis* artfully turned those inclinations to his own advantage, by granting him a yearly subsidy to a considerable amount. To dazzle the eyes of *Europe*, he struck up a defensive alliance with *Holland*; but this neither satisfied the prince of *Orange* nor the commons. Both insisted that he would

would denounce war against *France*, unless *Lewis* accepted the plan drawn up by the prince of *Orange* and the *English* ministry.

WHILE the king was thus involved with his parliament, *Peace of* and the republic in suspense whether she was to rely on the *Nime-* good offices of *England*, in listening to the proposals made by *guen.* *France*, the armies took the field with the same views as in the preceding campaign, of obtaining some advantage which might give the negotiators a turn in their favour. The military operations of this year have already been related; we shall only observe, in this place, that towards the close of the season, the states general came to a resolution of accepting peace for themselves and the *Spaniards*, provided certain towns were ceded to the latter, and ample restitution made to the former. Just as the treaty was on the point of being signed, *Lewis's* tergiversation had almost broke up the congress. He refused making the required cession to *Spain*, unless certain advantages, not mentioned before, were previously granted to *Sweden*. This difficulty was at length got over by the firmness of the states; the treaty was concluded, the frontier of the united provinces was secured, the tranquillity of the republic established, and in a few months all *Europe* enjoyed the benefit of a pacification. Such was the issue of a war, which had brought the *United Provinces* to the verge of desperation, and almost established the *French* monarch in that universal empire, after which he eagerly aspired. † (A)

S E C T. XII.

Comprehending the affairs of the republic from the peace of Nimeguen, to the general treaty of pacification at Ryswick.

AN embassy, sent to *France* by the republic immediately after the peace had been signed at *Nimeguen*, gave birth to certain disputes about the honours due to the re-

† *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. xxv.

(A) We have declined giving the particulars of this treaty, as they have already been related in the history of *France*. Our intention is no more than to convey a just idea of the policy of the republic.

presentatives

The Dutch dispute about the honours due to their ambassadors.

representatives of their high mightinesses, who seemed already to have forgot, that arrogance, pride, and insolent inscriptions and devices, had occasioned all their late calamities. Because the king's guards were not drawn up in the court of the *Louvre*, with drums beating and colours flying, as the ambassadors passed, they refused proceeding to the audience, though *Lewis* was expecting them, until they should be received with the same honours as the last embassy sent by the republic. They were told, that the compliment which they now demanded was never paid, except to the ministers of emperors and kings; and though it happened to the former ambassadors, it was merely the effect of chance, the guards possibly being relieving as they passed. This was denied by the ambassadors, who proved, by the registers of former ministers, that the compliment had been paid, and not only to the republic of the united provinces, but to *Venice* and the duke of *Savoy*, and cantons of *Switzerland*. At last this affair was adjusted to their entire satisfaction, and the ambassadors were introduced with all the honours of shew and respect they required.

LEWIS had his designs in this condescension. He was labouring a defensive treaty with the states, and had given instructions to that effect to his ambassador at the *Hague*, the count *d'Avaux*. To this Mr. *Sidney*, the *English* envoy, opposed himself, declaring, in positive terms, that his majesty should regard this treaty as a league against *Great Britain*, and a resolution again to disturb the peace of *Europe*. A whole year had passed in negotiating the point, and *France* had made no progress, the states contenting themselves with general expressions of esteem and regard for his majesty. Enraged at the disappointment, *Lewis* ordered *d'Avaux* to have recourse to menaces, where solicitation and intreaty had failed. An attempt was made to awake the antient terrors of the republic, by a thundering memorial delivered to the states by the ambassador. Here he represented the king's astonishment and displeasure at the ambiguous artful conduct of the states, his resolution to wait only a few days for their answer, and afterwards, not only to drop mentioning the subject, but to refuse all proposals relative to the defensive alliance, so beneficial to both nations. He added, that if they neglected embracing this opportunity of securing his majesty's friendship, they must expect he would alter his conduct, and turn circumstances to the best advantage he could to his own subjects, and the advancement of the commercial interests of his kingdom. Mr. *Sidney* perceived the drift of *d'Avaux's* memorial, and resolved

resolved to frustrate its effects by a memorial in behalf of his *Britannic* majesty, which was presented next day to the states of *Holland*. This piece was drawn up by a masterly *They re-*
pen, and produced the consequence proposed. The states *fuse the*
rejected the *French* proposals, and ordered their deputies to *alliance*
declare their sentiments to the states general, from whom *proposed*
the count *d'Avaux* was to receive his answer. Before their *by Lewis.*
high mightinesses could be prevailed upon to communicate
the resolution of the states of *Holland*, a great number of
libels were dispersed by the friends of *France* and *England*,
and it again appeared that the *Louvestein* faction, always at-
tached to the *French* monarch, was not yet wholly subdued.
The hydra faction again recovered its head, and the op-
position to *England* arose solely from a desire of harassing the
views of the prince of *Orange*. The defensive treaty pro-
posed became the subject of all conversation, upon which
every man expressed himself agreeable to his connections,
interests, or prejudices. Those who approved the defensive
alliance with *Lewis*, insisted that the *United Provinces* could
not remain neutral, because they had already entered into
a defensive treaty with *England* in the year 1678, by which
the contracting parties were bound to assist each other if
attacked, and in the space of two months to come to an
open rupture with the enemies of either nation. What
reason, they asked, could be urged for increasing the resent-
ment of *Lewis*, by refusing him the same terms which had
been given to *Charles*? Besides, *England* was so torn with
civil dissensions, that the republic could have little depend-
ance from that quarter, should she be attacked. It was
otherwise with *France*; it was not only in the power of
Lewis, but it was his interest to defend the republic against
all the neighbouring powers. The faction did not to recol-
lect that *Lewis* himself was the only dangerous neighbour,
and that his pretended friendship had led the provinces into
the most critical situation they had ever experienced. On
the contrary, the house of *Orange*, and the adherents of
England, affirmed, that *Great Britain* was the most natural
ally of the republic, and by means of her fleets the most power-
ful protectress. The provincial states were divided; those of
Friseland and *Groningen* were for accepting the *French* pro-
posals; *Holland* remained fixed in the refusal; some of the
other provinces proposed a neutrality; and this at length
proved the opinion of the states general, who communicated
their resolution in the most delicate terms to the *French* am-
bassador, assuring him of their sincere desire to cultivate and
deserve the friendship of the most christian king, and their
full

A. D.
1680.

full determination religiously to adhere to the peace of *Nimwegen*.

NOTWITHSTANDING these protestations, they extremely resented the demands of the *French* king, of the arrears due upon the contributions raised in the last war in the territory of *Boisleduc*, the barony of *Breda*, and other parts of the dominions of the republic. Yet with this they were forced to comply, as the king threatened military execution. Indeed it was observable, that scarce were the bonfires which had been lighted for the late pacification extinguished, before a disposition to a fresh war began to shew itself. The courts of *Versailles* and *Madrid* entered into disputes about the title of the duke of *Burgundy*; these paved the way to altercations upon a variety of other subjects, in consequence of which the envoy extraordinary of *Spain* at the *Hague*, presented a memorial to the states general, containing a long list of the infractions of which his catholic majesty demanded redress. The states sent an order to their ambassadors at the court of *France*, to use their utmost endeavours in composing matters, and preventing points of mere punctilios from laying the foundation of another war, which might disturb the peace of all *Europe*. *Spain* at length yielded to the firm resolution of *Lewis*, and produced a temporary harmony between the two courts, by ceding the title of *Burgundy*. The court of *Madrid*, nevertheless, endeavoured to fortify herself by the alliance of the republic, which was eagerly solicited on the one part, and as cautiously avoided on the other, from an apprehension of giving umbrage to the *French* monarch.

WHILE the states were using their good offices to terminate all differences among their neighbours, they did not neglect their own affairs. For some years they had been in a state of hostility with the little pyratival states of *Barbary*, though no transaction worth regarding had occurred. That the states were at war, could only be known by petty depredations, and the seizure of some *Dutch* merchantmen. However, it was thought convenient to negotiate a peace with the *Algerines*, which was signed the preceding year. This did not prevent the dey of *Algiers* from annoying the *Dutch* commerce, when he could do it to his own advantage; he had taken several ships since the publication of the treaty, and was full as dangerous under the mask of friendship as when he professed open enmity. The *Dutch* commissaries complained of these infractions, and the dey alledged that the treaty had not been ratified, because he had not received the present of cannon which the states promised. At last the expected present arrived at *Algiers*, was received with

with great demonstrations of joy, and the ratification of the treaty was published by sound of trumpet and the firing of cannon, the dey solemnly declaring that he would strictly observe the peace with their high mightinesses².

THE court of *Spain* had for some time been soliciting *England* to conclude a defensive treaty. His catholic majesty perceived that *Lewis* had little regard to the treaty of *Nimeguen*, and the subsequent agreement about the title of *Burgundy*; he was therefore desirous of fortifying himself by alliances. *Charles*, during the civil broils in his kingdom, listened patiently to his proposals; but he no sooner found himself at liberty to consult his own inclinations, than he dropped all correspondence with *Spain*, and renewed his connections with the *French* monarch. *Lewis*, notwithstanding his late disappointment, and the rough checks he sustained in the prosecution of his plan of universal monarchy, had not yet wholly abandoned that design. After the peace of *Nimeguen*, when other powers had disbanded their armies, he kept a numerous body of forces in pay, dictated to the neighbouring states, and insolently erected chambers at *Metz* and *Brisaac*, for enquiring into titles, and resuming such territories as had ever belonged to his new conquests. The authority he assumed was extravagant. He summoned sovereign princes to appear before his chambers, and occasionally issued decrees, expelling them from their dominions, in case they disobeyed his imperial mandate. He seized upon *Cassal*, and the free town of *Strasburgh*; demanded *Alost* of the *Spaniards*, and in consequence of their refusal to cede that place, he reduced *Luxembourg*. This incensed the catholic king to such a degree, that he declared war against *France*, without reflecting on his inability to support it, and had the mortification to see all the *Spanish Netherlands* over-run without opposition. *Lewis's* conduct alarmed all *Europe*, and in particular the states general, whose vicinity to the *Spanish Netherlands* made them peculiarly interested. It was this consideration which suggested the idea of a treaty with *Sweden* for the guaranty of the peace of *Nimeguen*. As *Great Britain* was likewise deeply concerned in the object of this treaty, *M. Van Buiningen* was sent to invite the king to accede to the new alliance. He made the strongest remonstrances, to which the king listened attentively, but to little purpose; for though conferences were appointed to

A. D.
1681.

A defensive treaty between the states and Sweden.

² Suite de Hist. de M. de la Nuville, par Anonym. p. 28. et seq.

negotiate

negotiate the affair, he still adhered to the interest of *Lewis*, and in the end declined the proposed treaty.

THE treaty of guaranty concluded between *Sweden* and the republic was not at all relished by *Lewis*, who ordered his minister at the *Hague* to present divers memorials upon the subject, to the states general. In these he declared, that he regarded this alliance as an association injurious to himself, and the means of kindling a new war, perhaps more fatal in its consequences than the former. The states vindicated their conduct, by alledging, that as his majesty had repeatedly acknowledged the republic, he must necessarily allow them the privilege of contracting what alliances they might think proper, which was the essential and distinguishing prerogative of liberty. The object of the treaty, they affirmed, was to secure the freedom of *Europe*, and preserve the repose of the republic, as well as of all the neighbouring powers. In a word, they offered to present the count *d'Avaux* with a copy of the convention; and defended themselves with so much candor and force of argument, that *Lewis* appeared satisfied. An unfortunant accident however happened, which had almost been attended with the most serious consequences, and an open rupture. A lieutenant and nine dragoons, of the garrison of *Ypres*, had orders from the king to seize a *Frenchman*, who had taken refuge in *Amsterdam*, and been admitted a burges by the title of the count *de Sardam*. His reasons for withdrawing from the *French* dominions were not known; but it was the business of the states to prevent an infraction of their liberties. The king's officer and his party were therefore arrested at *Rotterdam*, and sent prisoners to the *Hague*. Several memorials were presented by *d'Avaux* to procure the release of the prisoners, or at least a suspension of the proceedings against them, which were actually begun. He alledged they were the king's subjects, waiting at *Rotterdam* for a conveyance into the *French* dominions; but this excuse not answering his purpose, he threw off the mask, and declared they had acted by the king his master's directions. The states pretended great astonishment at this confession; and perceiving the consequence of dissembling in a point that so nearly affected the liberty of the state, they acquainted the ambassador, that as the trespass was committed in the provinces of *Holland* and *Friseland*, he must apply to the states of those provinces for redress. He did so, and obtained no satisfaction. He was told, that surrendering the criminals would be founding a precedent for every prince in *Europe* to violate the privileges of the provinces; and that

The states of Holland condemn a French officer to death.

if they complied with the king's request, the same would be expected by other potentates, who might claim an equal right to their regard. In a word, they gave him to understand, that the proceedings must go on, and the prisoners be either condemned, or acquitted legally. In consequence, the process was carried on, the officer solemnly condemned to be beheaded, and the dragoons to labour in the dykes for the space of ten years. Accordingly the lieutenant was conducted to the place of execution, scaffolds were erected, a hearse, covered with black cloth, attended the criminal; he was brought to the block, and there pardoned and sent back, with his party, to his garrison. By this steadiness of conduct the states asserted their liberties, without giving just cause of complaint to the most christian king, *D'Avaux* at first talked loud, and denounced the king's vengeance; but he was in the end forced to acknowledge that the equity and firm resolution of the *Hollanders* were equally commendable.

MEANTIME the emperor perceiving that *Lewis's* design was, gradually to despoil him of all his dominions in *Alsace*, desired to be admitted into the guaranty-treaty lately executed between the court of *Stockholm* and the states general. He, at the same time, formed an alliance with the circles of *Franconia* and the *Upper Rhine*, in order that he might have an army on that river, if necessity required. Already he had brought a body troops from his hereditary dominions, the command of which was given to prince *Waldec*, now created a prince of the empire. The states were not displeased with these motions, which intimated a resolution to oppose the ambitious designs of the *French* monarch. They were particularly pleasing to the prince of *Orange*, who, besides his general enmity to the *France*, had now personal causes of complaint against *Lewis*. That monarch could not avoid resenting the zeal with which the prince of *Orange* espoused the liberties of *Europe*, and combated his ambition. He saw that his vigilance thwarted all his measures, and penetrated into his most secret projects, before they were well formed. Tho' inconsiderable in point of territory and power, he regarded the prince as the most formidable of his enemies, because he directed the councils of the republic, and had great influence all over the empire, as well as in *Spain* and *Great Britain*. It was this which inspired him with the pitiful revenge of attacking the principality of *Orange*, hemmed in by his dominions, and environed by *Provence*. It was not possible to make the haughty soul of *William*

stoop to concessions, or to warp his integrity by touching him on the side of his ambition, though that was his predominant passion; but it was in *Lewis's* power to punish his obstinacy, and hurl down vengeance on the heads of an innocent people, for the crimes of their sovereign.

The king of France oppresses the inhabitants of the principality of Orange.

A. D.
1682.

WHILE the negotiation for a defensive treaty was in agitation, the wrongs, damages, and oppressions which his highness had sustained, either by the connivance or direction of the *French* monarch, were often recommended by his friends to the consideration of the states general, to be discussed previously to the expected treaty. *D'Avaux* however had the address to have the motion set aside, under pretence that his claims would require more time in adjusting than was allowed for the conclusion of the treaty. When the duchy of *Luxemburgh* was invaded by the *French* troops, the commanding officer had exposed to sale, by sound of trumpet, all the lands, furniture, and effects of the prince of *Orange*, as having been adjudged to him by a formal decree of the states of the country. It was of the losses he sustained that the prince desired to be indemnified; but as the defensive treaty came to nothing, he was forced to refer his pretensions to a more seasonable opportunity. *Lewis*, not satisfied with denying the prince justice, had recourse to farther violences. He obliged the magistrates of the town of *Orange* to expel all the *French* scholars from their college, and the *French* artizans out of their city. He sent two regiments of dragoons to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants, until they had levelled a wall built as a defence against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. As these arbitrary proceedings were exclaimed against at every court in *Europe*, he was at no loss to colour them over with specious pretexts. He spirited up the prince of *Condé* to lay claim to the whole principality, in quality of administrator to the duke de *Longueville*. To preserve all the appearances of justice, he cited the prince, by the title of messire *William* count de *Nassau*, living at the *Hague* in *Holland*, to appear before his privy council. The provinces of *Zealand*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*, were unanimous in the prince's defence. They represented the affair to the states, who mentioned it to the count *d'Avaux*; but this minister having no instructions upon that head, *M. Heinsius* was sent to solicit the prince's affairs at *Paris*, where he resided above a year to no effect.

To account for the indifference with which the states of *Holland* and the states general beheld the oppression of a prince so nearly connected with the republic, and to whom

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and his ancestors the *United Provinces* owed the greatest obligations, it will be necessary to enter more particularly into the situation of parties at this period. It was the chief business of *d'Avaux* at the *Hague*, to rear up an opposition to the power of the stadtholder, and cherish the remains of the *Louvestein* faction. In pursuing this scheme, he proved successful beyond probability, considering the depressed state of the opposite party a few years before, and the vast popularity and power of the prince of *Orange*. The first trial of the strength of the faction was made on the refusal of the *Spaniards* to cede *Alost*, and the invasion of the *Ten Provinces* that ensued. The prince, alarmed at the danger which threatened the frontiers of the republic, caused an extraordinary meeting of the states, and, in concert with the pensionery *Fagel*, the *Spanish* resident, and the council of state, left no expedient untried to procure a levy of 16,000 men, to augment the forces of the republic. The states declined the request, under pretence of the necessity of consulting the provinces, which was only an artifice of the *French* faction, to gain time for starting such objections, or raising such an opposition as should utterly disconcert the prince's design. At the next meeting of the states this became apparent. Several of the deputies were instructed to give their negative to the motion. The city of *Amsterdam* was at the head of the opposition; and after violent debates, which lasted for eight hours, the prince had the mortification to find that his interest and credit were on the decline; for the states separated without coming to any decision. Even after the marshal *de Humieres* had overrun the *Netherlands*, the opposition to the levies continued without shrinking; and it was evident, that the faction apprehended more dreadful consequences from the power of the stadtholder, than from the ambition of the *French* monarch. In hopes of flattering and cajoling the proud city of *Amsterdam* into his sentiments, the prince, at the head of a solemn deputation, waited upon the magistrates; but though he was received with respect, his errand proved fruitless. *Amsterdam* not only positively declared against the levies, but was supported in this resolution by *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Scheidam*, the *Brille*, and other towns.

The revival of the Louvestein faction.

DISAPPOINTED in all his projects, the prince ventured upon a resolution, destructive of the liberty of the towns, and the very basis of the union of *Utrecht*. Finding he could not carry his point in the constitutional method, by the consent of every individual city, he determined that a plurality of voices should be sufficient authority. So rash

A. D. 1683. a measure, dictated by passion, was of the utmost service to his enemies. It gave them a fair opportunity of exclaiming against his ambition; it rendered their cause popular, and furnished them with the patriot side of the dispute. Grafting opposition upon public spirit, they now proved, that upon no emergency the liberties of the constitution ought to be infringed; that whoever attempts it must be an enemy to his country, and that he must have deeper designs than those which appear to the eye of the public. They maintained, that by rushing into the war kindled between the courts of *Versailles* and *Madrid*, they should plunge themselves into greater calamities than those they pretended to remove. In proof of this they alledged, that the *French* minister had already offered a plan of pacification, which *Spain* ought to accept, and was in no condition to refuse, even though supported by the republic. There was little hope, they affirmed, of the concurrence of any other power, without which no better conditions could be obtained at the close of a ruinous war, than were now offered before its commencement. There was no dependance, they asserted, on the promises of the *German* princes; and as to the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, *Spain* had no title to expect their interposition, as they had not guarantied the treaty of *Nimeguen*. The emperor was fully employed in opposing the *Turks*, *Sweden* had hitherto declined interfering; and as to the king of *England*, if he had any rule of conduct at all, it was to espouse the *French* monarch. In a word, they urged, that it was better to accept the proposals now offered, than rouse the indignation of *France*, by making useless levies, which would produce no other effect, than lodging power in the hands of the ambitious, laying heavy duties on trade, and raising enemies to the republic.

NOTWITHSTANDING the plausible plea urged by the city of *Amsterdam*, and the heads of the *French* faction, the prince still insisted, and indeed seemed to carry his point, that the plurality of voices in this instance, where the safety of the state was endangered by the infatuated opposition of party-prejudice, should be held of equal authority with the unanimity required by the constitution. This was certainly so daring a trespass on the constitution of the provinces, as could not fail of exciting violent commotions. All blazed out suddenly into a flame; yet the prince of *Orange* pursued his design with that cool, determined resolution,

* Scept. Anonym. p. 54. LE CLERC, p. 115.

which

which he probably would have maintained had his country been laid in ashes. He obtained both a majority of the cities and likewise of the provinces. *Zealand*, *Friseland*, and *Holland*, firmly opposed him ; but the former was at length gained over to the stadtholder's measures : yet would neither *Friseland* nor *Groningen* so much as admit of a deputation to convince them, that they ought to yield to the sense of a majority. As to the city of *Amsterdam*, it carried matters so high, as not only to enter a protest against the levy in question, but to declare that she could never regard this resolution as an act of the states of *Holland*, because it was not authorised agreeable to the fundamental principles of the government, by unanimous consent : she therefore declared her intention not to contribute to the expences of the levy.

IN the midst of these dissensions, the *Spanish* envoy presented a memorial, urging the states to declare against *France* ; in consequence of which the states sent a deputation to the count *d'Avaux*, proposing a suspension of arms for four months. This taking no effect, the prince of *Orange* thought the opportunity now offered for accelerating the motions of the states, and humbling the city of *Amsterdam*. In concert with the *Spanish* ambassador, he had intercepted some dispatches from the *French* ambassador to his court, in which he acquaints his majesty with the methods he had practised to influence the magistrates of the city, and the sums expended in corrupting the deputies. These letters were produced in a full assembly of the states, the prince moving that two of the deputies chiefly concerned should withdraw before they were read. He then declared, that they contained a clandestine correspondence between *M. d'Avaux* and the city of *Amsterdam*, inconsistent with the honour, the liberty, and the safety of the republic. Upon this they were read aloud, and produced such an effect, that the states ordered copies to be transmitted to all the cities in the provinces, and the papers of the whole deputation to be sealed up, until the sense of the states general should be consulted. The stream of popularity now took a different channel. The people clamoured against the magistrates of the city ; the *French* ambassador presented a memorial to the states general, renewing his master's former proposals of peace ; but little regard was paid to overtures which were used as an artifice to ward off an enquiry. The prince, the pensionery, and the council, urged the necessity of new levies with more vehemence than ever, and they left no means untried of procuring

the same submission to an act of the majority, which the principles of the constitution required to the act of the whole body.

A. D.
1684.

WITH respect to the letters read in the assembly, they were vindicated by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, who alledged, that the cypher was misinterpreted, and that the deputies had acted entirely by their direction. They then demanded the papers belonging to the deputation, which had been seized, and security for their deputies to attend the public service. Not satisfied with this, they sent circular letters to all the cities of the union, complaining of the affront put upon their deputies; and to excite the ferment, *M. d'Avaux* insisted upon the restitution of his letters, the intercepting of which was an infraction of the laws of nations, and the rights of ambassadors. All this was adding combustibles to the flame. *William* adhered to the charge with his usual stability. Instead of restoring the papers, he insisted upon an inquiry, which however he could not accomplish, as the privileges of all the deputies were interested in the event. At the same time he pursued the main object of the levies, and procured a farther supply of horse and foot for the service of his catholic majesty: his own guards were specified in the number of auxiliaries, and he had given out that he should take the field in person, when the states of *Groningen* and *Friseland* objected to the vote of augmentation, because their deputies were absent. They therefore insisted upon recalling the troops, and recommended, that all possible means should be used, to dispose the court of *Spain* to accept of the proposals made by the *French*, by which a dangerous war would be prevented, and the frontiers of the republic preserved. *William*, however, carried all before him. The reinforcement sent to the marquis de *Grana* amounted to 14,000 horse and foot: the states signified, in their answer to the remonstrances of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, that they could not recal this reinforcement; the last division of the prince's guards were on their march to *Flanders*, his own field-equipage was in readiness, and the day was appointed for his setting out to co-operate with the *Spanish* general in the conduct of the campaign, when a menacing memorial from *d'Avaux*, expressed in a stile of authority, shook the resolution of the states, diffused a panic through every department of the republic, and, in despite of the stadtholder's utmost efforts, put a stop to all vigorous proceedings. *D'Avaux*'s memorial was opposed by a counter-memorial from the *Spanish* envoy, in which he put on a great shew of magnanimity, that

that operated but little on the minds of the states, as it was unsupported with the requisite power. A resolution was therefore taken to treat with the *French* minister on the proposals made in his former memorials. But *d'Avaux* now refused to stand by those conditions. He alledged, that circumstances were changed, that the dilatory proceedings of the *Dutch* government had obliged the king to enter upon new measures, and that his majesty was determined not to deviate in the smallest degree from the proposals he now delivered. The states shewed their inclination to accept any terms. They were intimidated by menaces, struck with the power of *Lewis*, and incapable of being wound up by the spirited remonstrances of the prince of *Orange*, to the necessary pitch of resolution. *Friseland* and *Groningen* besides continued in their opposition to the levies, and the city of *Amsterdam* positively refused contributing to the support of the forces. Conferences were at length opened with *d'Avaux*, and his terms accepted, upon which orders were sent to the troops in *Flanders* to desist from all hostilities ^b.

THE *French* faction having gained this great point, determined to subject the prince of *Orange* to still greater mortifications. As soon as the treaty with *France* had passed the usual forms, the states came to a resolution to disband all the forces raised to assist *Spain*, consisting of 1446 horse and 9042 foot. The magistrates of *Amsterdam* pushed their animosity so far, as to invite prince *Casimir* of *Nassau* and his court to their city, with intention to confer upon him the stadtholdership, in the room of his cousin the prince of *Orange*. This project, however, was baffled by the harmony subsisting between the two princes, and the magistrates determined to compensate their disappointment by some other method of revenge no less signal and mortifying. Their deputies were instructed to propose in the assembly of the states, that enquiry might be made into the state of the navy; that the fleet should be augmented; that the army should be farther reduced; that the pay of the officers and soldiers should be diminished, and the money issued for repairing fortifications and other public services, should be frugally managed, and the accounts accurately examined. These proposals were directly pointed against the power and authority of the stadtholder; but they had such an appearance of patriotism that they could not be openly opposed. Yet as they affected the interest of such a number

^b LE CLERC. tom. ii. p. 123.

of individuals, it was no difficult matter for the prince, without appearing in the dispute, to parry the thrust made at his prerogative, and procure a negative in the assembly. Thus *Lewis* again revived the dissensions of *Holland*, roused a faction which had for some time lain dormant, and once more gained such influence in the republic, as enabled him to keep up the ball of contention, prevent all vigorous resolutions, maintain the provinces in a kind of subjection, and limit the authority of the stadtholder.

A. D.
1685.
*State of
the republic with
respect to
Great
Britain.*

THE events of this year afforded a prospect to the stadtholder of a closer connection with *England*. His father-in-law, the duke of *York*, succeeded to the crown, and it was expected he would have exerted his influence with the *French* monarch, to procure justice to the prince, with respect to his principality and other territories, oppressed, impoverished, and seized by *Lewis*. He was fully apprised of all the grievances of which *William* had casually and fruitlessly sought redress. The marshal *de Lorges* came ambassador from *Versailles*, to compliment him on his accession; he had the fairest occasion of doing his son eminent service; but he refrained, and displayed a coldness which was soon after improved into invincible hatred. All the *Dutch* writers, contrary to the testimony of *English* historians, assert, that both the prince and the republic took every method of cultivating the friendship of *James*, and that his highness proceeded so far upon the king's accession, as to intimate to the duke of *Monmouth*, then residing at the *Hague*, that he might look out for another asylum. Yet did these tenders of friendship produce no return; on the contrary, *James* was reserved, indifferent, and civil, to the prince and the states general. To the former he shewed some remains of the dislike he expressed to the marriage of the princess his daughter; and to the latter, his bigotted aversion to the liberty, the religion, and the national character of the *Hollanders*. Yet he affected complying with the temper of the nation, by declaring, that he would maintain the ballance of *Europe* with the steady hand of justice, and treat upon a level with the proud *Lewis le Grand*. His embassy however to the court of *Rome* afforded a bad prognostic, and became the subject of uneasiness, not only to the states general, the prince of *Orange*, and all the protestant princes and powers; but even to catholics, who wished well to *Great Britain*, and foresaw that the king's bigotry would subject him to the counsels of the pontiff, and connect him more closely with the house of *Bourbon*. *Ronquello*, the *Spanish* ambassador, is said to have intimated his apprehensions

sions upon this head, by which he gave great offence to the monarch.

THOUGH the duke of *Monmouth* had retired to *Brussels*, in consequence of the hint given him by the prince of *Orange*, great numbers of malecontents still resided in *Holland*, particularly the earl of *Argyle*, who was making the utmost preparations to return in a hostile manner to his native country, and continually spurring *Monmouth* to those ambitious projects, which he was on the point of relinquishing. *Skelton*, the *English* minister, had notice of what was transacting. Accordingly he presented a memorial to the states, desiring the persons of the refugees might be seized, and the vessels freighted for conveying arms and ammunition to *Great Britain* stopped in the harbours, which he specified. He gave in a list of names obnoxious to the government; and the states seemed willing to shew the utmost respect to the court of *London*, but without violating the laws of hospitality. They ordered the search required to be made, after having hinted to the malecontents the necessity of withdrawing themselves and their effects. This has been urged by *English* writers as a proof, that the *Dutch* government connived at the intended invasion; though, if we consider the artifices by which the disaffected subjects of *Great Britain* procured their arms, ammunition, and money, the protection afforded to all strangers, by the fundamental laws of the constitution, the late dispute with the *French* king upon a subject of a similar nature, and a variety of other circumstances, it will appear evident, that the states were far from giving them any encouragement, and that they did all in their power to oblige the king of *England*, consistently with their honour, the principles of their government, and the humanity due to the unfortunate. The *Continuation of Nuyville*^d, indeed, affirms, that notwithstanding they had no reason to be satisfied with a prince who was the author of two wars, and had constantly fomented divisions between the king his brother and the republic, yet they presently complied with the envoy's demands, by sending copies of his memorials, and of his list, to all the towns and cities of the *Seven Provinces*, commanding the magistrates to make diligent search after the persons pointed at, and to oblige them to quit the territories of the republic. That the malecontents were actually embarked for *Scotland* before these orders were issued, was certainly one of the first public causes of discontent between the two nations. *James* al-

^d NUYVILLE, Hist. tom. iii. p. 84, 85.

ledged,

ledged, that the states had assisted in stirring up rebellion among his subjects; and, to shew his resentment, he encouraged the *Algerines* to declare war afresh against the *United Provinces*.

King James excites the Algerines to a war with the republic.

HOWEVER solid and sincere the late peace concluded between their high mightinesses, and the piratical states of *Algiers*, might appear, the great commerce of *Holland* in the *Mediterranean*, and the valuable prizes every day before their eyes, together with the suggestions of the court of *London*, were too powerful temptations to be resisted by a barbarous, avaricious, lawless people. They therefore first began their piracies, and to sanctify those robberies with the name of justice, they published a declaration of war, in which were specified a variety of grievances, real or pretended, though they had never previously demanded redress. An incredible number of vessels fell into their hands, the crews of which were confined, the cargoes taken out, and the ships abandoned to the fury of the winds and waves, with perhaps one or two of the more helpless hands on board. It reflected but little honour upon *James*, that while every christian port in *Europe* was shut against those violators of equity, order, and the laws of society, they were in a manner protected in *England*. They had leave to sculk in the creeks and harbours on the *English* coast, to lie in wait for their prey, to retire thither when pursued, to sell their prizes, and to supply themselves with every necessary. This at least is the allegation of foreign writers, nor do we find it refuted, upon credible authority, by the apologizers of the errors of that unfortunate monarch. On the other hand, the states, by way of reprisal, altered their conduct, and now extended their protection to all the declared enemies of the king and government. They fled in crowds, to take shelter under the wing of the republic, and the states thought themselves justified, in pursuing the dictates of humanity and hospitality, while they at the same time obtained their revenge. Sir *Robert Peyton* was among the number of the *English* refugees. He was highly obnoxious to the court, and screened himself against the king's resentment, by a timely retreat to *Amsterdam*, that universal asylum for distress, misfortune, and too frequently for villainy. *James* formed a design of seizing this exile by open violence, knowing the resolution of the states, not to surrender him in consequence of remonstrances. Certain natives of *Great Britain*, who held commissions in the *Dutch* army, were employed in this outrage, on the laws of the common-

commonwealth; and *Skelton* the envoy conducted the attempt in person. *Peyton* was seized; but he was rescued by the populace, who committed to prison the officers who had thus unjustifiably trespassed upon the constitution. The states remonstrated to the court of *London*, and in such lively terms, that the king thought proper to disavow all knowledge of the violence; however, when a process was formed against the criminals, when the laws were likely to take place, and their lives were in danger, *James* interposed, and requested that their punishment might be referred to him, and that as they were subjects of *Great Britain*, they might be tried by the laws of their country. On this occasion the states shewed their respect for the king; they even paid him more deference than they had shewed for *Lewis the Great*, in the zenith of his power and glory. The *French* king's officer was condemned, and brought on the scaffold; the *English* offenders, though in the service of the states, were sent over to *England*, in hopes the king would have at least not countenanced them; but they were disappointed. *James* not only pardoned, but preferred the criminals to a higher rank in the army than they before enjoyed.

BESIDES these causes of mutual discontent, *James* enlarged the breach, by a revival of the antient disputes between the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, with respect to the trade of both nations to *Bantam*, which the *Dutch*, by a revolution effected in the government of that country, had artfully monopolized. The *English* company indeed had presented a petition to the king, praying his interposition, and shewing the injury sustained by their commerce, from the arbitrary proceedings of the *Hollanders* in that quarter. They specified a number of violences committed by the *Dutch*, under the sanction of the young king of *Bantam's* name; they demonstrated their design of excluding all *Europeans* from that trade; they expected his majesty to procure them justice, reparation of their losses, and security for their future commerce. *James* mentioned the affair to the *Dutch* ambassador, and he denied the charge; upon which instructions were sent to the *English* minister at the *Hague*, to represent the complaints of the company to the states general. This produced conferences between the commissioners of the two companies, of which the reader has already had an account (A). From the

A. D.
1686.

(A) It must be confessed that great artifice and chicane, appear in the answer of the *Dutch* deputies, to the charge exhibited

the king's so warmly patronising the *India* company, and other circumstances, it was inferred at the *Hague*, that he wanted the opportunity of coming to an open rupture with the republic.

State of
affairs be-
tween
France
and Hol-
land.
WHILE the states kept a strict eye on all the occur-
ences that passed in *England*, they were not neglectful of the
conduct of *France*. They endeavoured so to conduct
themselves, with respect to the court of *Versailles*, as to
maintain the tranquillity of the republic, and the repose of
Europe. They suppressed all emotion, at the inhumanity
shewn the *French* protestants, and the cruelties committed
in the principality of *Orange*. Party and policy both con-
tributed to prevent their interposing for the prince of
Orange, and procuring him the justice he petitioned. They
winked at many other acts of *Lewis's* despotism, out of
dread of his power; yet with all their caution, a slight
accident had almost embroiled them with that monarch.
Two *Dutch* men of war, going to *Villa Nova* to wood
and water, fell in with a *French* squadron of eight men of
war, commanded by the duke de *Mortemar*. The *French*
admiral required certain honours to be paid to the king's
flag, to grant which the *Dutch* captains were not authorised.
On their refusal, the duke fired a broadside, and an action
ensued, which lasted for five hours. One of the *Dutch*
captains perceiving the superiority of the enemy, sheered off,
the other bravely maintained the engagement, was killed, and
his ship taken, after he had made the *French* admiral pay dear
for his victory. Immediately the count d'*Avaux* presented
a memorial to the states general, demanding satisfaction
for the insult offered to the king's flag. He alledged, con-
trary to all probability, that the *Dutch* were the aggressors,
and confirmed his allegations with such menaces, as de-
termined the states to send an embassy to *Versailles*, to put

* Univ. Mod. Hist. vol. x.

bited by the *English* company. There remains no doubt that they were guilty of numberless violences, and that their design was to become the only commercial *European* power in *Asia*; but whether this was the proper season for *James* to enter upon fresh disputes, must be left to the judgment of those who are sufficiently acquainted with the situation of his affairs at this period. It is sufficient proof, that the *Dutch* did not act wholly upon the square, that the *Danes* and other nations made directly the same complaints as the *English*.

an end to the affair in the best manner possible. Notwithstanding justice and equity were on their side, it was found necessary to make concessions, and procure the restitution of their ship, by mean submission. This commonwealth has indeed been always distinguished for temporising, and converting every incident, every de'picable compliance, to her own advantage. Pride in one or two instances blinded her to her interests; in general that and every other passion were made subservient to her avarice. While she was making acknowledgments to *Lewis*, and imploring his pardon for injuries she had suffered, for presuming to stand in her own defence, this republic was harbouring the ingenious, diligent artificers, driven out of his dominions, and persecuted on account of their religion; she was establishing new manufactures upon the ruins of the *French* industry, and rendering the liberty of her constitution useful to the extension of her commerce. Hitherto the *Dutch* traded wholly with the commodities of other countries, now they tried to raise a foundation for trade among themselves, and they succeeded by dint of perseverance. They imported a breed of cattle from *Jutland*, and the northern kingdoms, which they fattened and exported to the neighbouring countries. They erected a variety of hard-ware manufactories, chiefly with a view to their *East* and *West India* colonies, and in a short time they became the most distinguished of any people in *Europe*, for a happy knack in making toys and baubles, for which they found a rapid sale, not only among the barbarians of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, but all the civilized nations of *Europe*.

THE jealousy between the states and *Great Britain* in the mean time daily increased; and it was considerably augmented by the share the prince of *Orange* had in the famous league of *Augsburg*, which was supposed to operate so powerfully on the subsequent revolution in *England*; though we must confess we cannot discover by what means it acquired any influence in this event. The states took the alarm at the king's assembling his forces, issuing out commissions for repairing and augmenting his navy, assigning a stated annual sum of 400,000 *l.* to be issued quarterly out of the treasury for defraying the expences of the marine, and holding a powerful squadron in continual readiness. They suspected, from these formidable preparations, that some great blow was meditated; and their writers alledge, that the priests who swarmed about the king's person, and were presumed to be entirely acquainted with the secrets

The jealousy between England and Holland increases.

A. D.
1687.

crets of his cabinet, insinuated, that the stroke was levelled against the republic, and that the *French* monarch would join his weight, to render it decisive. If we may credit the testimony of bishop *Burnet**, this suspicion was not wholly without foundation. However this may be, *James* certainly had not laid aside the appearance of friendship for the republic. His envoy *Skelton* was recalled from the *Hague*, and succeeded by the marquis *d'Abbeville*, vested with the powers of envoy extraordinary. At his first public audience, this minister gave the states the strongest assurances of the king his master's regard for the republic, and firm resolution inviolably to observe all treaties concluded with the states since his accession. He endeavoured to dissipate all the apprehensions they had too rashly entertained, from the malicious suggestions of persons disaffected to his majesty's person and government; and he concluded with solemn protestations, that the preparations which gave birth to their fears, had no other object than the preservation of the repose of *Europe*, and the defence of the *British* dominions. In his private negotiation with the prince of *Orange*, he assured his highness, that the king had no design of injuring himself and the princess in their right of succession to his crown, in case of failure of direct male issue. Other matters were likewise treated of, in a variety of conferences the *British* minister had with the prince; but as they have no relation to the general affairs of the republic, we shall omit them. Sufficient it is, that a resolution was taken of sending *M. Dykvelde*, in quality of envoy, to the court of *London*, with instructions to expostulate boldly with the king, upon the measures he was pursuing at home and abroad, and to effect a better understanding between him and the stadtholder. Before the departure of this minister, *Abbeville* had presented two memorials, one upon the subject of the *India* commerce; and another, requiring, that doctor *Burnet*, an *English* clergyman, afterwards raised to the see of *Salisbury*, might be banished the territory of the state.

A. D.
1688.

THE negotiations in *England* and *Holland* turned upon the abolition of the penal laws, and the repeal of the test act, to which the king wanted the prince of *Orange*'s consent, who was now considered as presumptive heir to the crown, in right of his princess; but *William* did not seem inclinable to yield any of the liberties of the protestant religion. He even declared positively, that he could not carry his respect to the king so far, as to sacrifice his reli-

* History of his own Times, p. 688. Fol.

gion to his inclination to oblige his father-in-law. This firmness determined the king to have recourse to violent measures. He made fresh levies, augmented his fleet, recalled by proclamation all the *English* seamen in foreign service, and by a letter to the states general, demanded the six *British* regiments in their service, a demand with which he was sensible the states would not, and could not, comply. A civil answer however was returned; in which his majesty was given to understand, that no treaties, conventions, or articles, between the two nations, authorised their sending back the *British* troops, especially at so critical a conjuncture, unless the kingdom should be attacked by some foreign enemy. The arguments which the states urged in apology for their refusal were indeed forcible and irrefragable; but we can by no means agree with their writers, that the prince of *Orange* had no hand in procuring this resolution. If we may credit them, he had at this time no eye to the crown of *England*, because the queen was now declared pregnant; though we have the express testimony of all the *English* historians, that *Dykvelde* had private instructions from the prince, to treat clandestinely with the *English* malecontents, and that he executed his commission with equal secrecy and success. Bishop *Burnet*, who then resided at the prince's court, acknowledges that, previous to *Dykvelde*'s departure, he held frequent conferences with the prince and princess upon the affairs of *England*, the discontents of the *English* nation, the danger which threatened the protestant religion, and the other preliminaries to a revolution. Indeed the great concourse of the nobility and gentlemen of distinction at the prince's court, the correspondence he kept up in *England*, and the invitations which he laboured to procure from that country, are stronger proofs of his ambition and policy, than of his filial duty, his sincerity, or even his attachment to religion, which is often used as a cloak, by princes, to cover designs not authorised either by religion or morality^f.

AT this time the vacancy of the episcopal see of *Cologne*, for which prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, and the cardinal of *Furstenberg*, were candidates, furnished the states general with a pretence for assembling an army in the neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*. The pretensions formed by the most christian king justified this measure; and the augmentation of the *English* navy afforded them a specious handle for putting their marine in a posture of defence. Both were

^f SMOLLET, lib. vii. cap. 4.

Prepara- admirable masks for the prince of *Orange*, at this time
tions to in- making preparations to invade *England*. He had an inter-
vade Eng- view in *Westphalia* with the electors of *Saxony* and *Branden-*
land. *burgh*, the princes of *Lunenburgh*, and the landgrave of
Hesse Cassel. To them he communicated his scheme, which
 was of so much consequence to the interests of religion
 and liberty, that they engaged for the protection of *Holland*
 during his expedition to *England*. A fleet of fifty large
 ships of war was equipped, and such a number of trans-
 ports freighted, as would serve for the accommodation
 of twelve thousand land-forces. *France* and *England* were
 alarmed at these preparations, but neither could penetrate
 into the object in view. The count *d'Avaux*, however,
 received instructions to present a memorial to the states, ex-
 pressing the king's astonishment at the mighty preparations
 they were making, by sea and land, especially at a season
 of the year when the augmentation of the marine inti-
 mated some extraordinary enterprise. The marquis *d'Abbe-*
ville, in the name of his *Britannic* majesty, supported this
 memorial by another, in which he insisted on his right of
 demanding the object of so extraordinary an armament.
 This remonstrance was followed by a second memorial from
 the *French* ambassador, in which he declared, that the inti-
 mate friendship subsisting between the king his master and
 the king of *England*, would oblige him not only to assist
 that monarch, should he be attacked, but also to regard the
 first act of hostility against *England*, as a manifest violation
 of the peace, and a direct, formal design of coming to a
 rupture with *France*. To this memorial, which entirely
 consisted of menaces, and a declaration of *Lewis's* purposes,
 the states returned no answer: and with respect to *d'Abbe-*
ville's remonstrances, they contented themselves with re-
 plying, that the preparations in *England* rendered it neces-
 sary for the republic to be upon their guard, especially as
 every power in *Europe* was busied in raising forces. Besides,
 they demanded an explanation of the treaty between *France*
 and *England*, in which the states thought themselves par-
 ticularly interested *.

UPON any other occasion, so rough an answer would pro-
 bably have produced a declaration of war: it now only drew
 another memorial from the *English* minister, and an assu-
 rance, that his majesty was ready to co-operate with the
 states in preserving the repose of *Europe*, and enforcing the
 treaty of *Nimeguen*. It was evident that *James* at length

* *Traite de Nuville*, cap. xvii.

perceived his danger. He now betrayed symptoms of fear, and proceeded so far as to express his desire of contracting an alliance with the republic, which was disregarded, from a conviction that he was secretly in the interest of *France*, and actually in treaty with *Lewis*. The truth is, the states were so sensible of the weight it would give the republic in the scale of *Europe*, to have the prince of *Orange* on the throne of *Great Britain*, that they pushed this measure with the utmost vigour. This was the secret spring of all their motions; it was this that silenced the voice of faction, and rendered every man attached to his country, though possibly at enmity with the house of *Orange*, promote with all his might the great design.

THE first direct confession of the destination of the armament proceeded from the pensioner *Fagel*, who frankly owned to the marquis d'*Abbeville*, that the prince of *Orange*, in consequence of an invitation from the *English* nobility, was determined to assist them in re-establishing the ancient constitution, which the king had entirely altered since his accession. Soon after the states published their reasons for assisting the prince with troops and shipping; and this declaration was followed by a manifesto, drawn up by the prince of *Orange*, explaining the motives by which he was actuated to undertake the intended expedition to *England*. Here he enumerated the grievances of the *English* nation, recapitulated the fruitless attempts which had been made for procuring redress, touched upon the supposed imposture in the birth of the prince of *Wales*; and professed his own and the princess's regard for the *English* nation, and for the liberties and the religion of the people. Having thus paved the way to a measure which must unavoidably produce a rupture with *France*, the prince took his leave of the states, and embarking on the 19th day of *October*, sailed out a few leagues, when a storm arose, which scattered the ships in such a manner, that they were forced to put back, and a whole week elapsed before they could reassemble at the place of rendezvous. A second time the prince set sail, had a favourable passage, arrived safe in *England*, and was joyfully received as the deliverer of the nation.

The prince of Orange arrives in England.

THE success of this expedition extremely embarrassed the court of *Versailles*. *Lewis* had already laid an embargo upon all the *Dutch* shipping in his ports, by which he violated an article of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, framed expressly for the mutual security of the commerce of *France* and *Holland*. What

^c Ibid. cap. 19. LE CLERC, p. 184.

A. D.
1689.

*The king
of France
declares
war a-
gainst the
republic.*

*The Dutch
answer the
declara-
tion.*

was still a greater violation of the laws of nations, the ships crews were forced by threats to enter into the king's service, by which means he manned a great number of men of war with little trouble. In apology for this conduct, *Lewis* urged the resolution said to be passed in the states to prohibit the importation of *French* manufactures, though his majesty had by an edict expressly forbid the importation into his dominions of *Dutch* herrings, and other commodities. His armies were already committing hostilities in *Germany*, and the Dauphin commanded in person at the siege of *Philipsburgh*. It was not the interest of *Lewis* to multiply his enemies; but he saw that the prince of *Orange*'s success in *England* would necessarily engage the *Dutch* to enter into the confederacy against him: it was therefore his business to anticipate their designs, and attack them before they could be assisted by the prince of *Orange*, and probably by the whole strength of the *English* nation. With this view he declared war against the republic, on pretence that their high mightinesses manifested, by their formidable preparations, their intention of breaking the treaty, and co-operating with the princes engaged in a league to oppose the elevation of the cardinal *Furstenberg* to the electorate of *Cologne*. It was no surprise to the states to see this declaration; it was expected, and soon answered by a counter-declaration, in which the assertion of the *French* monarch was refuted, and all the incroachments, violations, arbitrary proceedings, and oppressions committed by the court of *Versailles* since the peace of *Nimeguen*, were clearly enumerated. They demonstrated, that ambition, and the lust of conquest, were the causes of the invasion of the provinces in the year 1672: that necessity alone, and the valour of the prince of *Orange*, had forced *Lewis* to make peace with the republic in 1678, only to recover fresh vigour, and as it would now appear, to involve *Europe* again in the flames of war, from which however, if he attended to his real interest, he could not expect to be a gainer. They urged, that the king paid no regard to general or particular treaties; that he loaded the *Dutch* commerce with every kind of imposition, and had actually put an entire stop to some branches of trade, expressly regulated in a late treaty of commerce. Nothing could display in stronger colours his arrogance and injustice, than his seizing all the *Dutch* ships in his ports, and obliging the mariners to serve in his navy, without any other shadow of excuse for so flagrant a violence, than the republic's charging *French* commodities with the same incumbrances to which their own were subjected in the king's dominions. They affirmed, that

that all his assurances, by solemn embassies, were only snares to lull the neighbouring states into security ; his treaties of peace, necessary steps towards renewing the war ; his word, his honour, and his faith, prostituted to the purposes of ambition, and the rage of conquest : in a word, that his whole conduct was a series of shuffling, tergiversation, tyranny, oppression, and perfidy.

NOTHING could be more keen, animated, and sarcastic, than the terms in which this declaration was couched. The states were sensible they could expect no favour from *Lewis*, and they determined to rouse the spirits of the people by this proof of their own courage, and evident detection of the artifices of the *French* monarch. Their frontiers were covered by a powerful army, conducted by prince *Waldek*, and composed of the troops of *Brandenburgh*, *Lunenburgh*, *Hesse Cassel*, and other *German* states, joined to the forces of the republic. They were opposed by the marshal *de Humieres*, and both armies were encamped on opposite banks of the *Sambre*. The prince repeatedly offered battle, which was constantly declined by the marshal, who was strongly entrenched, and watching every opportunity of taking the enemy at a disadvantage.

THE whole preceding year was consumed in preparations, encampments, stratagems, and endeavours to bring on a decisive action. *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Savoy*, now declared against *France* ; but *Lewis* had sent such numerous armies into the field as were sufficient to make head against all his enemies. His strength seemed to increase in proportion as they multiplied, and he was never so formidable as when he combated singly more than half the powers of *Europe*. *Luxemburgh* succeeded *de Humieres* in the command, and *Waldek* soon experienced, in the plains of *Fleuris*, the valour and capacity of the new general, who was the pupil, the friend, and the admirer of the illustrious *Condé*. The confederates were defeated after a violent conflict, about six thousand prisoners were made, all the cannon taken, and prince *Waldek* reduced to the necessity of acting defensively for the remainder of the campaign ^f.

A. D.
1690.
The battle of Fleuris.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Dutch* were defeated at *Fleuris*, the troops behaved with uncommon intrepidity, and prince *Waldek* performed all that could be expected from consummate abilities. *Luxemburgh* did justice to both, and confessed that never was victory more obstinately contested, or a retreat more formidable than that of the *Dutch* infantry,

^f LE CLERC, p. 138.

who were exalted above the *Spanish* infantry at *Racroi*. It was now the endeavour of the states to reinforce their army with all possible expedition, and to restore the spirit of the troops by rewarding their valour. A sum of money was distributed among the infantry, and the highest praises were bestowed upon their conduct. The regiments which had suffered most were relieved by fresh troops drawn out of garrison, the elector of *Brandenburgh* with a body of forces joined the army, and such vigorous measures were taken as prevented *Luxemburgh's* drawing any advantage from his victory.

ENGLAND and *Holland* were now united in the strictest bonds of alliance, though the disturbances in *Ireland* prevented king *William* from embarking deeply in the affairs of the continent. To execute the great scheme proposed of humbling *Lewis*, it was necessary first to establish himself firmly upon his new throne, and cut off all hope from the unfortunate *James* of ever recovering his dominions. The *Dutch* and *English* fleets were lying at *St. Helms*, when advice arrived that the *French* squadron had entered the Channel. On the 23d of *July* the admirals weighed, having express orders to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their great inferiority. In all, the *French* fleet amounted to 119 sail, 80 of which were of the line, while the combined squadrons did not exceed 56 ships of the line, besides frigates. The van was led by the *Dutch* squadron, formed into three divisions, under the admirals *Evertzen*, *Callenberg*, and *Vander Putten*. Lord *Torrington*, the *English* admiral, commanded in the center. Off *Beachy* they came up with the enemy, and the *Dutch* began the engagement with the *French* van, led by the famous *Chatau Ranaud*, who sustained the attack with great intrepidity, but was at last put in disorder, after a sharp action, which continued for three hours. He was however supported by another division of the *French* squadron, and the battle again renewed with the utmost vigour. As the *English* division lay at a considerable distance, the *Hollanders* were surrounded. *Torrington* endeavoured to extricate them, but with so much caution, that, perceiving their safety depended upon their own courage, the *Dutch* made one violent effort, and happily broke through the enemy. It appears from the loss sustained, that the *Dutch* sustained the whole burden of this engagement. Three of their ships were sunk, and an equal number stranded on the coast of *Sussex*, to which they set fire, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Besides, they had several gallant officers killed, particularly the rear-admirals

A sea-fight, in which the Dutch are roughly handled.

als *Dick* and *Brockel*, and captain *Nordet*, with a multitude of inferior officers and seamen. Next day the *French* came up with captain *Varden Voës*, in a sixty gun ship, disabled by the loss of her masts in the preceding action, and took him after a desperate resistance. In a word, it was universally acknowledged, that the *Hollanders* fought with the utmost skill and intrepidity, and that had they been properly seconded, the enemy must have yielded the victory. So sensible were the states of the gallant behaviour of the admirals, that they received them with the highest respect, continued them in the command, and issued orders for repairing and augmenting the fleet with all possible dispatch; yet was it some mortification to see two states who had lately disputed the empire of the ocean, now foiled by an upstart maritime power, reared in the space of a few years, by the care, vigilance, and genius of *Colbert*^h.

It was now expected the war on the continent would assume a favourable aspect. King *William*, by the battle of *Boyne*, had defeated the designs of the *French* monarch and the unfortunate king *James* in *Ireland*. He crossed the seas to preside at the congress at the *Hague*, the most splendid and numerous that had ever appeared. His public entrance into the *Hague* was magnificent; his arrival diffused vigour through the provinces; he was considered as the head of the league forming against *Lewis* for the defence of public liberty; and the personal qualities of the prince of *Orange* received additional lustre from the *British* diadem. Nothing could exceed the joy and reverence with which he was received by the states, to whom he paid his first compliments. In a studied speech, his majesty acquainted them with the success of his endeavours to secure the liberty and religion of the people of *Great Britain*, with the state of affairs in *Ireland*, and with his resolution now to oppose in person all the enemies of the republic, to prosecute the war with vigour, and to employ the whole strength of his new dominions in curbing the insolence of *France*, and procuring an equitable, honourable, and solid peace for *Europe*.

HAVING dispatched matters with the states general, the states of *Holland*, and the council of state, *William*, in the next place, turned his attention to the business of the congress, which was composed of a great number of sovereign princes, and the plenipotentiaries of all the powers engaged in the grand alliance. He opened the conferences with a

^h Suite de NEUVILLE, cap. vi. tom. ii.

laboured, spirited harangue, recommending vigour and unanimity. He demonstrated, that the interests of every individual concerned in the league were comprized in the success of the confederacy: he enlarged on the power of the enemy, the daring ambition of *Lewis*, the number of his forces, and the ability of his generals, trained up under *Turenne* and *Conde*, the great masters of the military art. In the present circumstances, action was more requisite than deliberation. All the principal fortresses, which formed the barrier of liberty, were possessed by the enemy, who would soon like a torrent overrun *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, if they were not checked by the most spirited efforts. Divisions, dilatory proceedings, or a failure of engagements, would prove equally fatal: it was in vain to oppose fruitless complaints, or unprofitable remonstrances, against injustice; the sword alone was the adequate protector of innocence, and avenger of wrongs. Neither the resolutions of a barren diet, nor the airy hope of sanguine persons, built on a chimerical foundation, but soldiers, action, courage, conduct, and unanimity, could withstand the proud elated *Lewis*. He concluded, that, for his own part, he would exert his utmost credit, employ his forces, expend his whole revenue, and hazard his person, in rescuing the liberties of *Europe* out of the hands of an insolent oppressor; and he doubted not but the Almighty would prosper his endeavours, if seconded by the same resolutions in all the other allies. Upon this the congress proceeded to adjust the proportions of money and troops which each of the parties engaged to furnish. The whole exceeded two hundred thousand men, of whom the republic sent thirty-five thousand. Next the operations of the campaign were concerted, every article of the alliance was fully explained, the conditions upon which peace would be accepted clearly determined, and the whole confederacy formed agreeable to that plan which *William* had delineated in his own mind, when he was no more than prince of *Orange* and stadtholder of *Holland*^c.

A. D.
1691.

WHILE *William* was thus exerting himself to cement a powerful alliance against *France*, while he was performing every function of a great monarch, an able politician, and staunch asserter of liberty, the *French* monarch, perceiving he should be deprived of the advantages he expected from the preceding campaign, was taking vigorous measures for continuing the course of his victories, which would infallibly at length tire out the confederates, and produce those solid benefits which he proposed, by making his chief push on the side

^c Id. *ibid*.

of the *Netherlands*. He hoped to disconcert all the projects of his enemies by striking some signal blow, which should decide the fate of the war, before the allies could be ready to take the field. He relied much upon the dilatory proceedings, the tedious deliberations, and the dissensions which would probably arise in so heterogeneous a league, composed of such a variety of members, connected only, as he imagined, by one tie, that of their general animosity to *France*. His design was to attack *Mons*, and thereby open the gates of *Brussels*, *Antwerp*, and *Liege*. In a word, he perceived, that as yet the allies had neither troops nor magazines formed, equal to their mighty schemes; and it was upon these circumstances he founded his sanguine expectations. Besides, *Lewis* had prodigious magazines upon the frontiers; and his army was cantoned in such a manner as to be assembled at the shortest notice. Hence he doubted not of being able to shake the credit of king *William*, and detaching from the confederacy some of the allies, by shewing them that the person they regarded as a hero, and their deliverer, was unable to protect them. It was with this view that the *French* troops were put in motion in the month of *February*, and that *Mons* was invested, before the allies had thought of taking the field. All *William's* endeavours could not relieve the besieged: they surrendered, and *Lewis* thus shewed his contempt of the grand confederacy. A medal was struck at *Paris*, representing a town besieged, with an army looking on, and the following explanatory inscription, *Amat victoria testis*; alluding to king *William*, who lay with his whole army, at *Hall*, a spectator of *Luxemburg's* triumph. Scarce any thing further was attempted during the campaign. *Lewis* returned to *Paris*, and *William* set out for *England*.

NOTWITHSTANDING it was the mutual interest of *Den-* *Disputes*
mark and the republic to live on terms of amity, a variety of *between*
causes arose to disturb their friendship, and produce a rupture. *Denmark*
Denmark, sensible that she commanded the trade of the *Bal-* *and Hol-*
tic, by means of the *Sound*, frequently made use of that cir-
cumstance to augment her revenue. She arbitrarily, and
contrary to the faith of treaties, imposed new duties upon all
merchandise passing through the *Sound*. The customs paid
by *Dutch* vessels was rated by treaty; but this did not satisfy
the *Danish* monarch. Without giving the states any previous
intimation, he demanded an additional duty; and being re-
fused, he seized upon twenty-four merchant-men in the port
of *Copenhagen*. So gross a violation of all the treaties subsist-
ing alarmed the *Dutch*: they sent an ambassador to *Denmark*,
and his spirited remonstrances brought the northern monarch

to reason. Conferences were held, the *Dutch* ships restored, the quarrel was compromised, and the trade of the provinces established upon the usual footing *.

A. D. 1692. THIS year *William*, as chief of the confederates, sustained fresh mortifications. In the preceding campaign he was an eye-witness to the glorious triumph of *Lewis*, in the reduction of *Mons*. It was now his fortune to erect new trophies to *Luxemburg*, by the fruitless attempts he made, at the head of a powerful army, to raise the siege of *Namur*. The loss of this city, and of the bloody battle that ensued at *Steinkirk*, though they detracted nothing from the reputation of the king of *Great Britain*, proved extremely irksome to the states general, who beheld the *Netherlands* gradually falling into the enemy's hands, in despite of their utmost efforts. The feeble condition indeed of the *Spanish* provinces, obliged *William* to decline the offer of them made by *Spain*, and recommend the elector of *Bavaria* to the government, which however proved but a faint security. To preserve the residue of the *Netherlands* under the dominion of *Spain*, and prevent the exorbitant growth of *France*, by the addition of the ten provinces, was evidently the object of the grand alliance. Hitherto all attempts to regain what had been lost proved fruitless. *France* was every day adding to her conquests: it was necessary therefore to redouble the efforts to oppose her. All the powers engaged in the confederacy were sensible of the necessity of the most vigorous measures; but they shifted the burthen from their own shoulders. The emperor's favourite point was the making conquests on the side of *Hungary*: the *German* princes, nearest danger, could act only under the protection of the whole empire; and those more remote did not care to engage in the war, without a valuable consideration. The *Swiss* cantons studied only to convert their neutrality to the best advantage. *Spain* seemed declined in the use of all her faculties: her usual strength and vigour were vanished, and she relied intirely upon the maritime powers for her defence and security; *England* and *Holland*, indeed, of all the confederates, kept up to their engagements. They made up all deficiencies; and *William* blended indiscriminately the duties of a *British* monarch and a *Dutch* stadtholder. As the king over a great commercial people, he could not wholly abstract himself from the affairs of the continent: as the stadtholder of *Holland*, he was immediately interested in checking the progress of *Lewis's* conquests. But, unfortunately for his new subjects, he made no difference between the relative concern of the one nation,

State of
affairs in
the Ne-
therlands.

* Suite de Hist. de NEUVILLE, cap. xiii. l. ii.

and

and the fundamental necessary interest of the other, in the safety of the *Netherlands*. *Great Britain* contributed perhaps more towards the war than the republic; yet could not that island expect an additional foot of territory by the most fortunate issue, though the people were accumulating debts, and laying the foundation of that enormous structure of public credit afterwards reared up, to the astonishment of all *Europe*.

THE *French* king did not confine himself to the efforts made by his generals in *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, and *Italy*. He projected a scheme which would have proved decisive, had it succeeded. This was a descent upon *England*, the measures for which had been so admirably concerted, that king *James* looked upon himself as already restored to his throne. As *Lewis* made no secret of the intended expedition, nothing was omitted by the queen of *England*, regent in the king's absence, to frustrate its effects; and the states-general heartily co-operated with her majesty, ordering a powerful squadron immediately to join the *English* admiral, though they yet smarted under the severe blow received in the last sea-engagement. On this junction the combined fleet amounted to eighty-eight sail, near double the number of *Tourville's* squadron, who was then waiting at *La Hogue* for the *Toulon* squadron, commanded by *M. d'Etree*. To the positive orders received from the *French* court to fight the *English*, before they should be joined by the *Dutch* fleet, may be attributed the miscarriage of this grand armament, which would otherwise have at least answered *Lewis's* purpose of making a powerful diversion. In hope that the junction of the fleets of *England* and *Holland* had not yet taken place, *Tourville* set sail, and encountered the enemy off *Cape Barfleur* on the twenty-ninth of *May*. The allies were descried in three divisions; admiral *Allemonde*, with the *Dutch* ships, leading the van; admiral *Russel*, with the *English* red squadron, composing the center; and Sir *John Ashly*, with the blue *English* squadron, being stationed in the rear. The engagement began between *d'Amfreville*, who led the *French* van, and *Allemonde*. The former bore down upon the *Dutch*, and made a very brisk attack, which was sustained with unshaken firmness. *Tourville* engaged the red squadron, and here the action was equally hot and furious. The rear divisions of both sides came up to support the centers, by which the battle became general, as far as the situation of the combined fleet would admit; for a calm, that ensued, prevented *Russel's* closing the line. Both sides fought with the utmost vigour and impetuosity for some hours, until so thick a fog arose as obliged the combatants to separate. This recess was, however, but of short duration: the

The
French
fleet de-
feated.

the fog was dispelled, and *Tourville* was seen profiting by the opportunity to withdraw from an engagement to which he found himself unequal. Rear-admiral *Shovel* had the address to gain the windward, and separate *Tourville's* division from the squadron destined to support him under *Pannatier*; by which the engagement was again renewed, and the *French* admiral inclosed between two fires. Never did *French* valour appear more conspicuous: after incredible efforts, *Tourville* broke through the enemy, and escaped a pursuit by the seasonable interposition of night. The fleets, however, were so scattered, that they could not get clear of the allies by the next morning. They kept the windward, which prevented his making the next day for *La Hogue*; but declined renewing the engagement. On the third day some of the divisions on both sides came to an action, in which the *French* were worsted. Several other rencounters happened, which always proved favourable to the confederates. At length, *Tourville's* squadron was intirely defeated and dispersed; and by the destruction of sixteen capital ships, including those burnt in *La Hogue* by *Rooke* and *Allemonde*, a fatal blow was given to the marine of *France*, and the descent on *England* wholly frustrated. Censure is the inseparable attendant on disappointment. *Tourville* was blamed by the *French* for engaging rashly. The *English* nation, who expected, from their great superiority, to see the *French* fleet brought in triumph into the river *Thames*, did not refrain from aspersing the character of *Allemonde* and the *Dutch* officers. They in their turn recriminated; and had even the boldness to assert, that admiral *Carter*^b, a gallant *English* officer who lost his life in the engagement, was corrupted. They even threw reflections upon *Russel's* conduct, and highly blamed his disposition and tardiness in closing with *Tourville*, after the *Dutch* were engaged with the enemy's van. These, however, are the suggestions of prejudice and passion. Facts evince that both admirals behaved with the utmost gallantry. The states did justice to the valour and conduct of *Allemonde*; *Russel* became the darling of the *English* nation; and posterity must confess, that *Tourville* performed every duty of a brave and able seaman, who had received express orders to fight, against his own judgment.

A. D. 1693. THOUGH the marine of *France* languished, in consequence of the fatal defeat at *La Hogue*, *Lewis* made the most spirited efforts to restore its strength and vigour. Animated by disap-

^b Id. ibid. VOLTAIRE *Siecle*, t. i. SMOLLET, RALPH, and the *English* Historians.

pointment, that monarch, fruitful in resources, ordered all the ships in his ports to be equipped. All hands were set to work in building new vessels. So much business was carried on in the docks, that a spectator would have imagined the whole attention of the administration was employed in repairing the navy, and putting the fleet in a respectable posture. Before the month of *June*, a fleet as numerous as the former, but manned with persons who had scarce ever beheld a ship, put to sea under *Tourville*, who was kept in the command, notwithstanding the *French* nation was exasperated at his conduct in the last action. The intention of this armament was to intercept a large fleet of *English* and *Dutch* merchantmen, outward-bound for *Spain* and *Portugal*. Sir *George Rooke* and rear-admiral *Vandergoes* were appointed to escort this fleet, with a squadron composed of thirteen *English* and eight *Dutch* men of war. On the twenty-third, turning *Cape Vincent*, they descried the *French* squadron; and the two men of war in the van exchanged a few broadsides with the enemy, after which they slackened sail, and waited for the remainder of the convoy. A calm prevented *Tourville's* coming up, and the van of his fleet did not chuse to run the hazard of entering deeply into an engagement, before they had a prospect of being supported. For four days the two fleets were in sight, without coming to an action: at last an opportunity offered to begin the attack, which *Tourville* embraced with great alacrity. His great superiority rendered the event almost certain; and Sir *George Rooke* was so sensible of the impossibility of saving the fleet under his convoy, by the utmost diversion he could make, that he endeavoured to decline battle, and make the first harbours he could on the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*. The enemy, however, came up with the sternmost ships, where they were gallantly received by three *Dutch* men of war, who fought with astonishing resolution, and for some time employed the whole strength of the *French* admiral. After they were surrounded, they obstinately refused to *The* strike, until the greater part of the fleet under their convoy *French* had got into the ports of *Cadiz* and *Gibraltar*. At last the *destroy a* *Dutch* ships were taken, and with them about thirty merchant- *number of* men; most of which *Tourville* either burnt or sunk, after *English* taking out their cargoes. *Tourville* is justly censured for not *and Dutch* dividing his strength, by which he could have prevented the *merchant-* possibility of an escape; and Sir *George Rooke* is perhaps no *ships.* less blameable for not engaging, and thereby giving the merchant-fleet an opportunity of escaping. Both the *French* and confederates were displeased; the one that the whole convoy was not taken; the other, that any part should have fallen into

into the hands of the enemy. *Tourville*, to repair his error, attempted to burn the combined fleet in the bay of *Cadiz*; but such prudent measures had been taken, as disconcerted his project. He had no better success in another attempt he made to cut the merchant-ships out of the bay of *Gibraltar*. Two frigates and several armed boats were employed in this enterprize; but the gallantry of the *Dutch* and *English* sailors obliged them to retire. He however renewed the attack, and sent fireships among the enemy, by which means seven *Danish*, four *English*, two *Genoese*, and six *Dutch* merchantmen were destroyed. Thus ended an expedition, unfortunate indeed to the allies, as well as to some neutral nations, and neither glorious nor beneficial to *France*.

MEAN time the campaign in *Flanders* went on with great vigour. The battle of *Landen* was lost by the allies, and the king of *England's* reputation was somewhat diminished for not avoiding an action, in circumstances when even a victory could have produced no solid advantage, and he could scarcely hope not to be defeated. *France* magnified her triumph, and the allies concealed their disgrace. *Charleroi* surrendered to *Luxemburg*, and this was almost the only fruit of a victory dearly purchased, and highly celebrated. The *French* general's address in improving every advantage, and the king of *England's* alertness in repairing an error, acquired both immortal honour. It was now that the confederates, and in particular the states-general, began to complain of the conduct of the *Swiss* cantons, who had engaged to observe an exact neutrality. The reduction of *Namur*, and the victories at *Steinkirk* and *Neerwinde* or *Landen*, were attributed to the valour of their troops in the service of *France*. The states alleged, that hiring out their forces to *Lewis* was contrary to the neutrality they professed, and an actual hostility against the allies. Besides, by the treaty of *Milan*, the cantons engaged that their troops in the *French* pay should only be employed in the defence of towns, of which *Lewis* was possessed in the year 1663. In consideration of this, *Spain* and the empire had paid them a subsidy, which was doubled at the approach of the present war, when they renewed their engagements not to act offensively. In all the late actions it appeared there had been near thirty battalions of *Swiss* infantry, who had fought with the same desperate fury and animosity, as if the cantons had been at actual war with the confederates. The courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* now joined the states-general, in remonstrances upon this proceeding so contrary to the intention of treaties, and the faith of solemn engagements. The most spirited memorials were presented and disregarded. The

Altercation between the Swiss cantons and the allies.

The emperor and Catholic king expressed their repentment, not only by stopping the subsidies, but by cutting off all communication between *Switzerland* and their *Italian* dominions. In particular, they forbade their subjects to sell corn to the *Swiss*, which, upon account of the scarcity then reigning in *France*, put the cantons to great necessity; but even this could not prevail on them to withdraw their forces, and renounce their engagements with *Lewis*, who buoyed them up with lofty promises, and encouraged them by some real advantages. They even declared to the envoys of *Spain* and the empire, and to the deputies of *Holland*, that they would lay themselves under no restraint, though at the same time they had no intention of giving offence to the allies. At last the affair was discussed at a diet at *Baden*. Expedients were proposed; but they proved insufficient and unsatisfactory to all parties. Yet the interposition of the Protestant cantons, and the resolution formed by several of the Catholic divisions of this republic, influenced the emperor and king of *Spain* to remove the prohibition respecting grain, and again to open the communication between *Switzerland* and their dominions^a.

WHILE the confederates were endeavouring to weaken the common enemy, by gaining over some of the best troops in the *French* army, an occasional congress sat at *Cologne*, composed of ambassadors from *England*, *Holland*, the emperor, the electors of *Treves*, *Cologne*, *Brandenburg*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Palatine*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and bishop of *Munster*. The design of this congress was to reconcile all the jarring interests of the confederates, to determine the different proportions of expence, and to accelerate all the previous steps to opening the campaign. Unhappily, contentions arose about the chief command of the army on the *Rhine*, which could not fail of prejudicing the interest of the confederacy, and proving as serviceable to *France* as if an actual ally had been gained. Nor was *France* more fortunate in this particular than successful in the intrigues carried on at the *Porte*, to retard the pacification in treaty between the emperor and the Grand Signior. Such influence and credit *The Dutch* had the *French* ambassador acquired in the divan, that *Heemskerk*, the *Dutch* envoy, could neither obtain an audience, refused an answer to the proposals which he had delivered in audience writing to the vizier. It is true, he was treated with great respect, and the denial of his request palliated by apologies and pretences of the necessity of waiting until the arrival of *ple*.

^a Suite de Hist. de NEUVILLE, t. ii. p. 8.

Fresh disputes between Denmark and Holland.

fairs of commerce. The opportunity for renewing the old disputes about the duties of the *Sound* was favourable. His *Danish* majesty, therefore, without paying any regard to the late accommodation, or the neutrality professed, began first to intimate his intentions, by avowedly assisting the *French* monarch. In this the *Swedes* concurred with him; both had carried on a prodigious commerce with *France* during the war; they even became the purveyors of that kingdom for corn, naval stores, and all the commodities of the North. At this the allies connived, while there remained hopes of inducing those powers to accede to the confederacy. So far *England* and the allies in general were concerned; but *Holland* had complaints of a private nature, in which the *Dutch* commerce alone was interested. His *Danish* majesty had ordered the ancient duties of the *Sound* to be exacted from all *Dutch* shipping, and on their refusal, they were seized and brought to *Copenhagen*. These concurring circumstances determined the states to come to extremities, and the king of *England* joined issue with them about the expediency of making reprisals, and punishing the northern powers for a breach of treaty and professed neutrality. It was resolved to make both the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* sensible, that notwithstanding the maritime powers were engaged in an important war, they had strength and courage enough to resent the insults of neutral states. Accordingly the commanders of the *English* and *Dutch* men of war and privateers had instructions to stop, examine, and seize all *Danish* or *Swedish* shipping bound to *French* ports, or laden with such commodities as seemed destined for the markets of that kingdom. The orders were punctually observed; several ships were taken, but none condemned, as the experiment was made, only to intimidate the northern powers, and not with a view of coming to an open rupture. The *Dutch* went farther. They stopped in different ports of *Holland* to the amount of twenty-four *Danish* ships, of which they gave notice to the *Danish* envoy, declaring they should be detained, until restitution was made of the *Dutch* ships at *Copenhagen*, and the owners amply indemnified for all the losses they might have sustained by their detention. A conduct so spirited soon produced the expected effect. *Sweden* not only avoided making reprisals, but even joined her mediation to the emperor's, in reconciling the king of *Denmark* and the republic. In consequence the ships were mutually restored, the treaties concerning the duties of the *Sound* renewed, and all things placed on the former footing^a.

^a LE CLERC, p. 142.

IN general the operations of this campaign proved more fortunate to the allies, than any of the preceding. Several places had been recovered from the enemy, no battle was lost, and the *French* king suffered more by the death of Marshal *Luxembourg*, than if half his army had perished : besides, the coasts of his kingdom were kept in perpetual alarm by the squadrons of *England* and *Holland*. By this means a great number of troops were kept stationed towards the coasts, and a considerable revulsion was made from that strength which *Lewis* would otherwise have exerted in the *Netherlands*. *Brest* was bombarded by the combined fleets ; *Dieppe* afterwards met with the same fate, and more than half the town was laid in ashes ; adverse winds probably saved it from total destruction. Having finished this business, the allied fleet proceeded to *Havre de Grace*, where they began bombarding with such success, that in a few hours the town was on fire, and before they quitted their station, the citadel almost demolished ; in a word, an universal panic seized the inhabitants of the coast, the innocent industrious subjects were punished for the ambition of the sovereign, and a method of waging war was now adopted by civilized nations, which would be regarded with horror by the most barbarous.

WHILE the grand armament was thus employed in desolat- *Sea fight*
ing the enemy's country, a *Dutch* squadron of eight men of *between*
war, under the conduct of *Hidde de Vries*, fell in with the *the French*
famous *du Bart*, and his squadron of seven ships of the line *and Dutch*
and three frigates. The *Dutch* admiral had a considerable *fleets*.
fleet under his convoy, and would if possible have declined an
engagement ; but *du Bart* pursued, overtook and attacked
him between the *Meuse* and the *Texel*. The dispute proved
obstinate. *Du Bart* fought with his usual intrepidity ; he board-
ed *de Vries*, and tho' vigorously sustained was repulsed with loss.
Had the *Dutch* captains supported their admiral, the *French-*
man would have found himself roughly handled ; but the ter-
ror of *du Bart*'s name kept them aloof, while *de Vries*, co-
vered with wounds, was singly engaged. The event was
unfortunate ; he was taken prisoner, and great part of the
merchant fleet under his care fell into the hands of the
enemy (A).

ON

(A) *Dutch* writers, to qua- suade the world, that *du Bart*'s
lify the disgrace resulting from squadron was composed of large
this defeat, endeavour to per- men of war ; whereas it really
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ON the return of the squadron to *Holland*, all the captains were cashiered, and the states consoled for their loss by news from the *East-Indies*, that *Pondicherry* had surrendered to the governor-general of *Batavia*, with all the artillery, stores, and merchandize belonging to the *French* company. Upon the whole, the confederates had greatly the advantage by sea this season. Besides, the incidents we have mentioned, they relieved *Barcelona*, blocked up *Tourville*, and bombarded *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. *Dunkirk* had, for time immemorial, been the great rendezvous of privateers in every war. Even as far back as the reign of *Philip II.* of *Spain*, the commerce of the *Netherlands* was greatly disturbed from this quarter, and frequent attempts had been made to destroy the town and harbour. It had successively been in the hands of the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *English*; and *Lewis* found means to have it restored to him for a sum of money, in the dissolute reign of *Charles II.* The allies had long meditated an attack on *Dunkirk*, but it was always laid aside on account of the hazard and difficulty of the enterprize. At last *Sir Cloudefley Shovel* set sail from the *Downs* on the 14th of *September*, and arrived before the harbour with a squadron of thirteen *English* and six *Dutch* ships of the line, and a great number of frigates and bomb-ketches. The garrison and inhabitants were greatly alarmed; they sent to marshal *Villeroy*, then at *Ypres*, upon the first appearance of the fleet, and he came to their assistance with two regiments of infantry, and one of dragoons. *Shovel* was ambitious of aspiring after glory, and eager to collect laurels; but all his endeavours were frustrated by the strength of the place, and the vigilance of the garrison. In short, he returned, after having thrown the place into consternation, and alarmed *Calais* by some bombs which he threw into the town.

*Religious
disputes in
Holland.*

TOWARDS the close of this year, the theological controversies that had so long disturbed the provinces were now again revived. King *William*, before his accession to the throne of *England*, had silenced some rising disputes, by his authority as stadtholder. He was now again forced to interpose, and it was at his request that the states of *Holland* and *Friesland* published an ordonnance on the 18th day of *September*, for

consisted of light, neat, clean built privateers (1). They likewise affirm that he was a *Dutchman* by birth, who, upon some discontent, retired into the *French* service; but they do not vouch this fact by proper authorities.

(1) *Siecle, t. 1.*

the

the preservation of the peace of the reformed church, and the tranquillity of the provinces. By this regulation, equally prudent and necessary, it was ordained that all doctors, professors, and lecturers in divinity, together with the clergy of the reformed church of *Holland* and *Friesland*, should conform in all their writings, preachings, and lectures, to the formulary contained in the catechism, confession, and canons of the national synod of *Dordrecht*; and that they should live in the utmost cordiality, charity, and brotherly affection, without dispute, discussion, or controversy upon points already settled by the church. That with respect to certain difficult matters left undetermined by the national synod, these they were ordered not to touch upon, or explain any otherwise than was authorized by the scriptures, and the general sense of the synod of *Dordrecht*. That they should introduce into their writings, sermons, lectures, or public courses of every kind, no uncommon axioms, no disputed principles, no novel opinions or doctrines; in a word, they were ordered to abstain from whatever could raise doubts, create schisms or divisions among the people; and if through inadvertence any of them should have given room for disputation, they were required to retract, or explain what they had advanced, agreeable to the established faith. All professors were farther enjoined from encouraging their pupils to apply philosophy to the mysteries of the Christian religion. They were ordered to confine this kind of reasoning to matters purely philosophical, and not to examine by the light of reason, what was intended by the author of our being to exceed reason. Upon the whole, the pastors of the church were fervently requested to be vigilant over their flocks, and to cultivate sobriety, decency, good order, and devotion among all ranks and degrees of the people. The ordonnance had a good effect, and suppressed in the birth, controversies which might in time have created much trouble to the government ^b.

THE operations of the succeeding campaign retrieved the reputation of king *William*; but it ought to be remembered, that marechal *Luxemburg* was now dead, and the command of the army given to *Villeroi*, a general neither equal to the marechal in capacity nor experience. *Namar*, defended by *Boufflers* at the head of a numerous garrison, and covered by a formidable army, surrendered to king *William*; and the French king, in revenge, ordered *Brussels* to be bombarded ^c.

A. D.
1695.

^b Suite de Hist. de NEUVILLE, t. ii. p. 44.
Hist. vol. xxv.

^c Univer

*Insurrec-
tion at
Amster-
dam.*

A. D.
1696.

This was followed by the bombardment of *Calais*, and some attempts upon other sea-ports on the coast of *France*. But these successes, though they inspirited the allies, weakened *Lewis*, and drew the war nearer an issue, produced no immediate advantage. The states-general had prosecuted the war with great vigour, in hope of obtaining such a peace as would recompense the expence and trouble of supporting vast armies and fleets. It was expected that every campaign would be the last, and this encouraged the people to submit to the heavy taxes with which they were loaded. Their frequent disappointment irritated them, and in all the provinces they began to exclaim loudly against measures calculated only to oppress the industrious subject, and ruin commerce. A new tax laid upon burials, by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, was highly resented by the populace; though the intention was to abolish a pernicious custom, that prevailed in almost all the towns of the United Provinces, of giving public entertainments, of feasting, and rioting, upon occasions where decency required the most solemn conduct and strict temperance. No sooner was the resolution of the magistrates known, than some evil-disposed persons excited a popular tumult, by persuading the vulgar, that all who were unable to pay the tax must be buried with such marks of ignominy as would render infamous the memory of the deceased, and add insult to poverty. Every thing was done to correct this prejudice; but the mob continually increased. The whole rabble of *Amsterdam*, foreigners and natives, assembled to oppose the regulation; and there were not wanting several substantial citizens who regarded the new tax as unjust and iniquitous. The mob threatened to set fire to the city; all was in confusion, shops were shut up, and every kind of business at a stand. It was difficult to apply remedies to so desperate a disease: the military force in the city was insufficient to disperse so vast a concourse. The seditious were emboldened by the defenceless condition of the magistracy: they flew to the house of M. *Boreel*, one of the principal persons in the city, forced open the doors, poured in like a torrent, pillaged, destroyed, and threw into the canal his elegant and rich furniture. By this time captain *Spaarogge* had collected a body of soldiers, with which he hastened to the defence of *Boreel's* house. He fired upon the mob; but was attacked with such fury, that he was forced to retreat to his own house. Thither the mob pursued, destroyed all before them, and committed every violence of which an incensed brutal populace is capable. Happily for *Amsterdam*, night came on before they could proceed to farther business: this

this determined them to postpone the work until next morning; and in the mean time every man retired quietly to his own dwelling, as if nothing had passed. By day-light placards were fixed up in all public places, giving notice, that the tax, which had given so much offence, should not take place. Orders were likewise issued for all the burghers and soldiers to assemble under arms. Endeavours were also made to mount a few companies of horse, which were composed of all the young gentlemen in the city, persons of distinction in public offices, and rich merchants. These precautions, however, did not prevent the rabble from assembling, and attacking in a body the house of Kirby, the *English* consul, who, they alledged, had suggested the idea of a tax upon burials. Here they were repulsed with great vigour; upon which they turned their indignation against a *Jew*, distinguished by the name of the *rich Pinto*. To this resolution *Amsterdam* probably owed its safety. In an instant the whole *Jewish* quarter was in arms for the defence of their prodigious wealth, amassed with indefatigable industry. To them the burghers joined themselves, both marching in good order against the seditious, who, struck with the formidable appearance of glittering arms, began to disperse. Some were seized loaded with rich plunder, and immediately hanged; which produced such an effect, that in the space of a few minutes the streets were intirely cleared, and the city restored to its former tranquillity. However, it was thought adviseable to remove all cause of fresh insurrections, and to annul the edict passed for levying the new imposition. The whole affair ended with the publication of a great reward to whoever should discover the authors of this sedition. It was shrewdly suspected that some persons, who were enemies to the magistracy, had excited the people; but proofs never appeared to justify the suspicion ^d.

NOTHING considerable this year was performed in the *The Netherlands*; and as to the naval operations, they were *French* equally unimportant. The only incident that merits notice, *successful* is the misfortune of a fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen homeward-*by sea*. bound from *Portugal*, which fell in with *du Bart's* squadron of privateers. The merchant fleet, amounting to two hundred sail, was under the convoy of five frigates, who were attacked by the enemy's largest ships, while the others were dealing destruction among the trading vessels, thirty of which they had taken. The frigates defended themselves vigorously,

^d Suite de Hist. de NEUVILLE, t. ii. p. 142.

but

but were at last overpowered, one only escaping. Scarce was the action finished when the victorious *du Bart* descried a squadron of *Dutch* men of war, upon which he set fire to all his captures, after unloading the most valuable effects, and taking all the crews' prisoners, and made the best sail he could out of the reach of danger.

ABOUT the close of the year the duke of *Savoy* detached himself from the confederates, accepted of the terms proposed by *Lewis*, and thus paved the way for a general pacification. The duke went farther; he not only made peace with *France*, but joined his troops to the forces of that kingdom, which enabled *Lewis* to reinforce his army in the *Netherlands* with several regiments drawn from *Italy*. Probably this defection of an useful ally proved fortunate to the confederates, as it inclined them to listen to the conditions proposed by the *French* monarch, who declared that he had now sustained a war singly against all *Europe*, for several successive years, with no other view than to establish the tranquillity of Christendom on a more solid basis. The king of *England* saw the difficulties that would arise in procuring the supplies for continuing the war; the states-general were not deaf to the clamours of the provinces, against the burthen of taxes; both were sensible of the mischiefs to be apprehended from *Poland* should the *French* interest prevail at the ensuing election; and the confederates in general were aware of the danger, that other powers might follow the example of *Savoy*, and strike up a separate peace. It became now a very serious question, Whether the crisis was not arrived that rendered it highly expedient to sheath the sword? *France* appeared forward for an accommodation, and even went so far as to demand passports for M. *Callieres*, to go to *Holland* to lay the basis of a general pacification.

Negotiations of peace.

WITH the king of *England's* approbation the states had granted the passports required, and M. *Dykeveldt* was appointed to confer with the ambassador. M. *Callieres* had been instructed to grant all that was demanded by the imperial court, respecting the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*. This M. *Dykeveldt* reported to the deputies appointed for foreign affairs, who transmitted it to the states-general. After mature deliberation the states declared, that as the *French* monarch had made the concessions required by the court of *Vienna*, matters were now in such a situation, that, in concert with their allies, the offered mediation of *Sweden* might be accepted. A transcript of their resolutions was sent to the different courts of *Europe*; but it soon appeared, that neither the

the emperor nor the Catholic king were satisfied that the conditions offered by *France* were either satisfactory or explicit. Yet were the *Spaniards* forced to sign a treaty of neutrality for *Italy*, whereby *Lewis* was set at liberty to employ all his strength in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*.

THIS was the situation of affairs during the winter, and every thing indicated a peace; yet did all the parties resolve to treat sword in hand. In the spring the usual rivalry arose, who should first commence hostilities; and the *Dutch* were earlier in their preparations this year than any of the preceding: however, as the whole allied army was not assembled, no considerable enterprize was undertaken. The *French* would likewise seem to have given their chief attention to naval expeditions, and attempts to ruin the commerce of the maritime powers. This spring their cruizers had been extremely successful. A small squadron set sail from *Dunkirk* in the month of *February*, encountered a fleet of *Dutch* and *English* merchantmen off *Ostend*, and made prize of fourteen vessels, most of which belonged to *Holland*. Three weeks after another fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen, under the convoy of three men of war commanded by admiral *Wassenaar*, fell in with a *French* squadron in the bay of *Biscay*. The enemy were greatly superior in strength; but *Wassenaar* fought with great gallantry, and defended himself until he was mortally wounded, and his ship shattered in pieces, when the next in command struck. The fate of the admiral determined the fortune of the whole fleet, the two other men of war made but a short resistance, and with them were taken twelve rich merchantmen, laden with wool, cotton, hides, and other valuable commodities*.

THIS was the last act of hostility that passed between *France* and *Holland*. As early as the month of *February* all the allied powers, *Spain* excepted, had agreed to accept the mediation of *Sweden*, which was accordingly notified in form to the *Swedish* minister at the *Hague*. By the ninth day of *May* the congress was opened at *Ryswick*, when *France* proposed, by way of preliminaries, that the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen* should form the basis of the present negotiation; that *Strasbourg* should be restored to the emperor on the same condition as before the war; that *Luxemburg* should be restored to *Spain*, together with *Mons*, *Charleroi*, and all the places in *Catalonia*, taken since the peace of *Nimeguen*; that the city and citadel of *Dunkirk* should be ceded to the

A. D.
1697.

* *Id. ibid.*

bishop

bishop of *Liege* ; that restitution should be made to the other allies, of all conquests since the peace of *Nimeguen* ; and that *Lorrain* should be restored, agreeable to the conditions of the said pacification. In a word, after tedious conferences the treaty was at length signed, and peace restored to *Europe*, upon conditions equally glorious and advantageous to the allies, and so unpopular in *France*, that the plenipotentiaries dared not for some time to appear in public. The reader will find them specified in former parts of this work.

END of the THIRTY-FIRST VOLUME.

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